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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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JANUARY, 1914.
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THE BRITISH-INDIAN QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

AN APPEAL TO THE EMPIRE

BY J. H. POLAK, J.P.,

Member of the Alien Immigration Board of the Port of London.

BEFORE dealing with the present position of our British-Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, and with the origin, history, and development of this most important Imperial factor, it is my intention to lift the veil from the sufferings that have been undergone patiently, self-sacrificingly, and patriotically by those British-Indians—men, women, and children—who for many years have been domiciled in this our most recent self-governing British possession.

It is hoped that a recital of this terrible tragedy will awaken something more permanent than mere verbal expressions of cordial sympathy, and will evoke something more tangible than mere academic resolutions of protest from the people of the British Empire, whether of Asiatic or European descent.

I think I cannot do better than to quote a speech of Lord Selborne's at the outbreak of the South African War in 1899, in which His Lordship says—and truly says:

“We are not dealing with our own personal interest
or our own personal money; we are trustees for our

brothers in Canada, in Australia, at the Cape ; Trustees also for our own fellow-subjects of different races and of different colours—the Negroes of South Africa and the Indians of India—trustees for all these and for the unborn children of these. Therefore, the test we have to apply in an emergency like this is the simple test of duty. Is it or is it not our duty to see that the rights and the future interests of those I have named shall be maintained ? Is the British Government going to make its name respected, and to have the pledges given by it faithfully observed ? Is it going to see that the British subject, wherever he goes, all over the world, whether he be black or white, whether he come from Great Britain itself, or from Canada, or New Zealand, is to have the rights that his Queen has secured for him ?”

In the same year, Lord Lansdowne, who is now at the head of His Majesty's Opposition in the House of Lords, made the following statement :

“Among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic I do not know that any fills me with more indignation than its treatment of the Indians. And the harm is not confined to sufferers on the spot ; for what do you imagine would be the effect produced in India when these poor people return to their country to repeat to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India, with its population of 300,000,000, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small African State ?”

And what is the position to-day ? It is that for thirteen years South Africa has been part and parcel of the British Empire—Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal.

Shortly after the British occupation, British-Indian refugees (who had, many of them, lost everything they possessed during the war, whilst others had sacrificed

themselves in various directions, even to the extent of forming an ambulance corps) were allowed to *return* to South Africa in carefully restricted numbers.

In May, 1901, a notice appeared in the *Gazette*, notifying the opening of an Asiatic Immigration Office, where British-Indians were required to change their original passes for new ones, and in 1903 the Peace Preservation Ordinance was passed, requiring British-Indians to provide themselves with permits to enter and reside in the new British Colony of the Transvaal. It was in this year that complaints began to be made by European traders in certain towns, that British-Indians, who were not pre-war refugees, were entering the Colony, and they called upon the Government to take preventive measures.

Lord Milner, who was then High Commissioner, received an assurance (which he accepted) from the Chief Secretary for Permits that an illicit influx on any but the minutest scale was an impossibility; but the Transvaal British Indian Association had recently proved to the Government the existence of bribery and corruption amongst their own officials charged with the administration of Asiatic affairs, and, as a result, these officials were subsequently dismissed.

In 1906 certain negrophobe leaders of the European Community, juggled with false statistics, and utilized the malicious allegations of the Indians' trade rivals, the functionaries of the Asiatic Department of the Transvaal, they gained the ears of their official superiors, and so succeeded in inducing the then Crown Colony Government to believe in the existence of an organized conspiracy, on the part of the British-Indian leaders and Community, to flood the Transvaal with British-Indians who had no rights of pre-war residence. Lord Selborne, who had spoken in such strong and emphatic terms in 1899, was influenced to so great an extent by the constant repetition of these charges, that he eventually sanctioned the introduction of a measure into the nominated Legislative Council, aiming osten-

sibly at the complete re-registration of the Asiatic population.

This measure was known as the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, and was described by the Colonial Secretary as an effort to secure "fair and just treatment" for the lawfully resident Asiatic population.

Now, why was it necessary, in the speech of Lord Lansdowne in 1899, to make all these apologies and all these excuses for allowing British subjects to remain in what was then a British colony, without molestation? All this tall talk about the rights of British Dominions to manage their own affairs, whilst excellent in theory, is ridiculous in practice, especially in view of the fact that all British subjects, without regard to colour or race, should receive equal treatment within the British Empire. Where is the advantage of being a British subject if one does not receive this equal treatment?

It has been contended that Indians work for next to nothing, that they are content with a very low standard of living, that they do not add to the wealth of the Community amongst which they reside. This is all nonsense.

We are dealing with South Africa. South Africa's mercantile population consists largely of a horde of cosmopolitan European adventurers—Russian, Polish, Italian, Galician, Hungarian, Spanish, and Portuguese. These people are engaged in trade and commerce—some as merchants, some as importers, and many of them as hawkers and traders. Being whites, no question is asked of this class, no standard of morality is fixed, and upon their mode of living and of acquiring property no restrictions are placed.

Upon the hard-working, sober, and industrious British-Indians, all sorts of conditions are imposed. They may not acquire property with the Union of South Africa; they are not allowed to ride on the railways except in carriages labelled "for coloured people"; in hotels, restaurants, and places of amusement, they are not tolerated except as

servants ; ordinary citizens' rights are denied them ; and in the face of all these disabilities, it is urged against them that their standard of living is an inferior one.

In certain European countries a similar charge was brought against members of the Jewish race, and when these latter were confined within the pale of the Ghetto, there was a certain amount of truth in these allegations ; but when the Ghetto barriers were removed, it was found that the Jews were the most liberal supporters of charities, were the keenest educationists, were the most hospitable entertainers, and were only too anxious to spend their wealth with the peoples among whom it had been acquired.

Although in the present state of public opinion in England, and in view of the fact that various religious bodies, here and elsewhere, are constantly invoking the aid of the British Government to suppress slavery in the Portuguese cocoa plantations, and to suppress the horrors of the rubber trade in South America, yet it has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to improve the condition of the indentured labourers in the British province of Natal, and yet the indentured Indian immigrant is not peculiar to this province. Other colonies can point to a longer and wider experience of him, and in their case the Indian has proved not a difficult problem, but an exceedingly valuable asset.

Take British Guiana. For more than sixty years the imported Indian coolie has been found in Demerara a source of strength—physical, moral, and financial. The colony owes a debt to him which it is ever ready to admit, and although at the end of his five years' residence he is entitled there to a back passage to India, he is, in many instances, resolved to settle in that colony, and to-day he represents 40 per cent. of the population, which comprises Europeans, Negroes, and even Chinese.

Unlike his fellow-countrymen in Natal, the immigrant in British Guiana suffers from no disabilities. Every pro-

fession is open to him : he can exercise the franchise ; he can sit in the Legislature. In no case are the demands of the Constitution excessive. He is a British subject, with all the rights of a British subject. His English trade competitors are content to regard him as a business rival, and to meet his rivalry as they would that of a fellow-countryman.

It has been argued that Natal, and indeed the whole of South Africa, enjoys self-government, but it must not be forgotten that Indian immigrants were introduced into Natal long before that Province was emancipated from the direct control of the Colonial Office.

Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, has, by his spirited protest against the ill-treatment of Indian fellow-subjects in South Africa, earned the thanks of the hundreds of millions of Indians in India, and it is devoutly to be hoped that now that the matter has been brought home, the Government here will use its best endeavours to remove this, the greatest of all stigmas, against the British name in South Africa, seeing that the whole blame for this treatment rests with the Home Government. The great mistake that it made was that when it granted autonomy to South Africa, it did not insist that the rights of every British subject, of whatever race or colour, should be properly safeguarded.

In conclusion, one cannot do better than quote the Marquis of Crewe, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, who received a Deputation at the India Office on December 1, on the subject of the Indian disturbances in South Africa. Lord Crewe was of opinion that the South African Ministers were honestly anxious to deal out fair treatment to our Indian fellow-subjects in the Colony of Natal and to see that the laws were humanely administered. He then goes on to say :

“ He was bound to add that they were often hampered by the existence in South Africa of a public opinion that was less enlightened than in this country,

and by a degree of racial prejudice from which, as individuals, the Ministers themselves were largely free. It was generally conceded that South Africa could claim to restrict immigration into that Dominion—that was to say, that if there had been no Indians there at all South Africa might have declined to admit any. But from that concession two reflections arose.

In the first place, South Africa invited the Indians there, and she had profited greatly by the skilful labour of the indentured labourers in the town and by the amount of pioneering trading which in the early development of the Colony was done by Indians. Secondly, they had to bear in mind that special claims were established by those facts for considerate treatment of the Indians, claims which he was afraid they could not regard as having been generally recognized in South Africa as a whole."

A PLEA FOR THE MAHRATTA BRAHMIN

BY MEHERBAN NARAYANRAO BABASAHIB,
Chief of Inchalkaranji.

THE attitude of the Mahratta Brahmin towards the British Government has long been a subject for adverse criticism. No single reason is sufficient to account for it. In common with the rest of the community they have suffered from the famines and plague that have sorely tried many districts in the Deccan in recent years. Then, owing to the cost of living becoming higher, without a corresponding increase of income, the middle class, to which the Brahmins belong, have suffered sadly. The stress of competition has hit them hard, and they do not so readily find employment in the work to which they are accustomed, as was the case a generation back. Some thirty or forty years ago a young Indian who became a graduate could easily obtain an appointment at 100 rupees, or £6 13s. 4d., a month. To-day a Brahmin, even if he graduates in a class (*i.e.*, with honour), finds the greatest difficulty in securing an appointment even at a salary of only 30 rupees, or £2, a month. I am stating these facts in England, not to justify the mood of these people, but in order to show that there are extenuating circumstances.

The Oriental ideal of government is a paternal one; and as a father or mother would care for all their children, and display an equal interest in them, whether a particular child

was well-behaved or not, so also our King will, I am confident, try to do what he can for his subjects, even for those who, by their words and deeds, do not merit his favour. That is a high ideal, I know. But it is also politic, because it is not good even for a strong and well-established Government to have any considerable portion of its subjects in a state of more or less chronic discontent with their position. As a matter of fact, this dissatisfaction is not confined to one class. Nearly a century has passed since the British Power was firmly established in India, and for the first fifty years or so the Government was popular all over India, and especially in my part of the country, and the beneficial results of British rule were appreciated. The generation who were able to see for themselves the difference that has been wrought in the state of India by the presence of the British remembered the devastations of the Pindaris. They recollected what sort of exactions they had to undergo at the hands of the petty officers of the many small Governments of other days. They were also well aware that they could now till their land and be sure of their produce. They were more lightly taxed, and in all respects they were far better off than were their fathers, or they themselves in the beginning of their career. But after a time the new subjects of the British régime became used to these advantages, and they began to take these things as a matter of course.

Men are not grateful to the sun for his wonderful gifts, to the clouds that provide moisture to raise the crops, or for any other of the free gifts of Providence. But if any of these blessings are not forthcoming, as in a bad season, they at once realize how precious they are. This is the case with a settled government. When you have had it for some time, you cease to appreciate it at its true value, and you begin to fret over the smaller inconveniences that beset you. It is human nature always to over-estimate the good things which have been enjoyed in the past, and think only of the minor troubles of the present. Nowhere

more than in India do men look to the past for the Golden Age.

Now, first to explain briefly the Brahmin ascendancy in Hindu society, I should point out that it has almost always been religious and intellectual in character. Though ages have elapsed since the caste formed itself, nothing could deprive them of their intelligence, their power of endurance, and the many virtues that go to make honest and useful members of society.

The reason for this is to be found in the inherent vitality of the people and their natural ingrained tendencies.

It is often said that the system of caste has been a creation of Brahminical ideas. But I would point out that caste has its origin in the failings of human nature. Even in this twentieth century we see traces of it in racial difficulties in America and South Africa. During the greatest ascendancy of Rome and Greece it was present there, and even in Western countries you now find that, though there is no recognized caste system, still there are class distinctions which are almost as marked. So far as the fundamental conception goes, it is present always in more or less distinct form, the only difference being that caste prejudices are allowed to come in the way of your comfort and the advancement of your interest, whereas a class difference is brushed aside when the above advantages are to be gained.

Given this sense of superiority of caste on the one hand, and self-abnegation from the luxurious life of this world, coupled with studious, abstemious, and virtuous living, on the other, you get a type of Brahmin class on the one side, and in pursuance of the accepted doctrine of division of labour you naturally come across the other types of men, such as the warriors given to political power and luxurious life, the money-making traders and the obedient domestics.

Many reformers, from Buddha to Kashab Chandrasen, have striven to abolish caste, but have not proved successful.

So far as their religious importance goes, although the ascendancy which they enjoyed in the past is not possible to

the same extent under the altered circumstances of the time, still, looking to the past history of the country, while there have been efforts, and very strong efforts, to undermine the religious influence of the Brahmins, they have all failed.

It is not true to say that the Brahmins have arrogated to themselves all the good things of this world, leaving the masses in darkness and misery.

If this accusation is true of Brahmins, it is also true of all the higher classes. But, fortunately, the higher classes are not more culpable in this respect than is the case with people all over the world.

The Brahmins would not have held the respect of the whole community for so long a time if they had not been doing some useful service. If they had really oppressed the people, they would have been annihilated long ago.

It is well known that the class about whom I am speaking is very intelligent, hard-working, abstemious, and at the same time very ambitious. The late Justice M. G. Ranade has said of them that "It is the privilege of a Brahmin to be poor and ambitious." They have from time immemorial held responsible positions as advisers to the King, or as religious and secular preceptors.

Can we wonder, therefore, if they still aspire even now to something equivalent to this favoured position they once enjoyed?

Coming to the British period, we find that at the time of the downfall of the Peshwas almost all the Brahmin Chiefs and other influential men in this part of the country threw in their lot with the Government, and some of the most faithful servants who worked under Mountstuart Elphinstone and his successors were Brahmins.

As a matter of fact, after the downfall of the Peshwa, almost all appointments under the successors of the Mahratta Power were held by this class. The new rulers naturally sought for their agents amongst the class who knew most about administration and had influence amongst the people.

and who certainly were pre-eminent amongst the Indian communities for intelligence and administrative capacity. There were few British officers then in the country, and much of the important work of Government had necessarily to be done through Indian agency.

With one exception, all the Chiefs, a majority of whom are Brahmins, on this side of the country were thoroughly loyal to the British Government, and some of them rendered valuable service. The same was the case with the general population of the country. If there had not been a real love for the British administration and an appreciation of the advantages conferred upon them by the change of rulers, this would have been impossible.

Then, from the time of the establishment of the peaceable rule of British Government, the class of Brahmins have faithfully served the Government in the administration of the country.

Even now, if an examination is made of the posts held under Government and other important employers of intelligent labour, it will be found that the percentage of Brahmins is relatively large.

As I have shown, Brahmins have done good service to the Government, and I may be pardoned if I point out that at the time of the great Mutiny, although almost the whole of Northern India was in convulsion, the very seat of the Peshwa's Government was as peaceful as could be expected in so disturbed a time.

The Chitpavan community is said to be by far the most disloyal in India. I should absolutely deny this allegation.

On the contrary, it is said of Chitpavans that when they take up a cause earnestly they are loyal to it. The British Government found this to be so in its first endeavours to establish their rule in the Deccan, and in the pacification and administration of the country until recent times.

It is true, no doubt, that recent disloyal offenders against law have included many members of this community ; but it must be remembered, as pointed out by a correspondent

in the *Times* two years ago, that this community is strongly represented in all the activities and movements of the society of which they form a part, and, as was shown in that memorable letter refuting this very idea, the best advocates, doctors, authors, publishers, Government officers, and even actors, in the Indian community came from this particular class.

In these days of enlightenment they cannot be totally suppressed. It would be generous of the Government to try a better and more honourable way, by providing proper outlets for their activities, and thus turning them into more useful and loyal citizens of the Empire.

It is not, however, to be denied that a certain section of the Brahmin community has grown up to be violent in denunciation of the Government, and that has led to some regrettable incidents. It has therefore become necessary for the Government, as well as for the leaders of this community, to see what can be done to eradicate this feeling. I must, however, say that the discontent that we see in India is a phase of the discontent we see all over the world, and especially in Asiatic countries.

The Brahmins being the most intelligent and observant class, it is but natural that they should share to some extent in this general discontent, and that they should give expression to their feelings.

It is often said that the discontent among the Deccani Brahmins is due to their memory of the days when they were the rulers of the country. In this connection I should like to point out two things. Firstly, if the Administration is taken as a whole, it has to be borne in mind that, though at the end of the Mahratta rule many appointments were held by Brahmins, still, under the earlier Peshwas, and even in the time of the later ones, many important offices were held by men who were not Brahmins. I will not enter into detail, but I can say without fear of contradiction that nearly up to the régime of Sawai Madhavarao, administrative offices were held indiscriminately by those who were

the best fitted for them. Naturally, military appointments fell largely to the lot of Mahrattas, and civil appointments fell more to the share of Brahmins.

The second point I wish to insist upon is, that those who held high posts, and may be termed the official aristocracy, whether they were Mahrattas, Muhammadans, or Brahmins (except, of course, the Jaghirdars and military men, who were recognized as feudatory chiefs), went down with the Government that they had served. Those Indians who received appointments after them were men of poorer families, who were willing to learn the English language and serve under British officers in civil employment, for military employment became scarcer and scarcer in the Deccan. It was nearly fifty years after the fall of the Peshwa that any representative of the old aristocratic families were willing to undergo the necessary training for the higher posts in Government service. In other words, the discontent, if there be any at all, is not so much in the families who suffered most by the downfall of the Peshwa as among the families that supplanted them after the establishment of British rule.

Whatever the causes, and among whomsoever the dissatisfaction exists, it is for the Government and the leaders of the community to see whether it can be eradicated. My own opinion of the present unrest is that it is more of an economic than of a political nature. I know that I shall be contradicted by some in this statement, but I am putting down what I believe to be the real position of affairs. I have freely moved among all sections of the Indian communities (Brahmins as well as others). Besides, my position gives me access, on terms of intimacy, to all British official and non-official classes, from the highest to the lowest, and I have been watching movements in the Deccan for the last quarter of a century. It is my firm conviction, as I have said, that the reason of this discontent is rather economic than political. If with the growth in number of this community the opportunities for obtaining employment

also had increased, there would have been little discontent ; in fact, I feel that the British Government would have been nearly as popular now as it was fifty years ago.

As a boy, I remember being impressed by even Brahmin priests emphasizing the fact that the word of an Englishman was more to be relied on than the written promises of Indian Rajas. This was quite a general belief then. See what a change has since been brought about in the minds of some of our educated people ! They feel that special promises made in solemn documents and in open Durbar count now for nothing. It is not meant, I believe, that the promises are not actually held valid. What is meant by men who talk in that strain is that they are not realizing as much benefit as they had hoped to derive.

It is to be regretted that Europeans occupying high official positions in India make a point of showing their antipathy to the Brahmins, in season and out of season. I would ask whether that is just, whether it is politic, and whether it is not doing a great deal of harm to the cause of civilization in India, creating a state of feeling which is likely to hinder the British Administration in all its good work. So I would earnestly appeal both to Britishers here in this country and those out in India to give dispassionate thought to the subject, and to realize what their instincts as Britishers and lovers of fair play and equal opportunities urge them to do.

There is a feeling, which we are bound to recognize, that the Brahmins, especially the Chitpavans, have become distasteful to the Europeans in the country. I would ask whether it is fair to denounce a whole community for the shortcomings or errors of some of its members. Again, is it politic to think unfavourably of or run down a class which has been doing valuable service to the Government and the country, and which forms such an important factor of the body politic of India ? This dislike, though it is not difficult to account for, must be got rid of, if we are to co-operate for the real progress of India.

My object in putting forward this plea is to try and help to eradicate, or at least to minimize, the feelings of estrangement which exist on both sides.

I know the British do not wish to take the well-known drastic measures for dealing with disloyalty which were in vogue under their predecessors, and Brahmins are not a community to die, so to speak, a natural death. Therefore some means must be devised, in the interest of the Government as well as in the interest of the community, by which a better state of things can be brought about. As I have already hinted, it is dissatisfaction and not disaffection that exists, and the cause of it is mainly the want of congenial and proper employment for the talents of these people.

I may seem to be arguing as if the community were devoid of feelings of loyalty and patriotism, and as if they did not know their own interest and the interest of their country. But, as a matter of fact, almost all the members of the community are conversant with the truth that the well-being of the country depends upon the permanence and strength of the British Empire.

Now I would like to address a few words to this community in detail. They must first be awake to the fact that if one person of the community commits a bad act, it brings a slur on the whole community and prejudices the interests, not only of the community, but the nation at large ; and then they must also see that charity begins at home, and that, as they are really an important and useful part of India, it is their duty to maintain themselves in their present position of advantage, even from a patriotic point of view. Running counter to such a beneficial but strong and resolute Government, they are only jeopardizing their own interests, if not their existence. Then it must be realized that material injury to this class means an injury to the nation generally. Moreover, no class can live unless it is in the enjoyment of the necessaries of life, and these one cannot expect to get unless one is a peaceful member of society.

Some leading members of the community helped the downfall of the Mahratta Power, and the same idea of self-preservation and appreciation of the merits of the British induced them to actively help the British, and the rest of them acquiesced in it for more or less the same reasons.

The extremists seem to be possessed with an idea that they ought to sacrifice their own interest for the interest of their country, and, as far as the idea goes, it is excellent.

But the interest of the country does not lie in disorder and anarchism. It lies in peaceful, strong, and civilized government.

In seeking after some imaginary good, a few members of the community have done tangible harm to the Brahmin community as a whole. I don't for a moment mean to suggest that Brahmins should not be patriotic. They would not be true to themselves and to the education that they are receiving under the British Government if they were not so. What I mean to convey is that they also ought to look to the duty they owe to their parents and their family before they devote themselves to the work of benefiting the country at large.

Not only this, but they will soon come to realize that it is to their interest to go with the Government, and not against it. There is no room in India for people who deliberately set themselves to thwart the authority of the Government. The continuance of the British rule in India and the peaceful advancement of the country are synonymous terms. He who is a traitor to the Government is also a traitor to his country, and this fact is slowly but clearly being brought home to the malcontents.

Before concluding what I have to say to the Brahmins, I want to bring to their notice that providentially we have a Government of the nature we want, and it is the duty of every citizen to uphold it to the best of his ability. So if a sacrifice is to be made, it ought to be made in upholding this Government, and not in trying to subvert it.

Every other important community is having its own

conferences, and gathering funds for the promotion of its own particular welfare. The only exception seems to be the Brahmins. But as their share in Government offices and their political influence are becoming smaller and smaller, it is imperative that they should rely on their own efforts for promoting their advancement. They must either advance or fall back. They cannot remain stationary. If they want to keep up their position of vantage, they must devise means for their progress and advance with the times.

And it would also be an advantage to start an association for promoting good citizenship and loyalty, and for the furtherance of their interests, as is done in almost all classes of society in India now. This would be a great help to the community and to the Government in securing a proper solution of the difficulty which exists.

But there is small possibility of their undertaking any work of importance in India without the direct co-operation of Government officials. Some time ago it was suggested to call a conference of Brahmins with the object of promoting loyalty in that class and of discussing schemes for their advancement—social, industrial, commercial, and scientific.

But apparently the time had not yet arrived for such a movement, and the idea had to be dropped for various reasons.

If the co-operation and sympathy of the official classes were forthcoming, it would be easy to arrange for a conference to further the avowed objects. Many people, like myself, would be only too willing to offer their services for the advancement of the cause.

I think this is the time for the leaders of the community and the officials to endeavour to devise means for removing the misunderstanding that exists between the official classes and the discontented section of the Brahmin community, and to win back this section to loyal contentment.

The independent professions are over-stocked, especially

the legal career. So it is no good everybody aspiring to such openings.

I do not mean to say that they should be given many more appointments under Government than they have been accustomed to get. I am one of those who think that the bait of official employment is to be used only for the encouragement of education in backward communities in the initial stage of their progress, because at that stage no one would care to receive education, and especially higher education, unless one felt there was a prospect of Government service for them.

It would be to their own advantage, as well as to the benefit of the country at large, if more of them would endeavour to make a career for themselves in other avenues of employment, and so keep open the beaten path for some of their less fortunate countrymen.

I do not mean by this to convey that Government offices and political power are things to be despised and to be shunned when they are available. It is the other way—whenever you can get them, by all means have them.

I also know of some families that occupy themselves in agriculture even above the Ghats; but, unfortunately, there is a growing tendency amongst these classes to let their farms rather than cultivate them themselves. With the advent of machinery I am quite sure that they can be made to revert to the fields in larger numbers than they have been doing.

Unfortunately, the clerical class, as I may term it, have not in any large degree taken kindly to the arts and industries or to scientific pursuits, although, strictly speaking, there is no reason why Brahmins should not enter upon scientific as well as literary careers. Their natural aptitude and their hereditary predisposition ought to lead them to both branches of work, provided they have sufficient means and are able to give close application to their pursuits. As living is becoming so costly, and the

competition for employment is so keen, many Brahmins are now taking to industrial and commercial pursuits. If the right direction were now given to this new phase of activity, I think a large section of the community could be thus employed. There are technical schools in our country, no doubt, but they are not at all as well equipped and managed as some of the institutions that I have had the good fortune of seeing in England. If institutions such as we see here were started, and every facility were given for the literary classes to avail themselves of them, the Brahmins would not feel the want of a career as they now do. It is not that the literary classes or the Brahmins cannot change their professions. In former times they have changed from one occupation to another almost as freely as any other community in India.

There is an impression, I am told, that the presence of Brahmins in the agricultural, technical, and other institutions I have mentioned, is not regarded with favour. This certainly ought not to be the case. The purpose of the Government ought to be to provide facilities for this class to make a decent living by following all available walks of life.

I want the Government in India to give good opportunities to the Brahmin class to enter into agricultural, commercial, industrial, and scientific pursuits. Now that the usual avenues of employment are becoming scarce and congested, this class is prepared to take up other avocations, if only proper facilities are held out to them.

THE OMINOUS QUIET OF PERSIA

BY G. D. TURNER.

WITH the tragically sudden death of Mr. H. F. B. Lynch there is left scarcely one optimist in regard to the future of Persia. For years Mr. Lynch, in and out of Parliament, pressed the claims of Persia for sympathetic consideration, and insisted on the enormous importance of maintaining its independence as a State. At the most depressing moments he remained cheerfully hopeful for the future, and at great crises brought the weight of his personal influence and of the Persia Committee, of which he was chairman, to bear against the oppression and betrayal of that unfortunate country.

The voices are many which proclaim the impending disintegration of Persia, and express unsympathetic regret at her "derelict" condition, with trite explanations of the contributing causes; but no one has the boldness to prophesy what would happen in that great plateau, the corner-stone of the European and Asiatic continent, should the oldest State in the world cease to exist. The political seers hesitate, no doubt, to delineate the future from an uncomfortable sense that the question is one of immeasurably greater importance than a matter of the disappearance of an Oriental State, and that the fate of Persia may have a profound bearing on the future history of Asia. This feeling does not arise merely from a recollection of the part played by

Persia in past history, though the remembrance that, for example, it was as much the disturbing menace of Persia as the bravery and determination of Charles the Hammer that saved Europe from the Moors, should always make one hesitate to belittle the Shiah community; but we feel that, for reasons as inscrutable as the laws which governed the contour of the earth's surface, Persia will one day become either a great battle-ground or a great market-place for the nations of the world.

If there were any hope left of an independent and powerful State rising from the ashes of despotism and revolution, some encouragement might be gained from the fact that, on the surface, things seem no worse to-day, but rather better than they were a year ago. The last customs returns for three months show an increase of nearly 25 per cent. over those for the corresponding period last year. We are told that the organization of the inland revenue service has reached a fair state of efficiency, with promise of greater improvement, and that the gendarmerie is proving itself an effective force in keeping the roads open for trade and putting down the robber bands; so much so that we are assured by the Teheran correspondent of the *Times* that Europe will very soon be astonished to learn of the grip which these two services have taken on the country. The Bakhtiari, an uncertain and very powerful element, have been brought under control, and their influence is being directed into useful channels. The return of the Regent, Nasr-ul-Mulk, to the capital provides a much-needed authority and form of responsibility, and although nothing very definite has resulted from his resumption of control, he is succeeding in reconciling conflicting elements and keeping things quiet. Again, the disappearance from Persia of Salar-ud-Dowlah, the brother of the ex-Shah, relieves the Government of a very harassing source of trouble and a rallying-point of reactionary royalist plots. The long-standing dispute with Turkey over the frontier seems in a fair way of being finally settled. For some time

there has been no news of any violent disturbance anywhere.

But when all this has been said, the disturbing conviction remains that the outlook for Persia is not bright. There is no sign of any disposition on the part of Russia to withdraw her troops, or even part of them, notwithstanding repeated promises that this would be done—promises with which Sir Edward Grey has so frequently soothed the uneasy conscience of Parliament. Russia's position in Persia is becoming consolidated, the use of her money and her language is more and more common, the people are growing wearily accustomed to the continual presence and interference of Russian soldiers and Russian officials. Persian officials, even the highest, in North Persia exercise authority only by grace and under the veto of the diplomatic agents of the Czar. Nothing which is viewed with disfavour by "the power in the North" has the remotest chance of being carried through. The last year has seen the granting to Russia of at least two valuable concessions—the one for a motor service from Enzeli on the Caspian to Teheran, with a branch from Kasvin to Hamadan; the other for a railway from Julfa on the Caucasian frontier to Tabriz, with the option of extension to Urumiah and Teheran. This line will be on the Russian gauge, and will connect at Julfa with the Tiflis-Baku line. When the Tiflis-Vladikavkuz line is completed, Tabriz will be brought within six days of London. This concession includes the right to work all minerals in a zone thirty miles wide on either side of the railway, a very valuable concession, as the country is known to be rich in different minerals, a fact with which the Russians had made themselves well acquainted. The Russian military invasion of Persia has been followed by an economic invasion, a very much more formidable threat to her independence. The imposition of a Russian duty on all goods imported into Persia from other countries through Russia was a practically impossible handicap, over-

come to some extent by English and German manufacturers sending goods there through the parcel post. Russia is now taking steps to prevent importation by this channel, and will in this way secure a complete monopoly of the markets of Northern Persia. This is still further safeguarded by encouraging brigandage on the Trebizond road, making it impossible to bring caravans into Western Persia from the Black Sea through Turkish territory. Mr. Philips Price met last year a robber chief who was an honorary colonel in a Russian regiment, and was supplied from the Caucasus with the ammunition required for his little expeditions. The concentration of Russian forces on the Turco-Persian frontier at Kum indicates that an advance is contemplated at some future date across the frontier to Erzerum, the Turkish stronghold which is the key for the domination of the whole Armenian plateau.

Another feature of the situation that contributes to a pessimistic view is the failure to summon a new Mejliss, in spite of repeated attempts to do so. This is partly due to the destruction of the former machinery and partly to the fact that the first impulse to Constitutional Government has been dissipated, and the people are weary of ineffectual attempts; but it is due most of all to the disappearance of the real leaders of the people. In Northern Persia the majority of these have either been killed or have had to flee the country, thanks to the brutality and oppression of Russia. The massacre of nationalists during the early part of last year at Tabriz and the enforced exile of those who escaped have entirely removed from Azerbaijan those at all fit to represent the people in a national assembly. It will take a considerable time before their places are filled. The same is true about other provinces. Some sort of Mejliss the Regent may be able to summon, but it will not have the same character as that which was elected with great enthusiasm at the commencement of the constitutional régime six years ago.

At the present moment Persia is drifting. It is the pious

hope of Lord Morley that she is drifting into something better ; it is the very real fear of the friends of Persia that she is drifting to destruction. It is apparently no concern at all of Sir Edward Grey, to whom, perhaps more than anyone else, is due the present desperate situation. In defiance of age-worn experience of the absolute unreliability of Russian promises, he entered into agreement with the traditional enemy of all liberal government in regard to Persia. He affirms repeatedly, in spite of every fact to the contrary, the intention of Russia to assist Great Britain in maintaining Persia as an independent state. He declares that Russia is about to withdraw her troops at the same moment that fresh Cossack brigades are being entrained for Persia. He advises the Persian Government to submit to the most exorbitant demands of Russia, and withholds his support when they endeavour to make even the slightest resistance. The *Spectator* has assured us that anyone who was not a fool could have foreseen that the result of the Anglo-Russian Convention would be the Russian occupation of Northern Persia. The *Spectator* might have added that anyone with a particle of understanding would know that such an occupation means the eventual occupation of the whole country with trains-de-luxe for Russian armies to the frontier of India. Sir Edward Grey not only constructed a door for Russian aggression by his agreement with them, but in bringing about the dismissal of Mr. Morgan Shuster he took from the hands of the Persians the key that might have availed to shut that door. Can this be described as an act of wisdom? It cannot.

If this land of poets and dreamers were of no political importance one could understand why the feeble voice crying for life and liberty should be disregarded by a statesman who cannot permit himself to be governed by sentimental considerations, and to whom the protests of Messrs. Lynch and Browne and the members of the Persia Committee seem nothing more than the ravings of cranky idealists ; but if Persia is of importance, if it is as some see it, the

inevitable corner-stone of the Eastern Hemisphere, now is surely the time for action and not for temporizing conversations and studied indifference.

Sir Harry Johnston suggests that Russia's aspirations might be met by ceding to her a strip of Persian territory from the Caucasus to the Gulf; others hope that Russia might be bought off with Azerbaijan and Ghilan, and that a new Persia might be built up from the remainder: whatever the result of the political game may be, it is of supreme importance that the cards should be placed on the table and the game played out now. The plain fact is that our position in the Persian Gulf and the safety of India depend absolutely on our ability to make Russia keep her word. No one can believe for a moment that Russia will keep her word under any circumstances save those of compulsion, and the statesman who says otherwise is telling a diplomatic lie. If Persia is divided between Russia and England, if Russia is given whole slices of the country, there is not the slightest reason to believe that she will recognize any treaty or agreement if it suits her purpose to break them. She has not kept the agreement of 1907; why should she keep an agreement of 1914 or of 1921? It is far easier to coerce her now than it will be when her grip on Persia has fastened, when her railways are built, and her pernicious influence has undermined what is left of the spirit of independence in the country. Compelled she must be. And so long as our Foreign Minister refuses to face this fact, and is inclined to hide from the people of Great Britain the real issues at stake, and only describe the difficulties of the situation, so long will matters continue to go worse for Persia and for all the races whose countries border on the Empire of the Czar.

TURKEY AFTER THE WAR

BY BEDWIN SANDS.

THE Prime Minister's speech at the Guildhall banquet has apparently given satisfaction to our Turkish friends. It was prompted by a desire to assuage the fears of those loyal and devoted subjects of the British Crown, the Moslems of India. It may be that we were all mistaken in our estimate of the somewhat unjustifiable threat made earlier in the year by Mr. Asquith, when the Turks had reoccupied Adrianople, or that the Indian unrest has brought the Government to a different and more Imperial view of the whole question. Yet, on taking into account the whole policy of England towards Turkey during recent years, it seems incredible that meetings of protest in India, and even in this country, could have had any great influence upon the Guildhall speech. There are serious reasons for considering that it was nothing more than the expression of a platonic opinion that the integrity of Asiatic Turkey should not be infringed. The last part of that speech showed unmistakably the truth of a rumour which is an unpleasant portent to the friends of Turkey. It was an admission, which would have been indignantly repudiated only a few years ago, that there are other Powers who have a special concern in the development and well-being of Asia Minor.

In the light of recent facts this only meant that what we feared had actually come to pass. Russia objected to our

having consented to afford efficient help to the Young Turks, and the Government admitted that she was within her rights in doing so. Efficient British administrators had been promised to Turkey at her request, because the experience of recent years has shown that when they were British they were successful. If it falls to the lot of Englishmen to reorganize the administration of some semi-Turkish provinces, it is certain that no trouble of any kind would be experienced in future in Asia Minor. International Commissions, on the contrary, have proved time after time that they lack that cohesion and singleness of purpose that are indispensable in these cases. Rightly or wrongly England pledged herself in 1878 to protect the integrity of Turkey. If our Government intends to repudiate that treaty, then our moral duty is to evacuate Cyprus. If we retain Cyprus it only means, to all honourable men, that we intend to follow our policy to defend the Asiatic possession of Turkey against Russia, since Russia was expressly named in that treaty.

Then, as now, the ambitions of Russia were directed towards the Dardanelles and that part of Asia Minor which is wrongly called Armenia. If we intend to abide by the terms of our treaty, it seems incredible that we should by doing so prepare difficulties for ourselves. Unfortunately we are doing so. Reports from Armenia prove conclusively that an extensive campaign is being carried on in the Armenian districts by semi-official agents and by some of their tools, Armenians of Russia. An International Commission of Reforms, on which Russians serve, would have great difficulties in effecting its purpose, while, on the contrary, British administrators alone or British and French administrators together, paid servants of Turkey for the time being, would find it comparatively easy to restrain the activities of that advance guard of Russia.

Since we cannot hope for an immediate change of front on the part of the Government, we must trust to the common sense of Germany and France in the drawing up

of the international scheme of reforms. We must also trust in the firmness of the present Turkish Government. The Grand Vizier and Talaat Bey do not need to be told that further coercion of their country would be most unpopular in England, in Germany, and in France. There has never been trouble in Armenia, as Sir Mark Sykes has so ably pointed out, that could not be traced to provocative agents. There will be no trouble in future if those agents are expelled from the country. The Grand Vizier quite rightly considers that international advisers are no more acceptable to Turkey than international inspectors. The Sultan's Government wished to see Armenia properly ruled—that is why they asked for British administrators; but they have no desire to help in the preparation of an international scheme of reforms, which would give their enemies an official footing in Turkey. They have already appointed two Turkish inspectors, and are sending to Asia, under the command of Colonel Hawker, a body of gendarmes—of those same "Blues" who, in Macedonia, in Constantinople, and lately in Adrianople, have proved their efficiency. Their French and English officers have testified to their ability. All sincere friends of Turkey wish to see those Turkish inspectors and gendarmes accomplish their task unaided by an International Commission, which would include Russian officials. If, indeed, Russia possesses officials who can draw up a scheme of reform and carry it out, she stands in more need of them in Russia itself.

The Armenian question seems to be now the main difficulty of the Young Turks. The death of Kiamil Pasha has deprived the enemies of the Committee of the support his name afforded them.

The elections, which will shortly take place, cannot but bring a majority in support of the present Government, which is composed of honest and able men. The reduction in the number of non-Turkish electors will increase the comparative force of the Arabs and of the Turks.

There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the agreement made by the Committee of Union and Progress and the Government with the Arabs. The brother of the Grand Vizier, Abbas Halim Pasha, Governor of Brusa, has become a member of the new league of Moslems which has been established in Constantinople, and which comprises a large number of Arabs.

The question of the loan is being satisfactorily settled, and money will also be forthcoming from other sources. New recruits are continually coming in from the interior, while the demobilization continues, ridding the army of its less useful and active elements. But it is to the reorganization of the navy especially that the Turks are applying their energies. Public festivities all over the country are being made the occasion for renewed activity in the raising of the National Defence Fund. Villagers even go so far as to refrain from buying certain small luxuries of life, to which they were used in the weeks that followed the month of Ramazan, in order to devote the money thus saved towards raising funds to buy warships.

They do the same for education, and, in every capital of Europe, Young Turks are eagerly at work learning, so that they may be able to teach. The greatest cause for rejoicing on the part of those friends of Turkey, who have studied seriously the conditions of the country during the last two years, is that the Young Turks are gradually replacing those officials who were but Old Turks in disguise. It is to be hoped that the Committee of Union and Progress will proceed with that matter with even greater energy.

When we come to the economic development of Turkey in Asia, we find the conditions perhaps less hopeful. That Turkey will maintain herself in Asia Minor is, of course, obvious. We will not see a nation like the Turks annihilated in this century. The Turk is at his best in defensive war, but in time of peace is prone to letting his national instincts subside. His good nature and carelessness for economic enterprise, no less than his lack of capital, prevent him from

doing himself what foreign capitalists do for him in his own country.

The economic development is bound together, however, with progress in other directions in Turkey. There is a proposal now on foot to internationalize Turkey, to guarantee her integrity by international agreement. Personally, I view this proposal with serious suspicion. I do not believe in general disarmament, but if I did admit such a possibility, even then would I assert that it is not the Turks who should start. For, of course, an international guarantee of the integrity of Turkey simply means that the promoters of the scheme wish to weaken her a little more, so that she can be divided the more effectively into spheres of influence by the great banks and companies which now dictate the foreign policy of Europe, without the fear that, relying on her strengthened army, Turkey might suddenly show her force. Knowing what we do of the unsavoury machinations that take place behind the veil, and often without the knowledge of the foreign chancelleries, this proposal can only mean that Turkey would soon be forced to disarm, that she would be further cut up economically, and that the Turkish peasant would be sweated in order to enrich foreign speculators.

Fortunately it is more than doubtful whether an agreement can be reached over this question. Neither Djavid Bey, nor Talaat Bey, nor the Grand Vizier himself, will ever do anything that can be calculated to deeply mortgage the future of their country. Concessions to France, to England, to Italy, will only last for a time, and will, so to speak, neutralize one another. As for the Bagdad Railway, in spite of what it has cost Turkey, the Turks are deeply thankful to the German company for it. It is a great boon to them, and wherever it is now working it has brought some measure of riches to the Turkish peasant.

Even in the economic field, Turkey is developing, thanks to the energy of the Young Turks and to the members of the Committee. It is quite usual to hear the leaders of the

Committee of Union and Progress described as incompetent failures, incapable idealists, and inconsequent politicians. In spite of everything that may have been said, or even proved, against them, we are perfectly satisfied that the only hope of Turkey, at the present day, is in the leaders of the Committee. They have learned, and are still learning, a bitter lesson, which cannot fail to make a deep impression upon their able minds. Neither they themselves nor their country are as yet out of the wood, but when the events of recent years come to be recorded, unless we are indeed becoming utterly oblivious to realities and have lost the national sense of fair play, the work of the Young Turks will attain its justification at the bar of history.

THE MARITIME COMMUNICATIONS AND DEFENCE OF INDIA

By H. P.

THE great peninsula of Hindustan being bounded on its north-western, northern, and north-eastern frontiers by physical features presenting extreme difficulties to the passage of traffic of all sorts, mercantile and military, renders the consideration of India's communications and defence to a preponderating extent, as far as the strategy to be employed is concerned, dependent on sea-power. Although in many ways self-supporting, India at present is incapable of supplying the bulk of the requirements of her garrisons, civil and military. All reinforcements and reliefs for the European personnel, together with all stores not obtainable in the country, must be sea-borne at all times, and in time of war the probabilities are that the Government of India will be dependent on submarine cables and wireless stations for certainty and secrecy of transmission of all messages.

The combinations of nations as allies and as enemies vary so rapidly and unexpectedly as to make anything approaching a dogmatic statement of opinion as to the best strategy to employ highly inadvisable. The best that can be done is to consider the matter in its broadest lines, indicating merely certain probabilities and factors in the general situation.

Throughout these considerations two main facts must be borne in mind. These facts cannot be better presented than as they are stated by Admiral Mahan. Firstly, the

ocean all the world over is one vast plain, trackless, yet traversable by all, free and open to all. Although there are no definite tracts on the ocean, certain routes are more convenient and direct than others; and where these routes converge on or cross one another will occur, and have always occurred, the fiercest struggles for supremacy. As a general rule the actual conflict has taken place near the terminal point of several routes, or at some definite point close to where several routes meet. Secondly, although a few isolated ships operating on a trade route may do a great deal of harm for a short time, their depredations will be short-lived if the main force from which they have been detached is not superior to their enemy's main force.

From the first of these axioms follows the conclusion that any country and any country's trade is perfectly safe from permanent and crushing destruction if the enemy's main force is marked or contained by a superior force. The forces need not be in immediate contact, for the chance of a conflict will cause the weaker to concentrate all the strength he can in anticipation of a chance for attacking should opportunity offer, or will cause him to withdraw to a friendly harbour in the hope that continued watching at sea will wear his adversary down. In any case, the weaker belligerent's power for harm is greatly curtailed, if not eliminated. It is not a matter of any moment where this marking process is carried out; in the case of India, now under consideration, the effect is the same if the hostile fleet were checked in the North Sea as if it were defeated in the Indian Ocean, and if the work is satisfactorily done, India and her trade are both safe, except for sporadic raids.

At the present time the British Navy is sufficiently powerful to be able to close the Straits of Dover to any nation, or combination of nations, having their sea-frontiers on the North Sea or Baltic. A few isolated vessels might break through, but not an organized body. The route round the North of England for any Continental nation's

fleets is almost impracticable, as at the very outset the fleets would have to pass through waters thickly strewn with submarines and torpedo craft of all sorts, with the added risk of a fleet action. The nearest neutral port would be about 800 miles distant, and for practical purposes, in this connection, the northern European Powers have no bases of their own.

England has not now, and probably can never again have, a navy sufficiently powerful to be a match for the combined navies of Europe. At the present time, however, it seems unlikely that the British Navy will have to face such a contingency; it also seems unlikely that the Empire will be involved in a simple duel with any single European Power, the United States, or Japan. An outbreak of hostilities beginning as a duel would in all probability rapidly develop into a general struggle along Triple-Alliance-Triple-Entente lines, the various component nations under these arrangements seizing the most favourable occasions for entering the fray, with a view to the furtherance of their own objects. In any case, should the original duel not develop in this manner, the general state of unrest, tension, and anxiety, would dictate a disposition of naval forces on the part of possible belligerents on exactly the same lines as would be necessary at the beginning of a general war.

On the broadest lines, as far as can be foreseen, the greatest concentration of naval forces in the world would be in the North Sea, in case of hostilities between the British Empire and any European Powers having their seaboard east and north of Dover, and in these circumstances the forces of all belligerents would be fully occupied in looking after each other, and but little could be spared from any main body for subsidiary work, such as trade destruction and interruption. It is just possible that a small detachment might get round the North of England and disturb the western ports and trade routes, but such a raiding force would within a very few hours either have

to fight or retire ; similarly isolated vessels breaking through the Straits of Dover might for a very limited time play havoc at the western entrance to the English Channel. Timely warning and good organization, such as causing all vessels bound for England from the East to call at Gibraltar for the latest news, should minimize risks from such stray marauders as might have temporarily established themselves on the last stage of the voyage to England.

During a state of European tension another great centre of concentration of naval forces would probably be in the western basin of the Mediterranean, and as several Powers have possessions on the North African coast, in all probability there would be detachments of light craft for subsidiary purposes at various places from Alexandria westward ; these vessels, together with others which could be detached from main fleets for trade harassing, without getting unduly out of touch with their main bodies and bases, would make the navigation of the Mediterranean extremely hazardous to the merchant ships of all belligerents. The confined nature of the Mediterranean makes it impossible to divert the normal trade routes to any great extent ; this, combined with the fact that any detachment from home waters would be barely adequate for its work, make it very much a matter for consideration whether the Mediterranean route to and from the East should not be abandoned in favour of the Cape route, until after some decisive victory elsewhere should permit of a detachment being sent out sufficiently powerful to make raiding too hazardous to be worth the risks entailed.

The total naval force of the British Empire at present east of Suez is in excess of the total of any European Power or combination of Powers ; the units of the British force, however, are much scattered, and unless arrangements are very complete for marking down isolated craft, and concentrating rapidly against organized fleets, the chances of serious damage to trade and, perhaps, disaster

to some incomplete squadron are considerable. We can, however, reasonably conclude that British naval strategy in the Far East provides for contingencies such as the above, and that suitable rendezvous are arranged as points for concentration under the varying conditions which may arise.

The lessons of the past teach that the primary object of all war, both by land and sea, should be the destruction of the enemy's organized forces, after the attainment of which attention can be turned to subsidiary matters, requiring a dispersion of forces, such as destroying and harrying trade routes. The commanders of outlying fleets, therefore, acting in accordance with this, the only sound strategy, would at first turn all their energies towards concentrating their forces with a view to dealing a crushing blow before dispersing for eccentric movements and operations. There is thus little solid ground for panic on the part of trade until after the main fleet on which their nation depends, in the waters through which their routes lie, has been defeated, or blockaded, by a superior force; and after a satisfactory victory, the risks become almost negligible. The foregoing statement does not imply that reasonable precautions, such as changes in the normal routes, avoidance of hostile bases, and attempts to obtain the latest information as to the positions of enemies' fleets and vessels, should be overlooked; for it may very well happen that the enemy may find it convenient to concentrate on or close to a trade route, in which case vessels could be detached for short distances and times without losing their services as units of the main fleet.

It is necessary to give some consideration to the possible, but not probable, contingency of hostilities between the British Empire and a nation, or combination of nations, whose main sources of strength lie elsewhere than in Europe. Should circumstances, however, cause such a nation or nations to become hostile, or even probably hostile, the situation would be most grave. The British

Empire is not now, and is not likely in the future to be, able to detach from the main fleets in European waters any force sufficient to cope with the powerful navies which might under certain circumstances be assembled in the Northern Pacific. In the case of such hostilities, exactly the same force as now would be necessarily detained by England in European waters, with a view to very probable eventualities arising from her embarrassments. These embarrassments might be staved off by making large concessions, such concessions being part of a bargain to free England's fleets for action far from home waters ; but this is by no means a pleasing prospect. Unless by arrangement with, or concessions to, European Powers a large force could be detached from home waters with safety to the British Islands, the Empire's trade east of Singapore would cease, except for furtive and risky voyages, and that between Europe, Australia, and India, would become highly speculative and uncertain. If sufficient force could not be made available in some way from the fleets in English home waters and from the Dominions to cope with the main forces of these possible enemies, the Empire would be face to face with no raid and run-away affair, but with a deadly strangulation of trade. As matters now stand, the retention of our present good relations with the nations having the main seats of their sea-power in the Northern Pacific is worth much sacrifice ; the difficulty in making such sacrifices for a loosely-knit confederation such as the British Empire is that on the surface there would be the appearance of disregarding the interests of some member in favour of the interests of the inhabitants of these islands.

Thus far only the regularly armed forces of belligerents have been taken into consideration ; there would also be a grave source of danger in case of hostilities with most Powers arising from merchant vessels of the largest and fastest types which have been fitted in readiness to receive an armament, and in many instances there is reason for

believing that the armament is actually carried. In any case, it is known that supplies of weapons and ammunition are ready for these vessels. It is difficult to foresee how, in view of the present relative strengths of the navies of the great Powers, any squadron or fleet commanders could spare vessels from their commands to look after such irregular marauders until after the situation had developed definitely in favour of one or other party. For purposes of trade destroying and trade disturbing, fast merchant ships when armed are just as formidable as the most powerful cruisers, so long as their antagonist's merchant vessels are unarmed. A considerable proportion of fast modern merchant ships can run from the ordinary classes of light cruisers, and can put up a decent fight with any smaller craft if reasonably armed and manned. This being the case, it would appear that a good deal of initial panic and loss might be avoided were the great companies trading to the East to do more in the way of preparation to help themselves than they do at present, the vessels thus prepared being additional to those already subsidized. There probably would not be much value in arming the ordinary tramp; but even in this case the vessel with the poorest gun is a formidable foe to the vessel with none.

At first sight the connection is not obvious between a really efficient and mobile army in the British Isles and the defence and security of the trade routes in and to the Far East, yet they are closely interconnected; for if the home-defence army were of sufficient strength and mobility to give confidence that nothing but an invasion on a really large scale would have any chance of success, even after an entirely unopposed sea passage and landing, then a good many light craft could be withdrawn from their present duties and employed in shepherding the trade routes. A force such as would be necessary to insure success for an invader in face of an efficient and numerous home army could not be transported without the very greatest risk until after a decisive victory at sea—a victory of such a

nature as to preclude any chance of interference during the sea passage. It is always difficult to draw true deductions from manœuvres, and the rather meagre accounts of the affairs of 1912-13 in the Daily Press may perhaps have led to an over-estimation of the chances of success in landing a raid, and under-estimation of the number of troops which will be landed should a raid succeed in aiming at its objective without having been seriously damaged at sea.

In conclusion, it may be broadly stated at present, taking ordinary probabilities into account, the trade routes between the British Isles and the East via the Cape are fairly safe; but to give greater confidence to the mass of people who have not studied this matter, and to prevent initial panic, it would be desirable to be able to spare more vessels from purely coast work.

The whole question of the self-defence of merchant ships against merchant ships also requires the closest consideration in all its aspects—physical, legal, and international.

THE CASE FOR ALBANIA

BY E. AUBRY.

THE most remarkable thing about the Albanian question is the almost complete absence of people who know anything about it. A general notion prevails that the Albanians are a wild horde of cut-throats, ready to rend themselves and their neighbours to pieces on the slightest provocation. That is why there is a general opinion that peace will only reign in the Balkans when Albania has been parcelled out between Greece and Servia, or some other alien invader. It is only in this way, they think, that a firm enough control can be applied to pacify the Albanians for ever. We may add that it is an opinion which to anyone acquainted with the true state of affairs is the very reversal of a statesman-like policy or of human justice. We might as well argue that a man who claims his rights should be executed, death being the only means of silencing him. Is it possible that the judgment of civilized Europe should be so warped and so callously indifferent that the voice of a tortured Albania should be treated as a discordant note to be immediately suppressed by any and every means? For the Albanians are a nation, small but distinct, and as such may be traced back as far as twenty-five centuries. It follows that, leaving humanitarian considerations out of count, the Albanian race deserves some credit for having retained their national characteristics for so long. It is not

generally known that they can point to Alexander the Great as one of their race. Not only was the Albanian element in the army of that great General considered to supply his most reliable troops, but throughout history their martial prowess deserved and obtained general recognition. Thus the famous Scander Bey in the fifteenth century, who was the last independent ruler of Albania, proved the fighting value of his race in the resistance he made against the Turks, and it ought to be realized by the European diplomats of the present day that the descendants of such men will not submit to invasion, accompanied by murder and pillage, like sheep meekly sacrificed to the butcher's knife. For it may be said at once that this so-called pacification of Albania is but another word for extermination.

It is perhaps not generally realized that the Turkish conquest of Albania was never complete, and that the light of national independence was kept burning throughout the centuries. Even their flag is distinct, being composed of a black eagle on a red background, and therefore has no resemblance to the Ottoman moon and crescent. The religious question has been called the despair of statesmen, chiefly, we suppose, because it does not exist. For the Albanian is absolutely tolerant in his religious views, in a degree unsurpassed in the Near East. In short, religion ranks second in importance with them. Moslem or Christian tribes live in perfect harmony with one another. They intermarry freely, and are therefore not only brotherly in spirit, but connected by blood-ties. The Moslems live chiefly in the south, and the Christians in the north. In the absence of reliable statistics, it may be roughly said that they are equally numerous. The Christians, again, are divided into the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholics.

But the true Albanian spirit is found in the fact that when Christian Slavs or Greeks attacked Christian Albanians, these last sent their womenkind to the Moslem Albanians to be cared for as the most sacred trust which a man may leave to his friend.

In the Memorandum presented to the European Commission on the Sandjak of Scutari (Albania) in August 31, 1880, by the Baron de Kosjek, delegate of Austria-Hungary, and M. Aubaret, delegate of France, we find these words (translation from the French): "All live in perfect harmony and in nowise ask for separation. They are Albanians in the first place, and if it is true to say that Catholics are sincerely attached to their religion, it is no less true to state that with them as with their Moslem brothers the national sentiment, the attachment to the soil, the unbroken continuancy of ancient customs are revered with the utmost enthusiasm."

It is also very much to the point in this connection to quote the declaration of Lord Goschen, who in 1880 wrote to Lord Grenville: "I believe Albanian nationality may be utilized with much advantage to general interests, and I would deprecate any partial measure which would be likely to impede the formation of one large Albanian Province.

"If a strong Albania should be formed, the excuse for occupation by a foreign Power in case of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire would be greatly weakened. A united Albania would bar the remaining entrances to the north, and the Balkan Peninsula would remain in the hands and under the sway of the races who now inhabit it."

Every friend of the Turks and of the Albanians must bitterly regret the deplorable differences which occurred between them and proved the initial cause of the downfall of Turkey in Europe. While not merging their national life in that of Turkey, the Albanians were loyal and devoted subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and to the very end asked for nothing better than autonomy *within* the Empire. It was only when the Greeks, the Servians, and the Montenegrins were at the door that Albanian nationality was proclaimed as the only hope of survivance.

Turkey could always rely on her Albanian troops, and only the policy of the Young Turkish régime in that it was

as so many continuous pin-pricks to Albanian *amour-propre* could alienate Albanian devotion.

One great mistake committed by the Young Turks in Albania was to forbid the Albanians from opening a single national school, while on the other hand they not only permitted but encouraged the Greeks and Slavs to multiply their schools and their episcopal sees in different parts of the country. The result is clear to any impartial observer: the very fact of possessing schools is urged as an argument by the invaders to prove they possess spheres of influence. In truth, the Albanians used these alien schools because they had none others at their disposal.

It should also be noticed that the Greeks have never made any distinction between the question of religion and that of nationality. Thus, in Southern Albania they consider the Albanian Christian not as an Albanian but *as a Greek* because he belongs to the Orthodox Church.

It is a notable fact that the Metropolitans nominated by the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople are the most active agents of all in furthering the policy of Greece. Their mission in Southern Albania has been to persuade the Christian population that Orthodoxy and Greek nationality are indivisible. Vain effort! for despite this age-long propaganda, the Orthodox Albanian has always preserved the sentiment of his nationality, despite the pressure to which his conscience has been subjected.

In spite of war, ruin, devastation, Albania stands a fair chance of holding her head above water if only Europe will abide by her word.

The Albanians form the overwhelming majority throughout the whole of this territory, and they live there in compact masses. The non-Albanian inhabitants comprise: Greeks in the south, numbering 30,000, and Servians and Bulgars, specially in the districts of Kassova, Uskub, and Monastir, numbering 100,000 to 120,000. Outside the confines of Albania there are a great number of Albanians who may later on drift inside the border. Thus in Montenegro

alone there is a large Albanian population at Dulcigno, Antivari, etc., who have preserved their language, customs, traditions, and all their national individuality. To these again must be added the 60,000 Albanians who have emigrated to the United States of America, but keep in regular communication with the motherland, and return there when they have made sufficient savings.

It is a matter of great congratulation that a Prince has at last been elected. His first duty, of course, will be to cease being a German as the late King of Greece ceased to be a Norwegian when he ascended the Greek throne. A foreign Prince was in every sense desirable, because no man is ever thought a prophet in his own country.

The Prince William von Wied will represent the ideal of royalty which holds aloof from party factions and strife, and, being a foreigner, will not be open to criticism as a Prince of the same race as the people of the country. It is the experience of Europe that a foreign Prince is a most desirable asset to regeneration when a country has passed through a period of troubles and upheavals. Albania is doing what larger countries, and notably England, have done before her.

To those who deny to the Albanians the capacity of governing themselves, it should be pointed out that most of the cleverest men in the diplomatic service of Turkey were recruited from the Albanians. Many an Albanian of to-day, instead of cutting a stogy and picturesque figure, as the uninformed mind is apt to imagine, is merely an exceedingly cultured, courteous, well-mannered man, speaking the purest French, and with nothing to distinguish him from any of the southern races of Europe.

Mr. Serge Myatovith, the well-known authority on the Balkans, admitted, in spite of his Slav nationality, in a long and interesting article in the *Daily Telegraph*, that there is a great deal of French blood in Albania through the Dukes of Savoy.

As to the mass of the people, the hardy mountaineers,

they are a simple people, living a decidedly Spartan life entirely devoid of the luxury of the Orient.

The enemies of the Albanians are apt to point to their eternal feuds and vendettas. That they pass over without comment their extraordinary regard for women is a matter for consideration. It is not generally known that an Albanian will not touch the hair of his worst enemy if he meets him in the most deserted mountain pass in the company of a woman or a child.

Englishmen like the Right Hon. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., or Major Paget, who lived thirty-five years of his life in Albania, bring their testimony to bear on the fact that, supposing an Albanian could be a coward, he need never fear for his life were he for ever accompanied by a woman.

Sir Edward Grey, speaking on April 8, 1913, said :

"We are willing to support the agreement with the great Powers that there should be an autonomous Albania. We willingly became a party to this, for the Albanians are separate in race, in language, and, to a great extent, in religion. . . .

"There is no reason why the same sympathy that was felt for other countries contending for liberty and national existence should not be extended to the Albanians."

We add, that is what her past demands, it is what her future must bring.

YÜAN'S "COUP D'ÉTAT"

BY E. H. PARKER

IT is four years almost to a day since Yüan Shih-k'ai, dragging the historical sore leg after him, but moving with marvellous activity the affected limb in question, said to the solitary friend who accompanied him in his disgrace to the railway station: "*K'an t'a-mên tsü-chi tsémmo pan!*" "We shall see how they will manage things themselves!" He was then taken by surprise as the victim of a weak-kneed Regent and a silly coterie of women—a pack of feminines, *ch'ün-p'in*, as the irrelevant literary expression goes. This was precisely at the juncture when his vigorous personality at Peking had been asserting itself successfully against the benumbing influence of mere pedants and reactionaries, and there was every prospect of the tottering Manchu dynasty being once more saved by his common-sense efforts from its own shifty foolishness. It was understood at the time, by the knowing ones that the real reason for this sudden *tau p'i-ku Chiang*, or "tip over," thus ascribed to a sore leg, was a vengeful desire on the part of the Regent (who had, under the old Dowager's orders, represented his brother, the late Emperor Kwang-sü, with hope-inspiring credit in Germany nine years before that) and of the old Dowager's niece and spy, the new Dowager Lung-hi (the childless, loveless, and unloved spouse of the same Emperor), to avenge their brother and

husband respectively, and to "get even" for the notorious events of 1898, when Yuan Shih-k'ai had done what he conceived to be his highest duty, and had declined to participate in the rash Emperor's mad little scheme, suggested to him by the reformer K'ang Yu-wei, for clapping the interesting old Dowager—his natural aunt, and his adoptive mother—into the "cold room" for the rest of her life, whilst the ill-matured reforms were to go on unquestioned. It has been pointed out over and over again in this Review and elsewhere that according to all the canons of Chinese ancestral, Confucian, and traditional culture, Yuan was canonically right in this action of his. He would have counted in history as an aider and abetter of patricide, or rather matricide, had he obeyed the Emperor's rash instructions, and consented to turn against and execute his superior military officer and patron, the Viceroy Junglu of Tientsin. Not that we are bound to conclude from this that Yuan's decisive action on that occasion was prompted by pure academic virtue, without any canny consideration for his own ultimate interests and safety. We have nothing to do with vicarious heart-searchings and unproved motives; Yuan's own explanation is on record. The only question for us is what were the overt acts, what were the Chinese secular teachings, and what was the Manchu statute law. Li Hung-chang was certainly no paragon of virtue, but it is abundantly evident from his memoirs just published that he had always been a loyal supporter of the dynasty; that he, too, felt a serious doubt as to the Emperor's capacity; and that he had, ever since Yuan's first efficacious promptness of 1884-1886 in Korea, entertained the firm opinion that the latter was "a strong" man for China. Who comes into a court of equity must come with clean hands. Amidst a weltering mass of roguery and intrigue it is hard to say in this dirty business where the true equities lay; but at any rate, whatever foreign missionary interests and money interests may say, Yuan Shih-k'ai had the

canons of right on his side, and for ten years he enjoyed solid rewards for his act. He took his disgrace manfully in 1909, after the death of his old patroness. No one has ever accused him of vengeful intrigues whilst he patiently continued as a broken man to kill time and *desipere in loco* as best he could until summoned by his craven detractors, when the revolution broke out in 1911, to save the dynasty from itself once more. No doubt he said to himself, "Once bit twice shy," on this occasion, and steadily played losing hazards, or, for safety, before attempting to make a long break, least of all before attempting to put the red on his own account. He had first to save the game at all costs. To the surprise of even his best friends, he proved, or seemed to prove, loyal to the backbone. However closely the public documents of that date be studied, it will be found that he acted from sincere conviction, and that he did his very best to save first the dynasty, and then the country. As events matured, he even risked his own safety in dealing with the rather crack-brained Cantonese enthusiasts, clamouring for a republic at Shanghai, his own opinion, apart from magnanimity towards the fallen, being that China was not yet ripe for republican life, and that it would be best to utilize the fag-ends of the Manchu dynasty as a kind of religious figure-head, and thus gradually to get a real constitution into working order under an existing imperial prestige. He has not issued a single mandate since then in which there is the faintest trace of spite or pettiness; he has been from first to last generous and courteous towards the princely families; that he may have made mistakes is likely enough—*Irren ist menschlich*—but singleness of purpose has been the keynote throughout, unless it be that he is so deep that we cannot fathom him at all. Foreigners have always shaken their heads at the idea of a change in dynasty, and said: "Unfortunately, there is no great man, no acclaimed leader, available in China." Even Li Hung-chang in his memoirs, whilst defending himself against the absurd suspicions in bygone

years that *he* was "chasing the stag" on his own account, says plainly that in the whole of China there is no single family capable of forming a dynasty and securing the confidence of all the people. There is, to the ordinary intelligence, no reason, not the slightest, to suppose that Yüan is really aiming at establishing a dynasty for himself and his bairns—three of whom are now disporting themselves here in the more manly and wholesome atmosphere of English schools. It is, of course, always impossible to read accurately into the depths of the human heart, but, apart from the foolishness of such an ambition in Yüan Shih-k'ai, at a time when thrones are toppling over in most other ill-governed countries, it is probable that, having already got the kernel of power, he really does not want to be bothered with the shell of trumpery show, either from the canonical and ceremonial point of view, or from that of his own reasonable ambition and gratification.

Probably the following Chinese account, textually translated, of how the *coup d'état* really did take place will be of interest in Europe: "The scattering of the Kwoh-min Tang, and the cancelling of all certificates of parliamentary membership in the possession of its associates, emanated from the sole and individual mind of the President himself. Before the *coup* took place, not the faintest inkling of his purpose was allowed to leak out. Hence, not a soul outside knew anything about it, until towards dark on the evening of the preceding day, when the police authorities surrounded the offices and doors of the Kwoh-min Tang and began to institute a search for incriminatory documents. Even then the inhabitants about did not quite understand the why and wherefore of it all, until, in fact, the *ming-ling* (mandate) was out next day, and the police authorities began to form separate parties to search also the respective private residences of the members of parliament belonging to that *tang* (party). Then it was that the public suddenly realized why the breaking up and cancellation had taken place. It appears that, after the President had definitely made up his

mind quite alone in this matter, he only took counsel with a few of his confidential secretaries and subordinates as to *how* it was to be done; not a single man in the Kwoh-wu Yüan (Premier's office) knew anything whatever about it. It was only early the next morning that he summoned Hiung Hi-ling (the Premier) and Chu k'i-ch'ên (the Home Secretary) to his quarters and told them that he had decided to act thus. Neither of them had a word to say, but they left at once for [or, perhaps, they sent word at once to] their respective vice-presidents' offices. The Home Secretary Chu took the mandate with him when he left, and at once issued instructions for its official notification. When the officers of the Premier's department [probably a misprint for 'different departments'] got news of this, they all assembled at the Premier's office. The Home Secretary Chu was telegraphed for to tell them all about it. When he arrived he said: 'I have already issued the official mandate.' The different heads of departments stared at each other aghast with astonishment. According to the statements given out by the confidential secretaries, the mandate emanated from the President's own hand, and in the preparation of it the President had passed two nights entirely without sleep."

The immediate cause of Yüan's "purge," according to his own long statement of 7,000 odd characters, dated November 4, was the discovery that many members of the Kwoh-min Tang had been actively exchanging telegrams with Li Lieh-kün, the rebel *tutuh* of Kiang Si, and with the arch-rebel organizer, Hwang Hing, who had been left "in charge" of Nanking after Sun Yat-sen's resignation of the Presidency in 1912, and who had in January been placed in management of the Hankow-Canton Railway by Yüan Shih-k'ai; and also, later again, created Field-Marshal, which last title he had in May last churlishly declined. On August 19 he "pronounced." If it is true that Yüan composed in fair copy a 12,000 or 14,000 word (English) *apologia pro vita sua* within forty-eight hours, his

literary capacity must have developed by leaps and bounds since, as a sort of army inspector in Korea, he held the petty title of *t'ung-chih* (sub-prefect), later to become *taotai* and "Resident" in 1885. It is too wearisome and diffusive a document for the man in the street abroad to weigh carefully ; and, besides, the official style of the Republic which he adopts is interlarded with the hideous "new-Chinese" jargon chiefly introduced from Japan, which grates on the ear used to the dignified periods of the near past. In any case, it is no disgrace—and never has been—for a Chinese of high rank not to compose his own despatches. A trained corporation or school of "writing fellows" has for centuries provided drafters for all *yamêns* ; it is only a minority—such as Li Hung-chang, Liu K'un-yih, Tso Tsung-t'ang, and Chang Chih-tung—who have been able to write masterly State documents off their own brushes. Still, this document shows that Yüan Shih-k'ai has plenty of intellectual go in him, even though he may be obliged to hide himself away in the dull seclusion of the palace ; and it is evident that he is quite capable of Napoleonic decision and dramatic strategy, even though his nerves must have been seriously strained during the unnatural mental activities of the past two years.

It is impossible for anyone who does not read the Peking Government Gazettes regularly to conceive what a vast amount of organizing work has been achieved—mostly, of course, as yet on paper only—since January 1, 1912. The "geography" of China proper has been remodelled ; nearly all official titles have been changed ; titles of courtesy and honour have been abolished or remodelled in spirit. After innumerable changes and shiftings within the past ten years, the departments of State have been renamed, re-organized, and restaffed ; the provincial organization has been recast ; desperate efforts have been made to establish schools, colleges, and lyceums, etc., both for men and women, all over the Empire. Railways are active, but no one wants too much foreign dictation. The forms of official

correspondence have been totally changed in many respects ; courts of justice have been provided, under judges appointed from Peking, throughout the Empire ; the salt gabelle has been unified, and provincial authorities are no longer able to touch a cent of salt funds for local use ; *likin*, unfortunately, is as bad as ever. Missionaries are allowed a free hand, but at the same time it is beginning to be felt that China should abide by her traditional ethics, for the present at least. The Manchu imperial family has been courteously and (so far as possible) generously treated. Tibet and Mongolia, certainly, are practically lost, though we are not all quite out of the wood yet ; as "possessions" they are a drain upon China proper, but as buffers against Great Britain, Russia, and even France, they have their uses, and are still worth holding on to *de jure* for the best terms obtainable. Thus things stand at the moment of going to press, but it is impossible to forecast what to-morrow may bring forth, as finance is always the supreme question, and "graft" is also always on the war-path. Chang Hsün's *pronunciamento* (December 11) sounds dangerous, but the "independence of Kiang Su" is in any case an absurd thing for him to aim at, apart from the fact that he has hitherto shown himself an ignorant and crazy *soudard*.

LORD HARDINGE AND INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY SHAH MOHAMMED NAIMATULLAH.

CONSIDERABLE interest has been aroused both here and elsewhere by the famous speech of Lord Hardinge in Madras on the grievances of Indians in South Africa, and there has been a great deal of speculation as to its effect. In view of the fact that there exists a school of thought in Great Britain which believes that, having given local self-government to South Africa, no Britisher has any business to interfere in its internal affairs, I think I should be making my task of explaining the situation easier if, before proceeding any farther, I put down what other eminent Ministers have thought and said on the subject.

Lord Salisbury, one of the most distinguished statesmen of the British Empire, in the course of a despatch to the Government of India in 1875 said : " Above all things, we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangement that the colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers who have completed the terms of service to which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colonies *will be in all respects free men, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies.*

On June 24, 1897, in an address to the Premiers of the

self-governing Colonies, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said :

" We ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinction in favour of or against race or colour ; and to exclude, by reason of their colour, or by reason of their race, all Her Majesty's Indian subjects, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to these peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it. . . . The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilized as we are ourselves ; who are, if that is anything, better born, in the sense that they have older traditions and older families ; who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of the Queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble . . . saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say, you, who have seen all this, cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which I think is absolutely unnecessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feelings, not only of Her Majesty the Queen, but of all her people."

As late as July 31, 1908, Colonel Seely, speaking from his place in the House of Commons as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said :

" If persons are admitted (into British Colonies) they must be given civil rights. ' Free or not at all ' seems to me the soundest principle for the British Empire. . . . If anyone is admitted under the British flag, he must be a potential citizen, and must, sooner or later, be given equal rights with all other men. . . . It was a strong thing to ask that any subject of the King should be deprived of his

living and sent about his business through no fault of his own."

I have quoted deliberately the utterances of these great men of the United Kingdom, which were made, not in their individual capacities, but as mouthpieces of the Government. My object in doing so is more to present the case of Indians in the exact words of eminent Ministers, than to cite authorities, or even precedents, for what Lord Hardinge was pleased to say in Madras.

The situation in South Africa is very grave and perplexing, and I am constrained to say that it has been accentuated by the attitude of the Union Government.

Indians have been going to South Africa for some time past, not so much by way of private enterprise as at the invitation of the South African Government itself. They have always been found steady and conscientious workers, and it is an undisputable fact that the growth of Natal at any rate is largely due to this labour. At present the total number in the Cape, Transvaal, and Natal exceeds 160,000. These men leave their country in the hope of bettering their position in life, and they get quite a rosy account of their future welfare from the colonial agent out in India whose duty it is to induce them to come. What is the situation with which they are faced when they set foot in their new home? While on their part they prove to be not only thoroughly satisfactory workers, but good citizens generally, they meet with all sorts of hindrances in exercising their ordinary rights of citizenship. An Indian, merely because he happens to be an Indian, and for no other fault, is deliberately denied the most ordinary rights of a citizen. For the very same reason he is not allowed to own landed property, to say nothing of many unpleasant distinctions which are given them in other ways. I need not go into details as to the treatment meted out to them, as they are already well known, but I should like to say one or two words on the recent attitude of the Union Government.

By Section 30 of the Immigration Act the word "domicile" has been construed in such a way that the right to reside in Natal of Indians indentured after 1895 seems to be taken away. The right of residence of the children of such parents is also taken away, even though they may have been born and brought up in Natal.

The recent judgment of the Pietermaritzburg Court declaring the marriage of an Indian celebrated in accordance with the rites of his own religion to be null and void seems to me the most mischievous and monstrous decision ever promulgated by any Court of Justice. Surely it is high time that the Imperial Government should take up the question in earnest, and at least make some attempt to mitigate these hardships once for all.

I quite realize the position of the Imperial Government. It is not altogether enviable. The other day a deputation of Indians called on the Marquis of Crewe to lay before him the views of Indians on this vexed question. I must confess that the reply of the noble Marquis was not such at in any way satisfied them. If the mother wishes to keep the home intact, she must exert herself to settle matters amicably, instead of letting her children go on quarrelling indefinitely and make things worse day by day. In my opinion an Indian has got plenty of scope in his own country, and does not as a rule wish to force himself in other people's lands. But having been invited, he naturally insists not only on full rights of citizenship, which he is accustomed to have, but also the courtesy and civility on the part of those who have asked him exactly in the same manner as a decent man should extend to another decent being.

In conclusion, I cannot help thanking Lord Hardinge most cordially for the sympathy which he has shown towards those who have suffered so much. I would not attempt to praise him, as it has become quite a common taste in India, but I congratulate him for convincing the people that, after all, the Government of India is the government of the people.

ISLAM, CHRISTIANITY, AND OTHER RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

BY KHWAJA KAMALUDDIN,

Editor of the *Islamic Review*, London.

ISLAM—which means complete submission to Divine control in the mode and conduct of life, and implicit and unreserved obedience to laws revealed to man by God in preference to all our prepossession, inclinations, or judgments—is a religion which embraces all such religions as have been preached by teachers inspired by God in various ages and different countries. Thus the Koran says in this respect: “Say, we believe in God and in what has been revealed to us, as well as to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and their descendants: we also believe in what was given to Moses, Jesus, and to all the prophets raised by the Creator of the Universe; we accept all of them without making any distinction among them.”

Before the revelation of Al-Koran, every nation, while claiming Divine origin for its faith, denied this privilege to the creeds of all other nations. For instance, the Jews and the Christians to this day believe that all the prophets and messengers that have appeared in the world have come only from a single branch of the great human family—viz., the Israelites—and that God has always been so displeased with all the other nations of the world that, even though finding them in error and ignorance, He has never cared for them in the least.

This disposition of exclusiveness, which is not peculiar to the Church here or the Israelites, but is shared by the followers of almost all other religions, engendered feelings of conceit, pride, and contempt, and caused dissension and discord in various members of God's family. No one for a moment turned his thoughts to those Divine morals which we daily observe in the universal providence. Our God has not made any invidious distinction between different people. His sustenance is not limited to a particular tribe, or a particular age, or a particular country. He is the sustainer of all people, the Lord of all ages, the King of all places and countries, the fountain-head of all grace, the source of every power, physical and spiritual, the nourisher of all that is created, and the supporter of all that exists. The grace of God encompasses the whole world, and encircles all people and ages. The powers and faculties which He granted to the ancient people of India were also granted to the Arab, the Japanese, the European, and the American. For all, the earth of God serves alike as a floor, and for the sake of all the sun, the moon, and the stars give their light, and perform such other functions as God has charged them with. All people alike derive benefit from air, water, fire, earth, and other things created by God, and all equally use the produce of the earth—its corn, its herbs, its flowers, and its fruit. These are the broad Divine morals which give us a lesson that if no class or human race has been denied the benefit of water, earth, air, and all other manifestations of Nature, this equal and impartial providence should not be disbelieved in matters of revelation, which, in fact, is the most important and essential factor in the development of human faculties. It was a misconception of Divine providence, and an error so fatal to the establishment of the universal brotherhood of man, under which nations laboured from centuries to centuries till the last word of God appeared which in the very first line gave the lie to this wrong conception of partial dispensation. The Koran, our sacred book, com-

mences with the words : " All praise and glory is due to Allah (God) who is not only the maker and provider of India or Arabia, of Persia and Syria, of Europe and America, but is the Creator of the whole universe."

The words used here are so general that they include all the different people, different ages, and different countries. The opening of the holy Koran with a verse which is so broad in its significance shows clearly that the holy Koran refutes the doctrine which sets limits to the vast and unlimited sustenance of God, reserving the manifestations of these attributes for a single people to the exclusion of all others, as if the latter were not the creation of God, or as if, after creating them, Almighty God has utterly forgotten or thrown them away as useless and futile things. The beginning verse of Al-Koran teaches a Mussalman to believe that if the Creator and Provider of the whole universe has given means of physical growth equally to all men on the earth, He has also provided them with means of spiritual culture as well. This noble doctrine inculcated by the Koran infused a spirit of equality and fraternity in mankind, destroying that narrowness of mind which has been disintegrating the whole fabric of human society, and separating brother from brother under the universal fatherhood of God. This generous teaching of Al-Koran prompts me to cherish feelings of love and reverence for Moses and Jesus ; it enjoins upon me also to pay my respect and allegiance to Rama Chandra, Krishna, and Lord Buddha. If with Al-Koran I accept the authentic parts of the Bible as the Word of God, I regard the Gita and other holy scriptures of India as my joint property with other Hindu brethren. Hence, in accordance with the teachings of Al-Koran, Islam is the name of every religion, creed, or faith, which has been preached from time to time in different countries and various tribes by teachers inspired by God. They came from one and the same source, and taught one and the same truth. But the hand of time, combined with want of efficient means in olden days to preserve those

teachings intact, afforded occasions and opportunities for human interpolations and wrong interpretations. On the other hand, languages which were originally the conveyance of these ancient scriptures, being liable to constant changes, became obsolete, and set up insurmountable hindrances in the way of coming generations to reach the spirit of the old letters. Moreover, the development of human faculties and complications of evil—a necessary sequel of earthly civilization—called for a new order of things. This emergency brought forth prophet after prophet, who came and restored truths already revealed, and made necessary additions to meet the requirements of the age. As different races of mankind were distantly located and separated from each other by natural barriers, with very limited means of intercourse between them, *each nation needed its own prophet*, and so was it blessed. As Al-Koran says: "There was no nation but had its teacher." Again, Koran says: "Every nation had had its guide," and, "A Divine messenger was sent to every class of men."

If Hindustan had its Vedic Rishis, with Krishna, Ramchandra, and Gautama to follow them, China saw its teacher in the person of Confucius. If Zoroaster came to kindle the spiritual fire in Persia, the valley of the Jordan was fertilized with the Divine stream coming down the Mount of Olives. Thus, whenever and wherever evil prevailed and man became corrupt, men were raised and inspired by God to teach and restore the same old Islam, till a new state of things arose in the world, when the laws of God began to be violated in all its corners. Divine limits and bounds were transgressed simultaneously on the whole surface of the earth. Clouds of darkness, ignorance, infidelity, dishonesty, unchastity, and libertinism overhung the whole world. Every country and each nation saw complete depravity, and virtue became extinct; so much so that sin was not regarded as sin in many cases, but as an act of merit.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

ENGLISH AUTHORS AND ORIENTAL ORTHOGRAPHY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,

The picturesque essay by Lieutenant-General F. H. Tyrrell, entitled "English Authors and Oriental Orthography," raises the question of transliteration, the constant presence of which in Oriental matters renders it at least conspicuous. In reference to this question, I beg leave to offer, not a solution of universal adaptability, but a word in defence of what your contributor terms absurdities. The absurdity, for instance, of writing the word "jama'at" as "dschema'at" by German, and "djema'at" by French, writers, disappears when it is considered that the English letter "j," corresponding almost exactly to "ج" (jeem), conveys to a German mind the sound of "ي" (yeh), and to a French mind the sound of "ژ" (zheh). The other examples given by your contributor may be similarly explained.

With regard to the pronunciation of "khoja" and "khanum," it would be interesting to learn in what districts of India or Persia the words are sounded "hoja" or "hanum." After a brief residence of three years in Persia, I am unable to speak with authority on the subject, but

must acknowledge never to have heard the words so pronounced, save by the inept tongue of a "Ferengi."

In the article on "Islam and the Turks," in your July Review, M. Montet speaks of "Mussulmen." It is perhaps a trivial mistake in form, and I call attention to it only in view of the present sad looseness in the use of English, particularly in this country.

Yours very truly,

C. F. A. DELLSCHAFT.

CHICAGO,
September 15, 1913.

THE STATE OF PERSIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,

Perhaps you will allow me to send you a few passages from a letter which I have just received from Persia, from a business friend who is in no way connected with politics: "You ask what is the state of Teheran? It is terribly bad, in fact, cannot be worse. There is no law; no one answers anybody's voice; those who have the power and influence can do everything, for they are the subjects of the Russian Government. Everybody else, try as he may, can do nothing. The English in the country are progressing marvellously in every way. One reason is that Russian behaviour towards the people is such that they are at least getting tired of it. The English manufactured goods are far better than what the Russians offer to us. Those who have imported Russian goods into Persia cannot sell them, and are therefore ruined. The streets are filled with poor people. You would think that everyone is in mourning, for the old Asiatic joviality has gone. What are they doing? They are afraid of moving; they are afraid of speaking; they are afraid of touching anyone for fear that he is a Russian subject."

Yours faithfully,

A PERSIAN.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

MONEY POWER FOR INDIA

BY M. DE P. WEBB, C.I.E.,

Late Chairman, Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Additional Member
Bombay Legislative Council, Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society,
Royal Economic Society and Royal Geographical Society,
Author of "India and the Empire," "Advance, India!"
"Britain's Dilemma," etc.

SYNOPSIS.

Money Power

What is it?—Money not merely a "medium of exchange," but "the mightiest engine to which man can lend an intelligent guidance"—Whence money derives its power—Why its value changes—Results of changes in value—Danger ahead

Money Power for India.

India merits the best that we can give her—What that best is—Some facts in India's monetary history—England demonetized India's gold money, but quickly regretted her action, yet England is now opposing

THE RESTORATION OF FREE COINAGE, and

THE RESTORATION OF A GOLD CURRENCY TO INDIA.

The reasons for the present opposition (a) Theoretical: Replies thereto, (b) Practical Replies thereto—The economic situation in the United Kingdom—The dangers of the situation—A reply to the *Times*

THE STATE BANK FOR INDIA PROBLEM.

Theoretical advantages—The control of money power in the United Kingdom—Is the same situation to be reproduced in India?—Lord Mayo's opinion—The State Bank must be a Department of Government

THE PAPER CURRENCY OF THE FUTURE

A new source of monetary strength—A rational currency.

CONCLUSION.

AT the invitation of the East India Association, I have been endeavouring to throw into intelligent form some of the conclusions to which twenty years of theoretical and practical study of the problem of Money Power have brought me.

The subject is a fascinating one. Though as important to civilized mortals as the air we breathe, the majority of us give little or no thought to what is, in truth, one of the most marvellous inventions of the human brain. The few who do study the subject of money seem sometimes to arrive at such divergent conclusions that discussions of currency problems are nowadays barred from all decent society. Such discussions certainly seem to generate an exceptional amount of heat. I hope, however, that what I am about to venture to-day will not produce any unexpected conflagration. If at times I express my opinion too dogmatically, I hope that I may be pardoned by those who hold views perhaps extremely divergent from my own. My only excuse can be that I have endeavoured to obtain and digest almost everything that has been written on the subject in the English language ; that I have in the course of my business as a merchant and financier in India handled monetary problems almost every day of my life ; that I have passed through the crises of 1893, 1900, and 1907, and that I have at different times visited different portions of Europe, Asia, America, Australia, and South Africa—always gathering what I could about monetary problems ; so that now I labour under the delusion—I quite recognize that it may be a delusion—that I am beginning at last really to understand something about this subject.

Before tackling *Money Power for India*, I should like to say something about money power in general. I do not propose to ask you to peer into the distant past when our remote ancestor, with perhaps a spare wife to get rid of, was searching for a fellow savage with too many sheep but insufficient marital engagements. Those early days of barter appear to me to give us no more clue to the phenomenon of modern money power, than the contemplation of Watt and his tea-kettle does to the mysteries of a present-day locomotive. I would prefer to ponder over a British sovereign, or a Scotch one-pound note, or the Indian paper currency, or Mr. Carnegie's cheque book, each of which

conveys a lesson that college professors building up their "medium of exchange" theories of money appear sometimes to undervalue, rather than spend time in tracing the evolution of money back to those periods of which history gives us but little record and the imagination accordingly supplies the bulk of the material.

Simple Simon, you will remember, failed to extract the much wanted pie from the business-like purveyor of those excellent comestibles, because he lacked the necessary penny. Therein lies a moral. And the moral is that as in Simple Simon's time, these are the days of buying and selling, not of barter. Only by the offer of good money can we now procure what we require. The difference between the man who owns a hundred sovereigns and another who possesses a hundred pounds worth of sardines, cricket-bats, or Irish land stock, is obvious. The one can procure practically anything that he requires—to the extent of his hundred pounds—whilst the other must first search for somebody who wants sardines, or cricket-bats, or Irish land stock. In short, the one immediately commands; the other, for the time being, is a suppliant. And if we can say that one hundred sovereigns represent power to that extent, how are we to describe the cheque book of the modern financier? Your city Cræsus scribbles a few lines, and a thousand slaves in each corner of the globe spring up to do his bidding. A palace in South Africa and another in Park Lane—a canal through this isthmus and a railway across that continent—lakes dug and mountains removed—is there anything that our modern Aladdins are unable to accomplish provided they possess sufficient of the magic money power?

Clearly, to describe such an invention as a mere "medium of exchange" is to mislead the multitude. Money is a tool, a purchasing instrument, an efficient machine that can be employed with astonishing results in almost all places and circumstances. Alexander del Mar has gone so far as to call it "... the mightiest engine to which man can

lend an intelligent guidance. Unheard, unfelt, unseen, it has the power to so distribute the burdens, gratifications, and opportunities of life, that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits or good fortune may fairly entitle him ; or contrariwise, to disperse them with so partial a hand as to violate every principle of justice, and perpetuate a succession of social slaveries to the end of time. . . ." I believe this to be no exaggeration, but the simple truth. I commend Mr. Alexander del Mar's words to your careful consideration.

Whence money derives its power is, I think, no mystery. An almost universal desire to secure possession of gold, temporarily or permanently, has given to this metal a wider and more generally understood value than many other metals possess. Its peculiar properties have rendered it specially suitable for use as currency, and all the greatest and most advanced nations in the world have based their monetary instruments on gold, and have struggled hard to secure and retain a good supply of that precious metal. But gold is, of course, not the only form or kind of money. Anything that serves as an efficient purchasing tool is money—silver, copper, paper, etc. This efficiency may be secured by the value and popularity of the commodity tendered, by legislation, or simply by the reputation of the tenderer or issuer, as in the case of State paper currencies, bank-notes, bills, and cheques. In Great Britain not one-hundredth of the paper money daily used could possibly be converted into sovereigns. Nor do the public in most cases want or expect such conversion to be made. It is sufficient for the majority of the public that a bank-note or a cheque will buy what they want, and settle for what they owe. Amongst thoroughly civilized peoples discs of gold are not essential to the monetary operations of everyday life. Unfortunately very few individuals or nations are yet thoroughly civilized, and so we are compelled to this day to combine with the highest forms of paper money the same little bits of gold and silver that did duty in early periods of human

history, when mankind were first emerging from barter and barbarism.

If the sources of money power are not obscure, the reason for the exact quantity of purchasing power embodied in each ounce of the precious metals is a problem that has puzzled more minds than perhaps any other point in the science of money. Why a herring and a half should cost a penny and a half no man can say with exactitude. That the services of a Marie Lloyd or a Harry Lauder will command a hundred times the monetary reward considered adequate for the payment of a Milton or a Herbert Spencer is one of those facts that we can only endure with silence and humility. After all, value is an affection of the human mind, and some humans' affections are, as we all know, extremely erratic. The value of money is what money will command. Its measure, as represented by the general level of the prices of commodities, services, and sensations at the present day, is the result of the haggling of ages. But everyone will agree that a measure which, instead of remaining constant, increases or diminishes from time to time is a most dangerous and unsatisfactory instrument. Now this is exactly what our present money is doing. A sovereign to-day will only purchase as much as fifteen shillings did a few years ago. Moreover, the purchasing power of money is diminishing each year. For some people, for the owners and producers of the prime necessities of life, for the bankers, merchants, transporters, and middlemen, this continuous rise in prices—the steady shrinkage in the purchasing power of the sovereign—is a most gratifying state of affairs. But for the great majority of the people—for the multitude of small wage-earners composing the bulk of the population in this country, and for the poor and needy, thirteen millions of whom in the United Kingdom live constantly on the verge of the pit—the present shrinkage in the value of the sovereign means a loss of money power that takes joy out of life, that inflicts injustices right and left; that breeds

resentment and discontent, and prepares the ground for those labour troubles, strikes, and constant friction between employers and employed, of which you in the homeland are nowadays hearing so much. This is what Mr. Alexander del Mar referred to when he talked of the "perpetuation of a succession of social slaveries to the end of time." How can the poor ever be anything else but poor if the prices of the necessities of life are constantly rising, and rising more rapidly than wages?

Why is this rise taking place? Why is the purchasing power of gold diminishing? Expert opinion tells us that the laws of supply and demand apply to gold and to money as to everything else. It is a little difficult for the average mind to grasp the possibility of there being more people with purchasing power which they wish to employ, than sellers of commodities, services, and sensations. Yet such is undoubtedly the case. The production of gold from the mines of the world has now almost reached the amazing figure of £100,000,000 per annum, and by far the largest amount ever reached in the history of the world. In addition to this, the science of banking which Scotland developed so splendidly—which London subsequently elevated to a pinnacle of perfection—and which the rest of the world is now grasping and employing in its every detail, enables the bankers to erect a constantly increasing volume of credit money power on a smaller and smaller gold foundation. The two combined—more gold and better banking—have resulted in the creation of unparalleled monetary facilities. Never before have such huge demands for money power (in the form of capital for new enterprises) been made. Never before have such demands been met so continuously and on such a large scale. Where it will all end, no one can say. Whilst the profits of new undertakings are augmented by the continued rise in prices, the values of all fixed interest-bearing securities, even of the highest standing, of course fall. In the meantime the grave losses suffered by all small wage earners, owing to the steady and continuous diminu-

tion in the purchasing power of money, are preparing the way for a labour crisis of a magnitude and character that may seriously cripple the industries and prosperity of Great Britain, unless those responsible for the country's welfare have the courage to grasp the problem in time.

I have now said sufficient to give you some idea of the light in which I regard money power, and also the general economic situation arising out of the present supplies of money power being somewhat in excess of the supplies of commodities and services; this last, in my opinion, being to a large extent the indirect outcome of the unparalleled volumes of new gold now flowing from the mines of the world. I will next proceed to the problem of Money Power for India.

Believing as I do that our presence in India can only be justified on the ground that it is to the general advantage of the peoples of India as a whole, I feel strongly that we must, as heretofore, continue to give freely of our best to India in every department of human activity. This includes the equipment of India with the best conceivable monetary system and machinery. It seems to me that there can be little question as to which system and which machinery is the best. Whilst nobody imagines for a moment that the monetary tools in use in this country express the highest conceivable phase of monetary development, the fact remains that the open gold mint system of Great Britain, supplemented by a State paper currency and good banking facilities, represents the furthest stage in monetary progress to which the most advanced sections of civilized mankind have yet attained. Here, then, we have the forms of monetary power which, I submit, we ought at once to establish in India—an open gold mint, a full-value gold currency, and the best possible banking machinery. A good State paper currency India already enjoys—a fact which places India in advance of the United Kingdom, so far as one department of monetary development is concerned. Why, you will ask, does India lack the other sources of

money power—an automatic State money manufactory, metallic tools of the best description and quality, and a banking machinery that includes and utilizes the vast accumulations of money power—reserves and cash balances running up to £90,000,000—held by India's Government in India and in London?

It is difficult to find satisfactory replies to these questions. India *did* employ metallic tools of gold till we demonetized them sixty years ago. So, too, India *did* enjoy the advantages of an open State money manufactory till we closed it twenty years ago. As for the employment in India of the great accumulations of money power lying idle at the Government Treasuries, nobody seems to have bothered about this matter till comparatively recently, when the India Office transferred £30,000,000 or so of cash to London, where most of the money has been invested in British and Colonial securities, and lent out to London financiers. Although there is a certain risk in putting so many of India's eggs into the London basket, the interest earned, small as it is, is better than nothing. Whether India's money power cannot be better employed in India, for the benefit of Indian trade and industry, is one of the matters now receiving the attention of a Royal Commission on Indian currency and finance.

I must explain briefly why we demonetized India's gold currency, and why we closed India's open mints. It is a strange story. A hundred years ago gold mohurs and gold pagodas were in use in many parts of India. Madras enjoyed a gold standard as well as a gold currency, and her pagodas were accepted in Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and other places. Indeed, at one time—in 1800—they were made legal tender in New South Wales. Silver rupees were also current in most parts of India. The East India Company, when endeavouring to establish one uniform currency for the whole of India, came to the conclusion that the best course would be to make a silver rupee the principal monetary tool and standard for

the whole country. At the same time the Board stated explicitly that it was not their intention to exclude the use of the gold coins then current; and their Proclamation of January 13, 1841, instructed the Treasuries freely to receive all gold mohurs tendered. Then came the wonderful gold discoveries in California and Australia. The world's output of gold doubled and trebled till, in the year 1852, over £30,000,000 was unearthed. The value of gold steadily diminished (just as it is doing at the present day), and some authorities, alarmed by the stories of fabulously large gold deposits that were reaching Europe from America, believed that gold would soon become as common and as cheap as tin. We can feel little surprise that the Government took alarm. On December 25, 1852, a Notification was issued declaring that on and after January 1, 1853, . . . "no gold coins would be received on account of payments due, or in any way to be made to the Government in any public treasury within the territories of the East India Company. . . ." It was in vain that the Bombay Association (representing the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras) memorialized the Government of India in 1864 for a gold currency for India—in vain that the Bank of Bengal, in 1865, urged that the British sovereign and half-sovereign might . . . "with safety and advantage be declared legal tender in India at the respective rates of ten and five rupees. . . ." The Secretary of State was adamant. On May 17, 1865, the India Office wrote that it did not see that any practical advantage would attend the proposal to admit British gold to legal tender in India, and gold money as currency in India was from that date entirely deleted from the official mind, both in London and in India.

Alas for human wisdom! Within ten years of this time the Government of India began to wish that gold had not been so completely debarred from the Indian currency. In 1878 they openly expressed their desire to . . . "adopt a gold standard whilst retaining the present silver currency. . . ." From that time onwards the divergence in

the relative values of the precious metals was a source of constant anxiety, till in 1890 the financial position of the Government and Secretary of State for India became one continuous nightmare. By 1893 the position was intolerable to the Government, and it was at length decided to close the Indian mints forthwith to the free coinage of silver, and to move thenceforward in the direction of a gold currency and a gold standard for India. The decision aroused a storm of criticism at the time from many currency reformers, myself included; but subsequent unforeseen events—the discovery of the richest gold-mines in the world in South Africa, and the invention of the cyanide process of gold extraction—have crowned the Indian currency legislation of 1893 with unexpected success. Western and Northern India are now freely using gold money in their daily business just as Madras and Southern India did two or three generations ago.

But now another difficulty has arisen. The decisions of 1893 and 1908 to restore a gold standard and currency to India have met with continuous opposition in certain quarters. Notwithstanding that the supplies of gold from the world's mines have now reached the highest figures on record in the world's history, and over three times the output of the Californian and Australian mines sixty years ago—resulting in unparalleled profits to most financiers, bankers, producers, transporters, and middlemen—certain interests in London, and the representatives of those interests in India, have lifted up their voices against the equipment of India with the best metallic monetary tools known to mankind. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, who in 1864, when India was not nearly so wealthy as she is at present, memorialized the Government of India for a gold currency for India, now consider gold coins for daily use in India quite unnecessary. The Bank of Bengal, who, in 1865, urged that sovereigns be made legal tender in India, now asserts that a gold currency is "not required in India, and is a wasteful and expensive luxury." Even in Madras,

where a gold currency and standard existed for many years, some people now seem to think that gold coins are quite superfluous, and that if the public will accept over-valued and cumbersome silver tokens, why give them anything better? (This is the view of Mr. Hunter of the Bank of Madras.) In London the campaign has been carried on with much spirit. Some of the leading financial papers have solemnly assured their readers that India is much too poverty-stricken to be able to use gold. The *Statist*, indeed, went so far as to assert that India was "one of the poorest portions of the whole earth." Messrs. Samuel Montagu and Co., the eminent bankers and bullion dealers, with a sublime disregard for historical fact, boldly informed the world . . . "that it must be remembered that from ancient times silver rupees have been the only coins familiar to the varied and populous nations of India . . .," and they solemnly discussed the desirability of checking any newly acquired taste for gold money that the peoples of India might now be developing by the imposition of an import duty in India on the precious yellow metal!

That there must be some reason—possibly some good reason—for all this strenuous opposition to the equipment of India with first-class metallic monetary tools goes without saying. In the effort to discover this reason I have perused every newspaper that I could lay hands upon, studied the reports of learned societies, and discussed the matter with college professors and practical financiers. I find that the theoretical objection is this: It is quite unnecessary to use such a valuable metal as gold for *internal* currency purposes; gold is nowadays only essential for *external* payments—for the adjustment of international trade balances. And as the adjustment of India's balance of trade is carried out mainly in London, India ought to keep whatever gold she requires to back up her silver token currency in London, not in India. Which being so, the opening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of gold is quite unnecessary.

As an exposition of pure theory this argument is un-

answerable. The only thing to be said in reply is that the argument applies with equal force to South Africa, to Canada, to Great Britain itself, and, indeed, to many other countries. There can be little doubt that sovereigns, or any gold coins of a similar value, are not altogether suitable to the poverty of the great mass of the populations of many nations; that it is wasteful and extravagant for *any* country to use gold coins as *internal* currency when silver and paper money might serve equally well; that gold is only really needed for *external* payments; that the adjustment of many of these payments is carried out in London; that the self-governing colonies and many foreign nations would find it more economical to keep their gold for the settlement of their external indebtedness in London, and to draw on a London banker in favour of their creditors whenever necessary; that the maintenance of open gold mints in Canada, Australia, and, in fact, in any country that can make use of sovereigns, is in such circumstances wasteful to the locality or country concerned; that it would be cheaper for all such localities and countries to send their gold to England to be coined (at the expense of the British public), and paid into the Bank of England or any other London banker for international use whenever gold was needed for transfer from one nation to another. In short, if all parts of the Empire and all nations banked in London and settled all their international balances of trade by drafts on London, a great economy in the use of gold could be effected by London's bankers of considerable pecuniary advantage to all concerned.

The truth of this line of argument is beyond question. And yet this ideal state of affairs has not yet come to pass. True, most countries have banking accounts in London for the adjustment of minor outstandings, but none of them—not even Canada or Australia—dreams of abolishing its own mint and gold currencies. Such is the deficiency of human reason—such is the distrust with which civilized nations regard each other and the less advanced members

of their own nationalities, that practically every country except India has its own public money manufactory or mint, and strives to employ its own gold monetary tools. Some of the great bankers of Britain are at this moment taking counsel among themselves as to the best means of strengthening the national reserve of gold, but I have not yet heard the suggestion made that as the use of gold money in Great Britain for internal purposes is a wasteful luxury (as, of course, it is), half-crowns and two-shilling pieces should be coined by the ton, declared unlimited tender, and all the sovereigns in circulation be called in to augment the gold reserve at the Bank of England, and so provide means for meeting banks' depositors and all external demands for gold. Yet this arrangement would probably give London a gold reserve of £100,000,000 straight away. I respectfully present this idea to Sir Felix Schuster, to Professor Keynes, and to all others in this country who may think that a cumbersome and dangerously over-valued silver coinage of unlimited legal tender is good enough for the wealthiest and most populous over-sea division of the British Empire.

So much for theory. I turn now to practical financiers for an explanation as to why India should continue to be denied the restoration of her right of free coinage and the use of gold monetary weapons in her daily business transactions. One of such has told us, in the columns of the *Financial Times*, that, if India be permitted to import gold unrestrictedly from London, then Great Britain may, in an emergency, be threatened with a suspension of specie payments. The *Financial News* conveys to its readers an impression of what is going on by such head-lines as "Indian Gold Peril," and "Life Blood of the City runs Fast into India." The *Statist* has argued frequently that the use of gold coins by India would not only "enormously injure India," but would "injure the United Kingdom," and be "a very serious matter for the rest of the world." In fact, we have seen in the columns of the *Statist* an

apparently genuine apprehension that the use of gold money by India may wreck the financial and economic arrangements of the entire universe. This fear I believe to be a very short-sighted one, and altogether without good foundation, but its existence in more quarters than one—and I know several such—is unquestionable. It explains why nearly all the Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay representatives of English banking interests are now opposed to the introduction of a gold currency into India. It explains why some of the leading Chambers of Commerce in India no longer think that gold monetary tools are suitable or necessary for India. It finds its reflection in the official attitude of the Government of India, who, whilst willing to give the public sovereigns if desired, and so long as there may be sovereigns in the Treasuries, have latterly refrained from taking any active steps to encourage the people in the use of gold. And it has been traceable in the recent activities of the Financial Department of the India Office, which has transferred from India to London between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 of India's reserves and surplus cash balances, thereby intercepting for the time being—much to the relief of London—the flow of gold to India to this extent in settlement of the balance of trade in India's favour.

Here, then, we have the reasons why there has been opposition to the equipment of India with the best metallic monetary tools and machinery available — apprehension lest the withdrawal of gold from London should embarrass, or diminish the profits of, certain financiers, bill and stock-brokers, bankers and traders dependent thereon, backed up by the well-intentioned arguments of theorists and amateurs who apparently see no reason why India should not build up and depend upon a type of monetary mechanism not yet accepted in practice by (though possibly ahead of the system employed in) Great Britain, the self-governing colonies, and the leading nations of the world.

No doubt there would be a great saving in expenditure if

we abolished our police, our army, and our navy. Yet nobody advocates this form of economy. So, too, by doing without a gold mint and gold monetary tools in India, it would be possible for India to effect certain pecuniary savings. But I submit that such savings could only be purchased at great risk. Not until the nations of Europe have disbanded their great military organizations, not until Great Britain herself and the self-governing dominions have all given up the use of gold as currency for internal purposes would I recommend India to forego a return to gold monetary tools which she successfully employed before we demonetized them, and which helped to carry the fame of her wealth and civilization throughout the length and breadth of the then known world.

As for the fears of those who see visions of the city's "life-blood" running dry, I would earnestly ask them to study and ponder over three things—the present output of gold, the present rise in prices, and the present labour situation in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. In several places the bearings of our machinery of production are running hot. Everywhere the pinch of shrinking money power, and the resultant injustices to those commonly referred to as the labouring classes, are preparing the way for graver and more widespread labour troubles than have hitherto been experienced. The first cause of this loss of efficiency in our purchasing tools, this loss of value in the buying power of the sovereign, is beyond a doubt the enormous supplies of money now available. It is, I know, extremely difficult for the "man in the street" to realize that the law of supply and demand applies to his monetary instruments as well as to everything else in this world. Some able thinkers have recently expressed their disbelief in writing, and their books have found many sympathizers. But before forming opinions I would ask all who desire to grasp this most important problem, to re-read their Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, to follow this up by a study of the best-known modern experts, such as the late Walter

Bagehot, Mr. Alexander del Mar, Professors Francis Walker, Alfred Marshall, L. L. Price, W. T. Layton, W. J. Ashley, and others, and I venture to think that logic and facts will combine in establishing the conclusion that the unparalleled volumes of gold now flowing over the world's surface facilitate the creation of ever-increasing masses of credit money power which in its turn inflates prices, stimulates enterprise, and encourages commercial activities in a way and to a degree that may spell danger and possible disaster unless the pace be kept under most careful control.

Certain it is that the present annual output of gold has never before been approached in the world's history. Similarly indisputable is the fact that during the last ten or twelve years the United States, South America, Russia, France, Italy, and the other leading countries of the world outside India have secured *and retained* close upon £400,000,000 of the new gold. Yet we heard nothing about England's "life-blood flowing fast" to America. Why should India alone be held up to London's displeasure? As a matter of fact, Great Britain is the only country in the world that has managed to carry on with practically the same gold reserves as before. The smallness of our gold reserves is of course the measure of our advance from barbarism. At the same time, the continuous enlargement of the superstructure of credit without any known increase in its gold foundation may be attended by considerable risk, and there is now a very widespread belief that the liabilities of Government and of the banking community in the United Kingdom in the matter of deposits from the public are exceedingly large in comparison with the visible gold reserves of the country. This situation cannot be simplified by withholding gold from India, and giving her instead millions after millions of inferior silver tools on the plea that the peoples of India (not knowing any better) are not asking for gold. Yet this is the policy that some people urge, and, in effect, the policy that Government have recently been carrying out. This

policy does not seem to me worthy of British rule. It is not the way to equip India with the best form of metallic money power. It is not the way to help London towards a larger gold reserve. On the contrary, by adding silver to the enormous mass of gold metallic money in existence, it directly induces further price inflation, further labour friction, further excessive demands for new capital, further excessive depreciation of gilt-edged securities—in short, all those symptoms which spell DANGER in the eyes of those who look beyond the momentary gains of the well-to-do classes of the community.

These are days of rising prices. London discounts must therefore rise with everything else (gilt-edged securities always excepted). And by openly recognizing this fact and paying the price accordingly, Great Britain can obtain and retain any gold reserve that it may think desirable, leaving India in the same position as America and the rest of the world to take whatever gold she can pay for. High discounts in London mean higher discounts elsewhere, so that British trade is not in the least likely to suffer in the long run by the changed financial conditions.

There is another consideration of the greatest importance. The providing of India with a gold mint at which her own raw gold ornaments, bars, etc., can be freely converted into sovereigns as the public may require, also with ample supplies of gold monetary tools for the use of traders and others of good standing (of whom there are probably as many in India as in the United Kingdom), and with gold reserves for internal and external use, as necessary, will be a source of great strength not only to India but also to Great Britain, and therefore to the Empire as a whole. The *Times* the other day remarked that "even Mr. Webb admitted under cross-examination that if the Gold Standard Reserve were kept in India, it would have to be sent to London when a crisis occurred." From which the *Times* appeared to deduce the conclusion that India's reserves ought always to be kept in London. But I would ask the

Times—I ask any practical London financier—which would he prefer were a financial crisis unfortunately to develop in London—India suddenly drawing on London for perhaps £5,000,000 to £8,000,000, or India shipping £5,000,000 to £8,000,000 sterling to London *in gold*? There seems to me only one answer; for whilst the former would greatly augment London's difficulties—possibly create serious danger, the other would in all probability save the situation in London, and at the same time be wholly satisfactory to India. This is one of the reasons why the holding of £30,000,000 or £40,000,000 of India's money in London appears to me altogether unsound and a danger to London's delicately balanced financial credit structure, rather than a support.

In preparing for India a scheme of additional money power, I will now assume that the desirability of (1) an open gold mint; (2) gold monetary tools in daily use; and (3) accumulations of gold money in the paper currency and gold standard reserves for internal and external use is freely recognized, and proceed forthwith to consider India's banking equipment. I have always urged that the business of indigenous banking ought to be encouraged in every way. In my "*Advance, India!*" published recently, I warned my Indian friends that the cash balances held by the purely Indian banks were dangerously small compared with the magnitude of the deposits received from the public. Since that warning was published, three or four of the Indian banks have run aground. It is an unfortunate mishap which everybody will deplore. I sincerely trust that the institutions concerned will not be wrecked, but that with care and courage they may be soon refloated. The matter to which it will now be well to give some consideration is the desirability or otherwise of creating a great central State Bank for India. There is no doubt that some enterprising bankers would be quite ready to take over all the Government of India's balances, reserves, paper currency, banking and

exchange business, and manage all these departments on Government's behalf. Government itself is suspected of not being averse to getting some of its financial responsibilities off its shoulders. The exchange bankers, however, scent competition, and are, I believe, against the idea to a man.

The advantages of the concentration of money power in a country where individual integrity is above reproach, are obvious. The waste involved in the holding up of great volumes of a nation's money in Government treasuries is also obvious to most people. No unbiassed and well-informed spectator could doubt for one moment that a better use of the £90,000,000 of Indian treasury balances and reserves, held by the Indian Office and the Government of India, could be devised than is now actually made. Then again, the backward condition of many of the population in India in the matter of a business-like utilizing of their savings and spare cash, the insufficiency of really cheap capital at certain seasons of the year, and the scope existing for a considerably further extended use of the paper currency are all matters that might be satisfactorily handled by a great central State Bank.

The first and vital point to decide is—Who is to control the proposed Indian State Bank? This great organization with its cash resources of perhaps £100,000,000, to make no mention of Capital and Deposits from the public, would be one of the most powerful monetary forces in the world. Who is to wield this force? In Great Britain the demands of the kingly rulers and their governments in the past combined with a wide-spread ignorance and apathy on the part of the public regarding monetary science, have resulted in the supreme control of money power at length passing into the hands of a comparatively few great financiers—often of the Jewish race. These great money merchants have carried on their businesses with the utmost skill and foresight; so much so, that whilst their ingenuity and integrity have greatly benefited both Government and the

public, they have at the same time succeeded in placing the leading governments of the world in quite a subordinate position so far as the control of Money Power is concerned. Now, in civilized states, Government ought, I submit, to be the chief source and controlling authority of Money Power. So successful have our bankers been in the past in relieving Government of one of its most important functions—the issue and control of Money Power—that at this moment in the United Kingdom, perhaps the most advanced country in the world in many ways, neither people nor Government have yet commenced to enjoy the advantages of a State paper currency! In the absence of such a currency, the bankers of Scotland and England have discovered and developed means of building up colossal dealings on the strength of paper promises to pay in gold (if required), not one per cent. of which promises are ever or can ever be carried out. Yet, thanks to the assistance and encouragement of the bankers, we all continue to make these promises from day to day, largely regardless of the possible dangers of the situation. To such a degree has the science of banking and credit-spinning been carried that many responsible authorities have commenced to ask themselves whether our gigantic credit structures are not beginning to get a little top-heavy. Statesmen, economists and newspapers of the highest standing have openly stated that, compared with the volume of business now transacted in the United Kingdom, Great Britain's gold reserves are inadequate. Yet no British Government has so far felt itself strong enough to interfere or to make any attempt to safeguard the public interests by controlling the activities of the great financiers and bankers in any way by legislation. Lord Goschen, Mr. Asquith, the London Chamber of Commerce, the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, the *Economist*, the *Statist*, and even the *Bankers' Magazine*, have all talked; but that is all. Little or nothing has yet been done so far as the public know. The truth is that, so powerless is the Government of Great Britain to grapple with the

danger, in the event of any serious crisis, local or international, arising out of the insufficiency of our gold reserves or the unexpected restriction or destruction of credit, Government would find itself compelled to act, not independently as its own position as guardian of the whole of the public interests would demand, but subserviently as the great financial and banking interests of the City of London might require. It is possible that the interests of the great mass of our people and the interests of London's cosmopolitan financiers and bankers might exactly coincide. On the other hand, it is conceivable that they might not. As things stand at present in England, Government has no choice in the matter. Government must act as Money Power dictates.

Is this the situation that we desire to work up to in India—Government nominally supreme, but the purse-strings in the control of a mixed directorate of Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, and Europeans, the last probably in a minority? It would be folly to shut our eyes to the direction in which we are steadily moving in India. Though the days of complete self-government on the Colonial type may be far distant, there can be no doubt that our Indian fellow-subjects under our active and whole-hearted tuition are yearly advancing in social, economic, and political efficiency, and in due course they will assuredly reap the rewards of that efficiency in every department of their activities. Bearing these facts in mind, remembering the special conditions that prevail in India—the multiplicity of interests, racial and religious, as well as economic and political, the overwhelming magnitude, numerically, of the illiterate and uninformed classes as compared with the numerical insignificance of Government's leading brains and hands, I am forced to the conclusion that it is imperative in the interests of the people of India as a whole, as well as of Government itself, and of the commercial and general interests of the United Kingdom and the Empire that the Government of India should not now relinquish one jot or

tittle of its MONEY POWER, or, what is almost of equal importance in India, of the prestige that universally attaches to great MONEY POWER. Lord Mayo, when referring to Mr. Dickson's scheme of 1867 for amalgamating the three Presidency Banks, wrote to the Secretary of State for India :

" . . . I submit that it is not for the interest of a State that a great institution of this kind should grow up for all India, the interests of which may in time be opposed to those of the public, and whose influence at any rate may overshadow that of Government itself. . . ."

Here we have words of wisdom, as sound to-day as when they were penned.

If, then, we desire India to obtain the benefits which a concentration of her currency mechanism, monetary resources, and financial machinery, under one central control in India would undoubtedly give, that central control must be exercised by Government and not by private interests amidst which Government might be more or less effectively represented. In other words, the proposed Central Bank must be a department of Government—a real STATE BANK—wherein, whilst public interests should be strongly represented, Government must exercise supreme, unfettered control. Such a State Bank might be advised by Local Financial Boards in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, on which private commercial and financial interests would preponderate. To such a State Bank Department it would be incumbent on Government to appoint permanent financial and banking officials of the highest calibre. Under a control of this kind an enlightened and progressive development of India's MONEY POWER would follow. The superiority as money of nickel to copper, gold to silver, and of paper to gold would, each in its place and to a proper degree, receive methodical encouragement. Every treasury and sub-treasury in the continent would become a branch of

the State Bank. Depositors would be actively welcomed in every corner of the country, though not in cutting competition with private banks. It is doubtful if the State Bank would need to raise any capital as such. Government's balances, cash reserves, and other resources (paper money and deposits) could from time to time be employed to help the progress of public works (whether undertaken by Government or by Indian Rulers and governments), of agricultural banks, and of India's largest private banks and financiers, especially during periods of pressure that regularly arise when the most valuable crops are being moved. With a State Bank managed on these lines, it is doubtful if any advantage to Government or the public would accrue from the amalgamation and inclusion of the existing Presidency Banks, though this might perhaps be arranged in order to give to Government the benefits of the existing machinery and expert managing staffs. The shareholders' rights and position would, of course, have to be fully recognized. This portion of the problem, though difficult, need not be insuperable.

A STATE BANK of this character, undertaking the whole of India's monetary business, internal and external, whilst adding greatly to Government's power and prestige would at the same time greatly encourage the banking habit amongst India's timid millions, and would thus be a source of strength to the great masses of the people as no other institution could. The development is not likely to be received with enthusiasm by the banking community in India or England, but its inauguration need not be deferred on this account.

I have now completed my sketch of the way in which I would, did the matter rest in my hands, provide additional MONEY POWER FOR INDIA. The best, and nothing but the best, that would be my guiding principle. Copper and nickel tools for the poor and for small transactions; silver for the multitude; gold for the well-to-do; and paper for large transactions and for the wealthiest and most advanced

classes—a State Paper Currency supplemented by every conceivable banking facility, State as well as private. No doubt the day will some day come when a majority of the public will perceive that amongst civilized nations money is after all merely a certificate of service performed, and that, granted reasonable prospects of national security and widespread honesty of dealing between man and man, there is no reason why such certificates should not for the most part be recorded on paper instead of on little discs of gold and silver. Such paper would not require to be supported by tons of metal, because no rational being would need the metal. The fact that the certificates bore the impress and signature of Government *testifying that they represented work performed for the State in the general good*, would be sufficient in a rational and law-abiding community to secure their widespread acceptance and circulation. It would be necessary strictly to limit the State work against which such monetary certificates were issued, to public schemes of a material and permanent character, and to state on the face of the certificate the exact locality and nature of the capital work represented by the certificates.

Thus, Government are about to construct, let us assume, a new canal or a new railway of undoubted public worth and permanent value. Instead of borrowing two or three millions sterling or more for the purpose (upon which the State would have to pay interest), there is no reason why two or three millions of State paper currency should not be issued to pay for the cost of the work. These notes (one sovereign bearer debenture bonds, let us say) would not promise to give the holder so many grains of gold thirty or forty or fifty years hence, but would certify that they represented the So-and-So State Canal or State Railway, and that they were legal tender throughout India to and by the Government and the public in settlement of legal debt. Their inscription might be: **PAY TO THE BEARER THE EQUIVALENT OF THE SERVICE RENDERED TO THE STATE BY**

THE FIRST HOLDER OF THIS NOTE, CERTIFIED AND REGISTERED HEREBY, ONE SOVEREIGN.

Orthodox bankers of conservative instincts will, of course, shudder at this suggestion of an inconvertible currency, even be the amount ever so limited. But the Government of India (who, by their enlightened policy of recognizing the shrinkage in money power in India and compensating their servants accordingly, have placed themselves in the forefront of all civilized Governments), are already on the road of scientific monetary progress in this direction. By basing ten millions sterling of their present paper currency on their own paper securities instead of directly on gold or silver, they have taken the first step. It is only one step more, and a very short one, to continue the issue of paper currency based directly on, say, State railways, instead of on the promissory notes by aid of which the State railways have been constructed. When next the purchasing power of India's money shows signs of increasing—it is dwindling rapidly at present—then will be the moment to launch the first issue of the new rational State money. May the happy moment be not long deferred.

I trust that I have now made it quite clear why, in the hope of providing more MONEY POWER for India, and, at the same time, easing the unmerited labour hardships in India and the United Kingdom caused by constantly rising prices, I advocate gold coins and an open gold mint for India. Further, I am in favour of a State concentration in India, on business lines, of India's cash balances and monetary reserves, a large part of whose value is now dissipated by the employment of methods and practices long out of date. The development of India's paper currency in the direction that I have just outlined is a matter for the future. The world will soon be civilized and enlightened enough to attempt these things. It is even possible that India may lead the way.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, October 27, 1913, a paper entitled "Money Power for India" was read by Mr. M. de P. Webb, C.I.E. (late Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, etc.). Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Henry Evan James, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Horatio and Lady Shephard, Sir Daniel M. Hamilton, the Chief of Inchalkaranji, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. J. B. Pennington and Miss Drury, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. F. W. Barbour, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. and Mrs. Jackson, Mr. R. S. Pandit, Mr. Nihal Singh, Mrs. M. de P. Webb, Colonel M. B. Pearson, C.B., Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Reginald Murray, Mr. T. Stoker, C.S.I., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. M. W. Hassanally, Miss Wade, Mr. F. Hart, Mr. Apcar, Mr. Dunbar, Mr. James Macdonald, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Mr. Edward Tuck, Mr. Moreton Frewen, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. F. G. Wigley, Mr. Ryan, Mr. Sundram Iyer, Mr. M. B. Tyabji, I.C.S., Mr. J. A. Malcolm, Mr. Mark B. F. Major, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. W. H. Christy, Mr. Mohamed Yamin Khan, Mr. Ali Fahmy Mohamed, Mr. Pratt, Mr. J. R. Baillie, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Mr. Ananda Rau, Mr. T. H. Minshall, Mr. E. Benedict, Mr. J. S. Dhanjibhoy, Colonel F. C. W. Rideout, Mr. Dadiba Mewanjee Dalal, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant duty to introduce to you our lecturer, Mr. Webb, who has kindly consented to read us a paper this evening on a subject of very great importance, not only to India, but to the whole world, entitled "Money Power for India." He has been for a number of years Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, and he has there got into close contact with the money question both as affecting the population of India and as affecting trade generally. He has made a special study of this subject, and I am quite sure we shall all find that whatever he says to us is worthy of our closest attention. (Hear, hear.)

The lecturer then read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure you will all agree with me that we are much indebted to Mr. Webb for his most interesting and authoritative paper. It now falls to my lot to open the discussion, which I hope will be taken part in by a number of the authorities whom I see in this room. First of all I have to apologize for appearing in the chair at all. I know that our energetic Secretary tried hard to get some more competent chairman for this meeting, and only fell back on me as a last resort. I am not a financial authority, although I have had some occasion to study the question of Indian currency. I received very short notice, so I have not been able to think out, as fully as I should like, what to say to you; but I think the best way in which I might help in the discussion is to call attention to certain statistical facts (you cannot understand currency questions without statistics), and to certain conclusions which seem to be generally accepted, and perhaps to give some estimates and ideas of my own. I will ask you to bear with me while I read what I have got to say, because these currency questions are such that one has to be very careful in one's figures and estimates. I shall not take up very much of your time. First of all I think it will be better to see what Mr. Webb in his interesting paper actually proposes should be done, and I gather that his proposals are practically as follows:

India should be provided with (1) a gold mint at which her own raw gold, ornaments, bars, etc., can be freely converted into sovereigns, as the public may require.

2. Gold monetary tools in daily use—*i.e.*, a full value gold currency.
3. Accumulations of gold money, in India, in the paper currency and gold standard reserves, for internal and external use.
4. A central bank which must be a department of Government, a real State Bank, wherein, whilst public interests should be strongly represented, Government must exercise supreme unfettered control.
5. The Government might issue inconvertible notes, based on services rendered to the State, to pass current at a value of one sovereign each.

Incidentally I might say that, if I were in India, and I knew that some of Mr. Webb's inconvertible notes were about, I should be very careful to stipulate that for any goods I sold or services I rendered I should be paid, not in inconvertible notes, but in rupees or sovereigns, or convertible notes.

Now, I want to draw your attention to certain conclusions, and they are as follows:

In India, although prices are generally quoted in rupees, they are really gold prices, a rupee meaning one-fifteenth of the value of the gold in a sovereign. The rupee coin is merely a token, the value of which in exchange does not vary with the value of the silver of which it is made.

GOLD.

The value of gold in exchange for other commodities all the world over is dependent on the same law of demand and supply as is the case with that of any other commodity. A general rise in gold prices means a fall in

the exchange value of gold, and must mean that the available supply of gold has increased faster than the effective demand.

Gold is unlike most other commodities, in that its rate of consumption or wastage is comparatively very small, and whatever gold is produced from year to year is added to the stock of gold already accumulated in the world during the past centuries. The rate of annual production of gold has increased very rapidly within the last sixty years. While in the two centuries preceding 1850 the addition to the world's stock of gold was about £480,000,000, in the last half of last century it was £1,400,000,000, in the first ten years of this century it was £780,000,000, in the last three years about £290,000,000.

ABSORPTION OF GOLD BY INDIA.

Statistics of import and export show that during the last seventy-three years—*i.e.*, since 1840—India has absorbed £310,000,000 worth of gold, or about one-eighth of the whole world's production of gold during that period. India must at this moment contain at least £350,000,000 worth, or about a tenth of all the gold in the world.

During the first ten years of this century India absorbed £82,000,000 worth of the £780,000,000 produced in the whole world—*i.e.*, more than one-tenth. During the last three years the world's production of gold has been about £290,000,000 worth, and of this India has absorbed £73,000,000 worth, or one-fourth of the whole world's production during those three years.

From these marvellous figures two conclusions may be drawn: (1) There is at present in India an ample supply of gold for all purposes; (2) had not India absorbed such a large proportion of the new gold produced in the world during the last thirteen years, prices of commodities must have everywhere risen much faster than they actually have.

SOVEREIGNS.

In the last twelve years British gold coin to the value of £97,000,000 has been imported into India, and after deducting the £23,000,000 exported during that period, mainly by the Government, the statistics show that there must now be in India seventy-four million sovereigns more than there were twelve years ago. Of this increase, only fourteen millions has been added to the reserves held by the Government, so that the stock of sovereigns held by the banks and people has increased in the twelve years by sixty millions. In 1902 there were six million sovereigns in the hands of the Government, and there must have been a considerable number in the hands of the people; so that it seems a safe estimate to say that at present there must be at least 100 million sovereigns in India, of which Government holds twenty millions, and the banks and people at least eighty millions.

It seems safe, then, to conclude that India has plenty of sovereigns already for all purposes of currency, and that she has no difficulty in getting all the sovereigns she wants. There is therefore no need to establish a mint in India in order to coin sovereigns.

Yet I agree with Mr. Webb that India should have a mint capable of

coining gold, preferably ten-rupee pieces, of the same fineness as the sovereign, but only two-thirds of its weight. Such coins might prove popular, and the experiment is worth trying. The people of India might at any time wish to turn their great hoards of gold in bullion or ornaments into legal tender coin, and should have the means of doing so without sending the gold to a distant mint, which must reduce its saleable value, in exchange for current coin. And, lastly, many people in India would, for sentimental reasons, like to have an Indian mint and Indian gold coin, and as the cost would be small, that natural wish should be gratified. I therefore vote for the establishment of a gold mint in India.

GOLD CURRENCY.

Mr. Webb proposes that India should have a gold currency. If by that he means that the Government should undertake at all times to give out gold for rupees at the rate of one sovereign for fifteen rupees, I cannot agree that the time has come for that step. It would require the maintenance of an enormously costly reserve of gold, and might in a time of bad harvests and of monetary crisis compel the Government to buy gold at a ruinous rate to meet the demand. But if he means only that the Government should give people every facility for getting sovereigns or other gold coins whenever they want them, I agree with him. Already in normal times the Government does give out sovereigns freely, and at present it has twenty millions of them available for the purpose. I would go further, and, when the supply of sovereigns in the reserve is large and that of rupees small, would decline to issue rupees in large quantities and cash large demands for coin in gold only—not so much with the object of forcing gold coins into currency, as with that of economizing the stock of rupees and avoiding the necessity of coining any more rupees.

Now I want to draw your attention to

THE RUPEE.

The outstanding feature of the present Indian Currency system is that the rupee is a mere token coin, representing in exchangeable value one-fifteenth of the gold in a sovereign—that is, 16d. sterling—whereas its intrinsic value as a piece of metal is only about 10d. sterling. There is a vast number of these token rupees in circulation and in hoards, and the main object of all currency operations must be to maintain the value of the token rupee as nearly as possible at 16d. sterling. There is no danger of its rising appreciably above that value so long as the sovereign is legal tender in India for a debt of Rs. 15. The danger is that at some critical time the value of the rupee, in exchange either for gold or for other commodities, may fall appreciably below 16d., and such a fall could only occur if at any time the supply of available rupees considerably exceeded the demand for them. The demand for rupees varies very greatly from season to season, with the character of the harvests and the briskness or slackness of trade. Under present conditions, under which anyone desiring a supply of rupees can obtain them at the rate of Rs. 15 to the £1, on presenting gold or notes to

the Government Treasury, the demand automatically increases in good years, and the Government is forced, if the public so requires, to increase the supply by coining fresh rupees so as to meet that demand. The consequence is, that the supply of rupees in India is always made sufficient to meet the maximum demand from time to time, and not the average demand. Then, when a year of bad harvests or bad trade comes round, the demand for rupees naturally slacks off, and the rupees find their way back to the Government Treasury, and, being at the time in excess of the demand, are in danger of falling seriously in exchange value. And most of the precautions of the present currency system are designed to prevent that fall going too far at such times. The necessity for these precautions is simply due to the existence at such times of an enormous number of rupees in excess of the demand at the moment. If, therefore, arrangements could be made by which the number of rupees in existence could be restricted, not to the maximum demand of a good year, but to the average demand of good and bad years taken together, the embarrassment caused by a redundancy of rupees in bad years would be greatly reduced, and the need for such precautions greatly lessened.

This can be done by Government, if it refuses to issue rupees without limit on a mere demand, and thus keeps the number of rupees in existence at a figure representing, in its judgment, the average demand for a series of years. The Government can do this, without legislation, by taking advantage of the fact that gold as well as rupees is legal tender in India for payments made by the Government as well as by private individuals. That is to say, it can withdraw the notification announcing that Government is ready at all times to pay out rupees in exchange for gold or notes, and can refuse to give rupees in exchange either for gold or notes, unless when it has a sufficient supply of rupees to meet the demand without coining more.

I do not think that sufficient regard is paid to the enormous number of rupees existing in hoards, many of which would be tempted out of hoards into circulation if they were exchangeable at an appreciated value, either for goods or for gold, owing to a temporary shortage in rupees.

As a matter of fact, the enormous hoards of rupees form an ample reserve, on which the population will automatically draw should the rupee become appreciated in comparison with the sovereign.

During the eight years ending with 1908 the Government in India actually coined and issued 1,000 million fresh rupees. During the previous thirty years it had issued 1,500 million rupees, and there must still be in hoards many rupees issued before that date. Since the closing of the mints, few people can have been so foolish as to melt rupees, seeing that the rupee coin will buy about one and a half times its own weight in silver. There are, therefore, probably in existence at least 2,500 million rupee coins, or about eight for every man, woman, and child in India—surely enough for currency purposes in a country where the wages of unskilled labour average about threepence a day.

The danger of increasing the supply of rupees too much above the demand of a slack year was shown in 1908 and 1909, when the amount of

rupees in the hands of Government rose from 350 million to 500 million and then to 600 million, and caused considerable embarrassment to the finances and widespread anxiety as to whether the exchange value of the rupee would not fall seriously below 1s. 4d., to the great loss of all engaged in trade and to the poorer wage-earners.

For four years the Government did not coin any more rupees. Last year, however, they did, as a matter of fact, set to work coining rupees again, and in the year 1912-1913, notwithstanding the warning given them by the events of 1908 and 1909, they coined 158 million more rupees. When these rupees are issued, the taxpayers of India will make out of that transaction £200,000, because for every rupee the Government coins it makes about 5d. or 6d. clear profit.

But consider the situation. Here is a Government which has in existence 2,500 million token coins, overvalued to the extent of 50 per cent., and in danger of being depreciated in exchange value in times of crisis or bad trade, and yet it proceeds to add to this token coinage an enormous number of similar token coins. I wonder that our political economists, who are never tired of inveighing against the iniquities of an inconvertible paper currency, have so little to say about this shortsighted action of the Indian Government.

I suggest, therefore, that the Government should cease coining rupees altogether for some years to come, and whenever it finds its supply of rupees running short, should refuse to issue rupees in large sums in exchange for notes or gold, being always prepared on such occasions to cash its notes in gold, whether the presenter of the notes would prefer rupees or not. Such a measure could not seriously hamper internal trade, and would greatly reduce the number of rupees returned to Government in a bad year, and render less necessary the costly precautions at present required to insure that in such a year the exchangeable value of the rupee shall not fall appreciably below 16d.

THE TWO RESERVES.

At present Government holds very large sums in two separate reserves for two separate purposes. As a matter of fact, these two reserves support each other, and they should now be amalgamated, and the total amount utilized either for one purpose or the other, as may be required. The strengthening of the position given by the amalgamation would make it safe to hold a less total sum in cash than need be held in the two separate reserves.

If we put together the amounts held in the gold standard reserve and the paper currency reserve on March 31 last, we find that it then amounted to £68,000,000 sterling, of which £27,000,000 was held in gold, £15,000,000 in rupees, and £26,000,000 in securities. Of this total, £27,000,000 was held in England, and £41,000,000 in India. Besides this amount held in the reserves, the Treasury balances on that date amounted to £28,000,000, so that altogether the reserves and balances at the disposal of the Secretary of State and the Government of India between them amounted to over £96,000,000. The Treasury balances

were then exceptionally large, and have since, I believe, been reduced. But confining attention to the £68,000,000 in the reserves, let us consider for what purpose such a large sum is so held. In the first place, it has to form a reserve against a possible demand for cash in lieu of currency notes. The gross issue of currency notes on that date was to the value of £46,000,000; but about £5,000,000 of this was held in Government treasuries, and £5,000,000 in the Presidency Banks' Head Offices, so that the active circulation was only £36,000,000, and as, at present, by law the Government of India can invest only £9,000,000 of the currency reserve in securities, it actually held in cash an amount equal to the total value of the notes in active circulation. Surely this is an excess of caution, even if the paper currency reserve stood by itself! But there was also the gold standard reserve, amounting to over £22,000,000, which, although primarily meant to be used for maintaining the exchange value of the rupee, is in reality a second reserve for the encashment of currency notes, as no one can doubt that it would be used for that purpose if necessary. I suggest, therefore, that the two reserves should be amalgamated, and only enough kept in the amalgamated reserve to meet the probable needs of the present two reserves. If the Government of India would only cease coining rupees and enforce its right, when the stock of rupees falls short, to cash its notes in gold, it would seem sufficient to keep as a gold standard reserve £20,000,000 in gold and £15,000,000 in gold securities—total £35,000,000; and as this sum would really be available to cash currency notes, it would seem sufficient to add to it as a currency first reserve gold and silver equal to one-third of the gross circulation of notes—that is, at present, about £15,000,000—making a total amalgamated reserve of £50,000,000, which, I should suggest, might be held as follows, as a *minimum* reserve in *normal* times:

Gold = 5 millions in England (earmarked at the Bank of England),
15 millions in India;

Rupees = 15 million pounds' worth in India;

Gold securities = 15 millions in England;

making a total of 20 millions held in England, and 30 millions held in India; 35 of the 50 millions held being sovereigns or rupees, and 15 millions gold securities.

If, as I suggest, a minimum reserve of £50,000,000 is sufficient in normal times, the present sum-total of the two reserves, which is about £68,000,000, is unnecessarily large, and India might safely reduce it by £18,000,000, which might be spent on the railway and canal extensions, of which she stands so urgently in need, and which would bring in to her taxpayers a net income of at least 5 per cent., or say £1,000,000 per annum.

Or, better still, at the present juncture of affairs India could spend this £18,000,000 in presenting to the King-Emperor an Indian fleet of five or six battleships of the most powerful modern type, as her contribution to the naval defence of the Empire to which she owes so much.

At present India contributes nothing to the expenses of the Empire, except in return for what she receives, either in goods or in services rendered, or by way of interest on money lent her. Her finances are more flourishing than those of almost any other country in the world. She pays nothing to the navy, nothing towards the interest on our National Debt. Her people, and especially the poorer masses, are improving in material prosperity as rapidly as are those of any old country in the world. It is high time that the leaders of thought in India should realize that it is India's duty to take her share of the burdens of the Empire, which have hitherto been borne almost entirely by the overtaxed population of these little islands in the Western Seas, and that India will never attain to the position among her sister nations in the British Empire which they desire for her, until she has shown her readiness to contribute her fair share of the expense of maintaining it in peace and security.

However that may be, the sum and substance of my advice to India as regards the management of her currency is, Don't coin any more rupees.

Now one word about a State Bank for India. I agree that, if one is established, it must be entirely under the control of the Government. You cannot have this enormous money power in the hands of people who are independent of the Government. The Bank Director, however wise and fair-thinking he may be, has to think, first and foremost, of the interests of his shareholders and depositors, and the interests of his Bank, and it is difficult for him to take a wide view of what would be for the good of the people of India. The greater part of the currency business is in the hands of the officials of the Finance Department of India; they are men who are trained in this business, and their chief object is, in all circumstances, the interests of the people of India. Their directors are the Government of India, whose chief object also is to do what is best for the people of India. Their shareholders are the whole of the taxpayers of India, and they are a much safer body of men to whom to entrust the management of these questions, than any body of bankers, independent of Government. Therefore I agree that the control of a State Bank, if there were one, should be entirely in the hands of the Government.

But, why make any change at all? Things are getting on very well indeed in India, and the only suggestion I have to make in the way of increasing the Government's banking business is (seeing that India has all these huge hoards of money, which means that people have not got full scope for utilizing their savings, and keep in their houses large quantities of gold and silver) the Government should make it possible for the people to deposit their money in an absolutely safe place. Of course, it does that by the Post Office Savings Banks in a small way, but what is wanted is that the Government should say to the people, "You can put your money into any of our Treasuries," and should give the depositor a deposit receipt, guaranteeing him interest at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and promise to repay him the deposit on three months' notice.

MR. SUNDARAM IYER thanked the Chairman for calling him an authority, and stated that he was not an authority, and he had been studying the question for a long time, and he was afraid he would have to present a

standpoint different to that presented by the paper. Whatever proposal was put forward must be in the interests of four-fifths of the population of India, and not in the interests of a few traders or merchants. He did not want to attack any particular class, but they had to bear in mind that, wherever reforms were suggested, the only test they could apply was whether they were in the interests of four-fifths of the population. The discussion so far had been whether the surplus balance was to be in the hands of the London banker or the Anglo-Indian banker. He ventured to ask: Where did the people come in? No one had answered that. The views presented were not the views of the people of India, but the views of a few of the bankers. The views of the people had been misrepresented, and mischievous suggestions had been put forward as to what would be good or bad for India.

The Chairman had gone to the extent of asking India to contribute to the Imperial Defence, and this is a new suggestion for the use of cash balances. The question as to how the cash balances were to be utilized reminded him of a story of a committee that discussed for several hours as to what should be done with a tiger they had caught, and they were informed at the end that the tiger had escaped! The question is, whether India will have large surplus balances. Examining the financial history from 1816, there were more deficits than surpluses. The deficits and exchange troubles were due to various causes—war, famine, plague. He would add to that a new item—*i.e.*, the costly administration of the country, which had increased during the period of five years from seventy-three to seventy-nine millions. Then add to these items the cost of commissions, and new departments, the increasing prices, etc.

MR. SUNDARAM IYER, in defending the London capitalist, said that the Government of India borrowed every year from the London capitalist, and the economic and industrial improvement is due to the British capital, and he would like to know whether any commercial agency or chamber of commerce in India had ever come to the relief of the people by opening up railways or new canals, in order to improve the conditions of the country?

About the question of gold currency, the speaker said that, if the whole population of India was against gold currency, as Mr. Webb puts it, what was the use of forcing it? and if the people did not want it, then who did want the gold currency? Granted that a gold currency was necessary, none of the witnesses before the Commission, including Mr. Webb, have put forward any scheme for increasing the circulation of gold. The simple expedient of throwing open the mints will not lead to successful results, except inflation of currency. The problem to be solved is how to replace the silver by gold. Would you make payments in gold, and deny silver to people? Would you withdraw Rs. 1,000,000 of silver and melt them to be sold as bullion? It is rather unfortunate that the advocates of a gold currency have not discussed this question properly.

MR. FREWEN said his remarks would be very short, because, as a matter of fact, he had been invited by the Association to read a paper during the next few weeks. It gave him much pleasure to find Mr. Webb in the flesh. He had read his excogitations on currency for the last thirty years, and what he knew about India and the silver question he had largely

learned from Mr. Webb. For the past two years he had been more puzzled by the psychology of Mr. Webb than by his economics. His altered views really go to the whole root of the currency question. Thus he was delighted to have now got the key—and a very interesting key it was—because he had discovered in every part of the world that when men's minds ran on this question of currency, to the exclusion of other and perhaps more important issues, they turned out "greenbackers." He did not wish to depreciate "greenbackism," because there might be a logical future for it—if not on this planet, then on some other—but he believed that if India were to adopt any such currency plan as that expounded in the closing page of Mr. Webb's paper—well, one more experiment after all the score India had suffered from did not much matter. If they were going to try such an experiment, the result would be a further inflation of currency, and if there was that inflation, the prices of Indian commodities would certainly rise still more. Thus imports into India would be stimulated, her exports would be reduced, and the balance of trade would go against India, and she would lose her gold standard with all her gold currency. He thanked God if India did lose her pernicious gold standard.

He looked at the Indian situation from the broadest standpoint. He regarded the gold and silver that was in India as enormous national assets. By the thrift of the people of India they had succeeded during hundreds of years in absorbing, as the Chairman declared, one-tenth of the whole gold of the world; yes, and also one-fifth of all the known silver on the earth's surface. The gold could be left to take care of itself; anyone who owned gold could draw fifteen rupees against a sovereign's worth of gold. He was only concerned in taking care of the silver of the myriad poor; and what had been done in relation to silver by the British Government he held up to the reprobation of our time and our posterity. Actually the only security the poor people of India had acquired was their silver—silver either in the form of bullion or of ornaments. They owned roughly 2,000 million ounces of silver, which was some twenty-five rupees *per capita*. When silver was admitted to free coinage, they were able to get rupees against all the silver bullion they owned at par—180 grains was a rupee with mints open. But the Government had so legislated since 1893 that, instead of the *per capita* silver capital of India being twenty-five rupees, they had reduced that 2,000 million ounces of silver in its money power and food purchasing power to some thirteen rupees! Nor was that all. They had not only reduced the value of the bullion for the mint purpose by 50 per cent., but because India was at this moment suffering from an inflation of her currency, all prices had risen enormously in India, and the man who would have had a money power of twenty-six rupees (now reduced to thirteen because the mints are closed) when he now takes a rupee into the market the purchasing power of that rupee is further shorn by one half. There was no reply to those things. The tampering with the Indian currency was perfectly intolerable.

He would say: If they were going to do those things, then do them up to the top notch, as Mr. Webb proposes. Let them drive the gold that was in India pell-mell out of India into Europe, by vast issues of inconvertible paper. The result would be that more gold would come into

Europe, and there would be a further rise of prices in Europe. Then, if prices in India had not risen, everything that India exported would find here a better market, and her exchange and financial situation would be infinitely easier. The Chairman remarked that, but for the absorption of gold by India, the rise of prices in the West would have been greater than it has been. That was not an argument that commended itself to him, in the light of history. After some £700,000,000 of gold had come from California and Australia, in the last century, wages and prices rose in Europe, but not very considerably, and when surprise was expressed that the inflation of prices here was not very much greater, Michel Chevalier said that "silver is the parachute which has broken the fall of gold." A memorable explanation indeed! The fact was, that the whole silver currency of the Latin Union passed into the melting-pot, and was thrown pell-mell into India. That contraction of our currencies modified the tendency to the rise of prices here. I live in the hope that we shall see that condition restored, and that silver may again be the "parachute." India in the last thirteen years had drawn against her great trade balances fully £170,000,000 sterling in gold. If she had been allowed to draw her trade balances, as before 1893, in silver instead of gold, she would have attracted the loose silver of the world into India; she would have drawn, instead of a great mass of gold which she does not want and we want enormously, some 800 million ounces of silver. When we allow for the consumption by the silversmiths of the world in their business, the whole of the silver that had been produced in the last eight years can be earmarked as having been coined for token currencies by the rest of the world, except some five million ounces. Instead of five million ounces of surplus here, there would have been 800 million ounces flowing into India.

As he had previously said, the arrival of the new gold of Australia and California in Europe was of infinite value; it occasioned a very sunburst of prosperity—the "Golden Age" in the world's history. Why, therefore, should not the same condition of things have resulted if silver had been permitted to flow into Asia after 1893? England had done an unpardonable thing. He agreed with every word of Mr. Sundara Iyer (who had written a memorandum for the sitting Royal Commission, which he would recommend everyone to read). Mr. Iyer pointed out, on the authority of the Indian banks he represented before the Commission, that in 100 per cent. of transactions 75 per cent. were effected by silver certificates, 20 per cent. by rupees, and 5 per cent. only of the transactions were in sovereigns, at once melted down by shroffs. In order that shroffs should have gold to melt down for jewellery, they had tampered with the whole credit system of India, and they had handed over 300,000,000 of the people of India to be despoiled, through ruinous rates of interest by the most unscrupulous usurers in the world.

In conclusion, he said that he would shortly find the opportunity to put his views before the Association, and if it were not possible to find adequate remedies for the present juggling with the Indian currency, he would join Mr. Webb, perhaps, in the ranks of the greenbackers.

MR. MURRAY: As there is not much time, I will hand in my paper to the Association, so that they may be able to see what I intended to say. I

am not quite in agreement with the general view of the quantity of money theory, but it is too long a thing to go into now. I will hand in this paper, and you will see what my views are on that subject. I am fully against the State Bank. No doubt Mr. Webb will naturally say, that is because I have been an Exchange banker, but that is not at all the reason.

Many of us probably think that Mr. Webb's zeal for Indian interests overruns the discretion which the case of India calls for. It seems to me, personally, to be one that elicits the philosophic dictum of Captain Bunsby that "the bearings of this observation lies in the application on it."

Take the quantity of money theory, which Mr. Webb largely relies on to prove that the prices of commodities owe their rise solely or principally to inflated volumes of money. I will read you what John Stuart Mill, one of Mr. Webb's authorities, has written upon this subject :

"The proposition which we have laid down respecting the dependence of general prices upon the quantity of money in circulation must be understood as applying only to a state of things in which money—that is, gold or silver—is the exclusive instrument of exchange, and actually passes from hand to hand at every purchase, credit in any of its shapes being unknown. When credit comes into play as a means of purchasing, distinct from money in hand, we shall hereafter find that the connection between prices and the amount of the circulating medium is much less direct and intimate, and that such connection as does exist no longer admits of so simple a mode of expression. That an increase of the quantity of money raises prices, and a diminution lowers them, is the most elementary proposition in the theory of currency, and without it we should have no key to any of the others. In any state of things, however, except the simple and primitive one which we have supposed, the proposition is only true, other things being the same ; and what those other things are, which must be the same, we are not yet ready to pronounce.

"For example, it is habitually assumed that whenever there is a greater amount of money in the country, or in existence, a rise of prices must necessarily follow. But this is by no means an inevitable consequence. In no commodity is it the quantity in existence, but the quantity offered for sale, that determines the value. Whatever may be the quantity of money in the country, only that part of it will affect prices which goes into the market of commodities, and is there actually exchanged against goods. Whatever increases the amount of this portion of the money in the country tends to raise prices. But money hoarded does not act on prices. Money kept in reserve by individuals to meet contingencies which do not occur does not act on prices. The money in the coffers of the Bank, or retained as a reserve by private bankers, does not act on prices until drawn out, nor even then unless drawn out to be expended in commodities."

You must see how difficult it is to say what other influences beside that of money may not have affected prices ; how especially in India hoarding has diminished redundancy to zero ; how the enormous new issues of credit during the last few years for new enterprises must to a large extent have been, temporarily we hope, unproductive, as they must always be pending development ; how demand and supply has separately affected the prices of each commodity ; finally, how, the production of gold notwithstanding

the result, far from indicating a surplus, impresses us with a fear that there is barely enough to go round. I quite agree with Mr. Webb that what we do see is inflation in the issue of credit, but I think it is correct to say that credit is more the product of prosperity than of gold. Prices, too, have, I think, been raised as the result of prosperity rather than by the production of gold. The increased cost of production of all commodities, including gold, is also a part of prosperity, because it follows from a higher scale of wages, which means that there is a fairer distribution of wealth; that profits are being shared by the poorer as well as by the richer classes; that consequently there is a wider demand for commodities, especially for those comprised in the necessities of life. The counteracting effect of wages on prices, and prices on wages, may suggest the nightmare of a spiral staircase, but that omits allowance for the reacting effect of new issues. These can only be stimulated by one object, to supply an increasing demand, and though there may be some delays and even failures, it may be taken that, as a whole, they do bring supply up to the demand, and adjust prices from an artificial to a natural level.

The pith of Mr. Webb's argument, as I understand it, is: "Give India a sound system of currency with open mints, and let expedience and economy adjust themselves to it; this they will more easily do under conditions in which simplicity and finality are substituted for artificiality and uncertainty." It is a brave argument, and one which we must all respect. But—there is always a "but"—I think there is a prevailing preference to put expedience and economy first. It is essentially a transition to be conducted on the principle of *solvitur ambulando*.

I am rather surprised that Mr. Webb, while deprecating official manipulation of the currency and exchange, should support the proposal of a State Bank to manipulate the finance of trade. If there is one thing more than another that is an article of faith throughout the Empire, it is the freedom of our banks from State interference. State finance and bank finance are two distinctly different things. They may for certain purposes be brought together, but they cannot be worked together, without destroying the individuality of both. The State is the trustee of the national funds, and its duty is to trust nobody. The banks are the centres of credit, and as such have to exploit trust to the fullest extent that opportunity and discretion permit, in order to receive trust in return, and their operations, though they incidentally assist others to make profits, are conceived with the object of making profits exclusively for themselves.

I suppose everyone admits that the enormous progress which has been attendant on Free Trade is a strong argument in its favour, not a final one, perhaps, but one which must make reformers hesitate in rushing to what they may consider a higher ideal. I suggest to Mr. Webb, that seeing how greatly trade and prosperity have improved under the Indian Currency Reform scheme as conducted since 1899, there is at least good reason for allowing the *solvitur ambulando* principle to work out gradually and automatically.

MR. MAJOR thought that Mr. Frewen had rather made sport of Mr. Webb's suggestion of what he termed "greenbacks." He did not know how far Mr. Webb had put that forward seriously, or how far he was

working to that end, but he ventured to think Mr. Webb had come very near to the truth, and he hoped before long Mr. Frewen would come to realize it. Mr. Frewen had said that an unbacked paper currency would lead to inflation, but he had shown them that to-day there was inflation under the present system. It was true Mr. Frewen was endeavouring to get rid of that inflation by a different method, but if they could have a standard, and regulate the issues of currency, the Government, or the people of India, need not fear inflation, when they accepted a purely paper currency, based not on a precious metal, but on that which is at the back of all wealth—the food supply of the people—in such a way that you prevent, on an average of years, the average price of the chief food grain from fluctuating. In years of scarcity the price would rise, and they would find that that would lead to plenty, because the merchants would be more interested in obtaining grain for the people than in obtaining manufactures which the people could not buy.

Mr. Webb was absolutely right in his main contention, but when he suggested that currency might be issued against canals he undoubtedly gave himself into Mr. Frewen's hands, as you could not base your currency on railways or canals, or anything of the kind. If, however, they based it on the food supply in the way suggested, so as to prevent the average price of food falling, they would find that the Government would have to give to the nation (whatever nation it was) their canals and railways—all that would develop the country of India—without cost to the nation; and in so doing, they would be able to give the further issues of money which were absolutely essential to the welfare of the people.

MR. E. BENEDICT said that he wished to put in a word in favour of the much maligned Englishman in India; he thought their Indian friends, instead of abusing them all the time, should take into consideration what they had done. Speaking personally, when in India he had employed a great number of natives in railway works, and made it possible for the produce of the land to go to ports, and it had been said that the value of the crops raised alongside the canals in one year was sufficient to pay for the whole capital cost of the canals all over India. That fact alone showed the country has improved enormously. Now, in plentiful years they could take their produce to the ports, and, owing to the railways, they could get produce from other parts of the country where there was no scarcity, at a reasonable cost.

THE LECTURER, who was received with applause, said: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I must first of all thank you for the very kindly way in which you have received my paper. The lateness of the hour makes it quite impossible for me to reply at length to all the points raised, especially as some of them refer to a period nearly a century back, and run through all kinds of matters, from the preparation of budgets, the disposal of surpluses and deficits, the supposed struggle between London and Anglo-Indian bankers, the much-maligned Englishman, India's contribution to the navy, and other matters outside the scope of the paper that I have read this afternoon; so I will simply content myself by drawing attention to one or two contrasts. Mr. Iyer tells us that no one in India wants gold, but the very last report of the Accountant-General of the Bombay Presi-

dency (which I hold in my hand) informs the world that gold is circulating freely, to the extent of very many millions sterling, in Western and Northern India. That is one little discrepancy of fact. Which is the correct statement? Then Mr. Frewen told us that it was necessary to deluge India with more silver, whilst the Chairman has pointed out that if there was one thing more than another which it was essential to avoid, it was the coinage of more silver! I will leave these two divergent opinions to cancel one another, merely remarking that I believe the Chairman to be right. There is another point to which I should like to draw attention, and that is with regard to the Chairman's remark on the subject of a mint: The Chairman would support a mint, not so much because it is necessary, as for sentimental grounds. I want to adduce another argument. In the Currency Report just issued by the Bombay Presidency appears this sentence: "In the absence of a gold mint in India there is no alternative but to remit periodically light sovereigns to England for coinage." The Government of India paid last year to the P. and O. £13,600 freight on light sovereigns re-shipped to England because there was no gold mint in India! That is more than the cost of maintaining a gold mint in Bombay! Those sovereigns might have been recoined in Bombay had there been a gold mint there; so I would draw attention to the fact that there are material, earthly, practical advantages, in addition to sentimental reasons, why you should have the gold mint mechanism on the spot rather than pay freight for bringing gold to London to be coined.

Then there is one last point. Mr. Iyer drew attention to the fact that we ought to consider the great mass of the people. That is the first consideration I had in my mind. I have been trying throughout to suggest proposals for providing the most satisfactory monetary tools, and I think if he looks carefully at my paper he will find I have referred to tools for the poor people, and to the agricultural banks by which these tools shall be placed at the disposal of the people. Also I have suggested that Government might do worse than place some of its funds in the banks of the co-operative societies with the special object of helping the poorer classes.

On the subject of inconvertible notes time will not permit me to argue now. The Chairman suggested that if he saw any of *my* notes about he would be very careful about accepting them. I think he would show great wisdom; but I did not suggest *my* notes, but notes of the Government of India, secured by Indian railways and canals. If the Chairman would not take Government notes of this character, I think that I know someone who would! I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for granting me so patient a hearing.

On the motion of Sir Robert Fulton, seconded by Sir Leslie Probyn, a very hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

If there had been a little more time last night, I should have liked to ask Mr. Webb one question.

He says, more than once, that paper, even if inconvertible, is a more

scientific form of currency than even gold, and we have already got an increasingly popular paper currency in India, backed by funds that seem to amount to about 90 million sterling, to say nothing of the whole credit of the Government, and the many millions it has invested in railways and irrigation, etc. Where then is the need for an extravagant luxury like a gold currency, and why should not notes for ten and five rupees serve India as well as one-pound notes serve canny Scotland? Perhaps he will kindly explain, even now.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

MR. WEBB writes: The discussion of my paper wandered so very far from the points with which I was treating that no time was left for replying to one or two very important matters. Mr. Sundram Iyer altogether misunderstood the drift of my paper, which was not written on behalf of Anglo-Indian, London, or any other bankers, but solely on behalf of the people of India, many of whom have for some time been eagerly demanding gold monetary tools. Mr. Moreton Frewen, too, spoke as though I wanted to inflate India's currency with inconvertible paper; but I expressly pointed out that the present time was not at all suitable for the further issue of paper. Already the world's currency is depreciating so rapidly that I strongly object to its further inflation by the issue of tons of unnecessary silver coins in India—an objection that seems to me quite rational, but which Mr. Frewen stubbornly refuses to understand. I have carefully re-read the extract from John Stuart Mill to which Mr. Murray has kindly drawn my attention, and I find myself in exact agreement with it. No doubt the connection between the world's output of gold and the general purchasing power of money has never been more difficult to trace than at the present day, but that it operates by way of the credit allowed to the public by bankers (largely on the strength of their metallic reserves) is in my opinion unquestionable.

My reply to Mr. Pennington's inquiry is as follows:

1. The Indian paper currency is backed by the following:

IN INDIA.

Silver coin	...	...	...	about 10 million pounds.
Gold coin	...	...	...	" 17 " "
Securities	...	...	...	" 7 " "

IN LONDON.

Gold coin	...	...	...	about 6 million pounds.
Securities	...	...	...	" 3 " "

plus the credit of the Government of India.

2. A gold currency is not regarded as an "extravagant luxury" by Australasia, or South Africa, or Canada, or England, although in one sense it is. The use of a gold currency in India would (1) add very greatly to India's prestige and credit in the eyes of the *outside* world, (2) assure beyond all possible doubt or chance of mishap the stability of the rupee in relation to gold, and so (3) facilitate the movements of capital to and from India, (4) lower the rates of interest, and (5) contribute to a more rapid development of India's economic resources.

THE VERNACULARS IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By J. D. ANDERSON.

THOSE who are interested in Indian education seem to admit, firstly, that much literary talent which might have gone to the improvement and progress of indigenous literature is now lavished (I do not say "wasted") on English writing; and, secondly, that the study of the vernaculars by Englishmen living in India is more neglected than it was in days when a man could hardly conduct his business or perform his official duties without at least a practical familiarity with the tongue of the people. I am not at all sure that this state of things, so far as it exists, is altogether an evil; nor is it certain, even if the neglect of the vernaculars be admitted to be an evil, that there are not abundant compensations. There was a time when Latin was the language of learning all over Europe. It was necessarily a time when learning was the possession of a privileged few—of a class of pundits whose works were little known outside their exclusive circle. But it was an international possession, and the foundations of the modern sciences and literatures were laid by men who were the pick of all European nations. It may be that India is now going through a similar stage of intellectual development, and that English in India is performing the function which Latin performed in Europe till quite recent times. It

implies a condition of intellectual aristocracy, and is painful to the feelings of those whose leanings in art, literature, science, and education, are democratic.

There is so much to be said on both sides that I do not propose to suggest that the vernaculars should be made the medium of University instruction in India. Indeed, there is no occasion for me to defend this thesis. The thing has been done, once for all, by Sir Theodore Morison in his address on the subject to the members of the London East and West Society. I am not sure that I have had access to a full account of Sir Theodore Morison's paper, or of the subsequent discussion. I rely on a necessarily abbreviated report published in the *Indian Magazine* for September. But the report contains enough for my purpose. I am not surprised to find that Sir Theodore's suggestion that a freer use of the vernaculars should be made in Indian Universities met with considerable opposition. If the *Indian Magazine* is correctly informed, only two of Sir Theodore's hearers, Mr. S. C. Roy and Mr. P. K. Ghose (both of them, be it observed, Bengalis), were in favour of the vernaculars as a medium for University instruction and University examinations.

What were the arguments on the other side? Mr. P. C. Tarapore claimed that English should not be called a foreign language, "since it came from the same original stock" (as the Aryan languages of India, I presume). The fact that Sir Syad Ahmad and other leaders of Mussalman opinion in India did not know English was no proof that an ignorance of English is an advantage. Look at H.E. the Aga Khan and the Right Hon. Mr. Amir Ali, Mr. Tarapore argued. Their influence is not weakened, their intelligence is not blunted, by the fact that they have in English a second vernacular. Not otherwise might a Buchanan defend the use of Latin in education! Let us admit that there is much to be said for the plea.

Mr. S. Hussain raised a very practical objection to Sir Theodore's proposition. There are many vernaculars in

the area educationally controlled by Indian Universities. [I may say in passing that the Calcutta University has to provide for the intellectual needs of peoples whose vernaculars are Bengali, Hindi, Uriya, Assamese, Khasia, Tibetan, Burmese, and many minor languages.]

Mr. Mahomed Sadiq was suspicious, and, I think, satirical. How was it that two or three generations ago Englishmen were forcing English on Indian schools and Universities, and are now inclined to withdraw that boon? Mr. Mahomed Sadiq suggests, I think, that some political idea (probably quite absent from Sir Theodore's mind) underlies the proposed use of the vernaculars in the Universities.

Mr. Desai, I note with much interest, "described the vernaculars as dead languages: the only living language," he said, "amongst the educated classes is English."

Finally, to finish the case for the defence of English, Mr. Coldstream "was in favour of imparting the knowledge of the three R's in the vernacular, but for higher studies English was essential"; and Mr. Gandevia said that "if the suggestion of Sir Theodore Morison were put in force, the hands of progress in India would be set back a century."

Evidently Sir Theodore's audience, with two exceptions, was against him. He succeeded, that is, in eliciting the very valuable fact that educated Indians hold that the time has not come to make the vernaculars, or any of them, the basis of higher education in India. I am not going to ask members of the East India Association to reconsider a decision so unhesitatingly adopted by the London East and West Society. I will take it for granted that public opinion is not ripe, except possibly in Bengal, for the use of the vernaculars as a medium of advanced instruction. The arguments by which that opinion is supported have much force, and, in any case, they can only be answered by persons more competent than myself, and can indeed only be answered by Indian University men. So long as the

graduates of Indian Universities feel that higher education can only be imparted in English, there the matter must rest. India must be content to use English as Europe once used Latin. There will be gain as well as loss, and it is possible that the gain will be greater than the loss.

Those of us, however, who know Sir Theodore Morison will feel convinced that his plea for the vernaculars was based upon a disinterested desire for the spread of sound living in India, for the democratizing of education, for the introduction of some such popular system of intellectual training as we have in the Scotch Universities. If he thought that the use of the vernaculars in Indian Universities would meet with the support of Indian graduates, he was, no doubt, mistaken. But that the vernaculars have suffered cannot be denied. I cannot speak of other provinces; but in Bengal, at least, many men who might have won high distinction as vernacular authors have been content to contribute to the groaning shelves of those who read English. Such, to take one instance only, was my friend the late Romesh Chandra Dutt, who did, indeed, write Bengali novels, but devoted the best of his remarkable literary talent to writing in English. That is probably not a very serious evil. There was a time when Europeans wrote admirably in Latin, and thereby prepared a classical tradition which was not without its beneficial effect on the modern literatures of Europe. The time has not yet come, perhaps, for the critic to pronounce on the effect of English literature in providing modern subject matter and a new literary style for the vernaculars of India. But I may be permitted to say that much of the charm and emotional appeal of Ravindranath Tagore's work, especially in prose, is due to the skill with which he has combined the traditional style of Bengali with a prose rhythm which is the result of many generations of literary experiment in Europe. In Bengal, it may be doubted if the writing of the vernaculars has really suffered from the cultivation of English. Bengali has probably gained more than it has lost, if we look

merely to the arts of literary expression. We should all dislike a vernacular style which is merely and slavishly imitation of a foreign method of speech. But if the best English models are used—as Cicero and Tacitus, Virgil and Lucretius have been used by European writers—we need not complain. Looked at from that point of view, there is something to be said for Mr. Tarapore's contention.

But that is only to say that the vernaculars are rapidly growing more fitted for the highest educational uses. In Bengal the development of the vernacular for such purposes is being deliberately and systematically practised. There is much to be said for Mr. Coldstream's contention that the vernaculars (or many of them, at least) are not yet fitted for the use of university lecturers and examiners. There are two reasons for this. Some vernaculars, in the first place, are deficient in the vocabulary of science and art and literature. Secondly, the linguistic history, the etymology, the historical grammar of most vernaculars have not been systematically studied except by European pioneers, whose tentative excursions into a difficult field are probably little known to indigenous *pandits*. But this is not the case in Bengal. In Calcutta there exists an admirable society, the Vaṅgiya Sāḥitya Pariṣat, whose president is the venerable Paṇḍit Hara Prasad Sāstri. This society has been working for some years at the history and etymology of Bengali. It has, notably, prepared vocabularies providing vernacular translations (mostly taken from the Sanskrit) for the scientific phraseology of Europe, which, as we all know, is mostly taken from Greek. Much remains to be done, doubtless, and Messrs. P. C. Roy and P. K. Ghose were perhaps rash in thinking that Bengali is now sufficiently copious and pliant and expressive to take the place of English as a vehicle of culture and instruction. But a very important beginning has been made. I only regret that the admirable *Patrikā*, published by the society, is so little known in Europe (it is probably better known in Paris than in London). I regret, too, that the *Patrikā* does not,

so far, admit contributions in English, and hence does not procure the help and criticism of European scholars. If we admit that English is playing the part in India which Latin once played in Europe, English has this advantage over Latin, that it is still a living and a growing language, and India should avail itself of the services of living Europeans who are interested in the vernaculars. But this is a digression, and one on which I do not wish to dwell.

In Bengal, then, indigenous scholars are deliberately endeavouring to make the local language a fit vehicle for every literary purpose, whether of instruction or art, of delight or profit. But this is being done chiefly by an association of enlightened amateurs. What part is the Calcutta University taking in the matter? The present learned Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukharji, has had the courage and enlightenment to employ my friend, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, to deliver a course of lectures which have recently been published in the form of an admirable History of Bengali Language and Literature. Mr. Sen is now employed in preparing an annotated Anthology of medieval Bengali poetry. Sir Asutosh, however, is (I grieve to say) about to resign his post as the mouthpiece and head of his University, and it is possible (and I fear probable) that his generous initiative in favour of his native speech may not be continued by his successors. I am told that the Senate is already doubtful as to the advantage of vernacular studies, and is inclined to grudge money spent on their prosecution. This is obviously a matter as to which I cannot express any opinion. It would be presumptuous for us over here to discuss a matter on which the leading authorities in Bengal have still a divided mind. My object is merely to point out that the Calcutta University has already done something for the vernaculars. Its attitude is certainly not one of blind obstructiveness. Its difficulties, like that of all Universities, except perhaps those of America, are probably due to a lack of funds. Teaching—good teaching—is an expensive luxury, and the vernaculars may,

for a time, have to take a back place simply because other things are more necessary at the present time.

I have been a long time in coming to my own personal contribution, very diffidently offered, to the question of the vernaculars in the Universities. Observe that I do not urge that the vernaculars should be used for University lectures or examinations. The opposition is still much too strong, and is supported by arguments to which we all, whatever our private opinions may be, must give a respectful hearing. But I wish to draw attention to the fact that in the Calcutta University (and I suppose the same is true of other Indian Universities) it is not possible for an undergraduate to obtain a degree for knowledge, however complete and scholarly, of his native language and literature. Nor is it possible, so far as I know, for a foreigner, an Englishman, for instance, to apply to the Calcutta University for a degree, or even a diploma, as a reward for proficiency in Bengali. Now it is obvious that some subjects are not suited for a degree examination, because they have not been sufficiently worked up to form the subject of academical study. I do not say that a knowledge of the vernacular is quite useless to an undergraduate of the Calcutta University. In the matriculation examination there is a paper on "Vernacular Composition," in the preparation for which candidates are advised to study the works of selected contemporary authors as models of style. So in the intermediate examination there are (a) a paper requiring translations from English; (b) vernacular questions on composition; (c) an essay in the vernacular. But this is a test of literary capacity merely, and is not a severe trial of a candidate's knowledge of his mother tongue. In the B.A. examination there is a paper on "Vernacular Composition," but it is expressly stipulated that "*questions shall not be set on the history of the vernacular and its literature.*"

I do not for a moment suggest that a knowledge of any Indian vernacular should be made compulsory. But surely

those who wish it should be permitted to submit themselves for examination in honours in at least such vernaculars as Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi. What I would suggest would be something like Sections A and B of the Modern Language Tripos at Cambridge, which deal respectively with English language and literature between 1,500 and the present time, and English language and literature before that date. At Cambridge a man may get an honours degree by showing adequate proficiency in both these subjects of study, or in one of them combined with (1) modern French ; (2) old French ; (3) modern German ; or (4) old German. Has not the time come when not only Indians but foreigners in Indian Universities might be allowed to study the vernaculars in some such fashion ? I admit that there are difficulties in the way. It may be urged that the mass of learning at present accumulated is not sufficient to supply an adequate test of industry and scholarship. No one wishes to make Indian academic tests too easy. For my part, I believe that in Bengali at least it would be possible to set papers as difficult as those which are set in the Modern Language Tripos at Cambridge. But I may be mistaken. The matter is, at all events, one which might be discussed by the competent authorities in India. The examination in the vernacular might be combined with tests of the candidate's knowledge of Sanskrit, or Prakrit, or of cognate modern languages, a knowledge of whose history might throw light on the history and etymology of the vernacular taken up. But these are obviously details which must be left to experts.

I have mentioned the case of foreign students, and I had especially in my mind the case of those members of the Civil Service (rarer, I am told, every year) who prepare themselves for the existing high proficiency examinations and the degree of honour. The obtaining of these is rewarded by prizes of Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively. Owing to the fall in value of the rupee and of the growing expense of tuition, these rewards are not in themselves very

tempting incitements to the severe labour involved in reading for the Government examinations. Passing these examinations has never, I think, been considered as a means of obtaining official advancement. There have been times when men who indulged in linguistic studies were held to be wasting time which should have been wholly given to administrative duties. Here again there is much to be said on both sides. I do not think that linguistic proficiency should be considered as a necessary proof of administrative ability. Many excellent officers are not good linguists, and it must be admitted that good linguists are not always either useful or even industrious officials. But if a man has a taste for the languages of India, surely he should be encouraged to study them and to associate with those Indian scholars who are building up the materials for a science of Indian philology. Could not arrangements be made whereby officials might take degrees in honours at the Universities? Most of our officials nowadays are distinguished graduates of Universities affiliated to the Indian Universities. The degrees might be conferred not only as a result of examinations, which are apt to deal with the mint and anise and cummin of linguistics, with grammar in its more pedantic forms, such as rules as to *sandhis* and *samāsas*. Degrees in honours might be given for theses based on research. I suppose no one will deny that the Indian vernaculars present opportunities for much patient research. Such conscientious investigators as Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen could no doubt suggest a dozen branches of inquiry in which a man trained in the latest European methods could be of infinite service to vernacular scholars.

I have been tempted to go into detail to suggest various subjects of study. But my present purpose is merely to provide material for kindly but candid discussion. My sympathies are with Sir Theodore Morison when he urges that the vernaculars are neglected, and should not be neglected. Most Englishmen who read have realized that, in Ravindranath Tagore, Bengal possesses a literary artist

of the very first rank. His command of his vernacular has not been diminished, but probably strengthened, by his acquaintance with the literatures of Europe. But even if we admit (what he himself would indignantly disclaim) that he is the unquestioned and unapproachable chief of Bengali letters, we do not advise Englishmen to neglect English literature because (for all that Mr. Bernard Shaw says) Shakespeare is, in a sense, unique, and Milton and Dryden, Wordsworth and Tennyson, are the *dii minores* of our literary Olympus. Even if we admit that the vernaculars are not yet a fitting medium for academical instruction, even if we must allow that the study of the vernaculars should not be made compulsory, still, we ought to encourage those who are learned in the modern languages and modern literatures of India, whether they be Indians or foreigners. If I may cite an instance, I should like to mention (with apologies for taking a liberty which he may resent) the case of my friend M. Jules Bloch, who has for some years been engaged in a comparative and historical study of the languages of the Deccan. His work should, I think, be known to and encouraged by Indian Universities, if only as a contribution to the body of learning which may some day form the subject of the academical studies of Indian undergraduates. I plead for a recognition of the value of vernacular studies. Their use as a medium of instruction is a comparatively small matter, which will come of itself in due time if the need arises. What seems wanted now is the admission that the study of the vernaculars may justly be regarded as a branch of learning, as important in its way as mathematics, or classics, or history, or economics, or engineering, or mining, or commerce. Not all vernaculars, of course, can be promoted to this high dignity. But those which have a fairly ancient and copious literature—those which can be used as Ravindranath Tagore uses Bengali as a means of artistic and emotional expression, should be regarded as fit subjects for academical study, and therefore as worthy to be rewarded by the highest academical honours

There are many Indian languages which have advanced far beyond the three R's, and can hold their own with the classical tongues of India and Europe. This fact, at least, might be fitly recognized by the Universities of India. If Calcutta or Allahabad, Madras or Bombay, develops a living and vigorous school of the modern languages of India, such a school will be of infinite service to the growing band of Europeans, led by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Hoernle, who are making a serious study of the vernaculars of India, not merely as a vehicle of instruction, not merely, even, as literary languages, but as a most important subject in the scientific investigation of the speech of mankind. Sir George Grierson's masterly Linguistic Survey of India is a remarkable feat for one man to have conceived and executed. It is an even greater feat than Dr. Johnson's famous Dictionary, more laborious, and requiring greater powers of co-ordination, research, comparison, arrangement. Sir George Grierson's labours have won the recognition of European Universities. Surely the time has come when the Universities of India, and especially the Calcutta University, should recognize and reward the study of the modern languages of India, their origins and growth, and the materials they supply for the investigations of the historians of language, the comparative grammarians, and philologists generally.

Finally, let me say that, in spite of the absence of academical encouragement, much valuable work has already been done by students of the vernaculars. In Bengali alone, to say nothing of the excellent publications of the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇṣad, there are many admirable works on grammar and philology. Such are Mr. Ravindranath Tagore's suggestive and interesting *Sabda-tattva*, and Mahāmahopādhyāy Prasanna Chandra Vidyāratna's *Sāhitya-Praveś*, and Mr. Durgā Chandra Sanyāl's *Bhāsā Vijñān*, and several scattered philological essays by my old friend, Mr. Vireswar Sen. Ray Yatindra nāth Chaudhuri, the amiable Secretary of the Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇṣad, tells me that,

"in order to make Western scholars acquainted with the work the Pariṣad has been doing during the last twenty years, it has been decided to publish a copy and an index—in English and in Bengali—of the first twenty volumes of the Journal." Here is an excellent, a patriotic work, which might well have the recognition and support of the University and, perhaps, even of Government. I might give many more details to show that one, at least, of the Indian vernaculars is not being neglected. I only mention these matters in order to show that, if the time has not yet arrived for the use of Bengali as a medium of University teaching, it does seem that the great University of Calcutta might now recognize vernacular scholarship, and might confer its degrees on those who are willing to further the cause of vernacular learning by devoting their lives to its service. The standard set should be very high; the degree, if a degree in the vernaculars should be granted, should be difficult of attainment. The examiners should include men who have some knowledge of philological study in Europe; the learning demanded of candidates should be more substantial and scientific than the erudition (excellent in its way) of the old-fashioned *guru mahāśay* and *pandit*. But the time does seem to have arrived when the Universities of India might recognize that the vernaculars can provide the materials for scholarly study. Even in the case of the more backward vernaculars, those which do not yet possess a large vocabulary and a rich literature, there is much to be achieved by close and comparative study. Most of us know, if only by report, of the extraordinary results obtained by Pater Schmidt of Vienna through his study of the Mon-Annam family of languages. Among the *alumni* of the Calcutta University are many Khasias, speakers of the most developed branch of this now famous group of speeches. I have purposely refrained from mentioning anthropology as a study cognate to that of modern languages, but I cannot conclude without mentioning that at least one laborious work on ethnology has already been

published in Bengali—Mr. Satīs Chandra Ghose's study of the *Chākmās*, a race of mixed Bengali and Aracanese origin. This forms the twenty-fourth volume of the *Granthāvali* of the *Pariṣad*. If there are any Bengali gentlemen present, they will no doubt point out omissions in my very rough enumeration of the work done in their vernacular. I hope that, in that case, they will support my contention that vernacular learning should receive academical recognition. It should not be alienated from European studies. On the contrary, it should be regarded as a contribution to the disinterested work already performed in India and Europe. But the Universities of India should take a part in encouraging and directing vernacular studies.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at 27, Cromwell Road, South Kensington, on Tuesday, November 18, 1913, a paper entitled "The Vernaculars in Indian Universities" was read by Mr. James Drummond Anderson, I.C.S. (retired). Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (late Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and Assam), occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Lady Elliott, Mrs. Luttman Johnson, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mr. H. N. Harris, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. J. S. Dhanjibhoy, Mr. S. A. Sami, Mr. R. Sewell, Mrs. Haigh, Mr. J. Behesnilian, Mr. J. N. Sahai, Mr. W. Skinner, Mr. N. B. Nagarkar, Thakur Shri Jessraj-singhji Seesodia, Mr. Sundara Raja, Mr. A. Bruce Joy, R.H.A., Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. Shah Naimatallah, Mr. A. O. Koreishi, Mr. and Mrs. F. G. Wigley, Mr. K. L. Venkataraman, Mr. Chuni Lal, Mr. F. W. Barber, Dr. Bhabha, Mr. M. A. Azim, Mr. A. Russell, Mr. M. N. Kaul, Mr. and Mrs. Roland Maitland, Mr. R. F. J. Maitland, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Mr. E. Haggard, Miss Lambert, Miss Gertrude Roberts, Mrs. White, Mrs. Mundy, Mrs. Briggs, Mrs. Grey, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Frank Elliott, Mr. A. H. Beavan, Mr. E. B. Harris, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

The SECRETARY: Ladies and gentlemen, on this occasion we are gathered together in a homely fashion under this roof by the kind permission of the Household Committee to whom we are very grateful for the kindness they have shown to us.

The CHAIRMAN: The subject our lecturer is going to speak about to-day is the question of the position the vernacular languages should take in the

University curriculum in India. The subject, I think, is a very important one, and I am quite sure we shall hear from Mr. Anderson something which will give us cause for serious consideration, and will, I hope, lead to a very useful discussion afterwards. Mr. Anderson brings to this subject a very great knowledge of one of the vernacular languages of India—the Bengali—and he also has a great deal of experience of the inner working of the Universities, which he has carefully studied. I therefore anticipate that the discussion to-day will be of extreme interest. I have much pleasure in calling upon him.

The LECTURER : Ladies and gentlemen, before I begin reading my paper will you allow me to make one or two very brief personal explanations. In the first place, I am a little deaf and so I may not hear all the comments you may make. If I seem not to have answered any criticisms please do not think it is from want of courtesy, or from want of comprehension; you will understand it will be because I shall not have heard them. The other comment is that I feel that in reading this paper I am, perhaps, dealing with a subject which is a little beyond me; the subject was suggested to me by friends in India, gentlemen who are interested in University problems, who desired to have the advice of members of our Association, and it was with their help and encouragement that I ventured to write what I am now going to read to you. (Hear, hear.)

The lecture was then read, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know that I can add anything very much which will be useful. There is one question I noticed which the lecturer carefully kept away from, and that is, What is likely to be the effect of the proposals put forward by Mr. Anderson on the development of the vernacular languages. There are a good many people who will say that a language, like Topsy, should grow; it should not be driven in this direction, or in that direction. Very often, I am afraid, the scholars think that they should decide in what direction a language should move. There is no question that when the enormous populations which now use the vernaculars come to be educated, and to be taught to read and to write, a literature will grow up to supply the demand which they will make. I think, for instance, the population in Bengal who use the Bengali vernacular is something like 40,000,000, and when they want books or material for their literature they will get them. Exactly what the literature will be it is exceedingly difficult to say, but perhaps there will be many—I do not take the line myself, but I put it forward as a suggestion—who think that the scholars will not do a very great deal in deciding the line on which the vernaculars should develop. The direction the vernaculars are likely to take under that influence will be, I am sure, the adoption of a lot of terms for which the common man will have no use whatever, and I expect you will find that the popular writers will be the men who will avoid those terms, and that the real development of the vernacular literature will run away from the University teacher. Still, I think that the University should teach the vernaculars, which should find a place in the University curriculum.

MR. DUNCAN IRVINE said that he laboured under an initial difficulty

of some magnitude. When he read the paper he was struck by the use of the word "vernaculars," and he would have liked something in the shape of a definition of that word from the lecturer. He gathered from the use he had made of the word "indigenous" that he meant the spoken dialects (which were very numerous) in use in India. He himself used to be able to speak Tamil with considerable fluency, and he knew enough to be able to do his business when he happened to be where no other dialect was spoken. He fully agreed with one of the speakers quoted by the lecturer that the use of the three R's in the vernaculars would be extremely useful; every native boy or girl should certainly be able to read and write their own spoken language, but when it came to anything that could be profitably used in the curriculum of the Universities he felt face to face with a difficulty, and that was that personally he was not aware of the existence of anything that could be strictly called "vernacular" literature, at least in any of those dialects which he knew. He knew nothing of the dialects of the rest of India; but so far as his small experience went, when they came to anything beyond the little story-books in Tamil, which were very useful to teach boys and girls in school, the more "literary" writings were in poetry, almost entirely Sanskrit, which could not be called "vernacular" literature at all. He had never come across anything worth calling classical literature which could be profitably taught in the Universities in any of the dialects with which he was acquainted. He had therefore some difficulty in seeing what use there would be in making students at the Universities carry on their studies in the vernacular, certainly in Madras, to which he confined himself. If he might suggest an amended title for the lecture, it would be "Bengali in the Calcutta University." If the lecturer intended to extend his theory to the Madras vernaculars as a means of University education, he was at a loss to know where the literature and books would come from; possibly some of the present-day pundits were writing essays, etc., in the vernacular, but that was hardly appropriate for University education. Surely the student in the University wanted something that had been written before his day. Turning to the merely practical side, he had sat on the Bench in India for a good many years, and had come across a few old-fashioned Vakils who knew nothing of English, or any language except their own vernacular, and as a result they were under a very great disability; there was not a single commentary in the vernacular, and beyond the text of their law-books, which they knew probably as well or better than he did, they were hopelessly at sea when anyone produced any authority in the shape of a commentary or a decision against them. Of course he did not say that that in itself was a sufficient reason for excluding vernaculars from the Universities.

THAKUR SHRI JESSRAJSINGHI SESODIA, Editor of the *Rajput Herald*, said that he had nothing to say against the paper. When he had notice of the paper, he thought somehow or other it would be in opposition to the popular sentiment in India that instead of English the vernaculars should be taken, but after reading the paper he agreed with the lecturer in every sentiment he put forward. At the same time, he wished to bear him out that the vernaculars were only to be the secondary and not the primary

means. Just in the same way as Latin had been the primary means of making the English language what it is to-day, so at the present moment the vernaculars should be utilized in the same way, and English should be the medium for the higher education in the Universities. The last speaker had just said there was no literature in the vernaculars; but although he was not very well acquainted with the South, he thought there was a good deal of vernacular literature, and he did not think it was all written in Sanskrit. Tamil had a vast literature of its own, and was the only language outside the Sanskrit group. As for the reference to the technical terms which might be used in the higher scientific works, just as in English they had the assistance of Greek and Latin in coining words to suit the occasion, he supposed they would be able also to coin words suitable for their technical terms. As an instance, the late Raja of Jaipur had Napier's logarithms translated into Sanskrit and then into Hindi; and as the lecturer had pointed out, there were a good many scientific works in Sanskrit, and he supposed they could develop them. He was glad to know that for the future Indians might be able to know their own vernaculars much better than they did at the present time.

MR. M. M. GANDEVIA said that they would all agree they had listened to a very thoughtful address, and one which was not likely to raise much criticism. It was noticeable to observe that the lecturer said he did not for a moment suggest that a knowledge of the vernaculars should be made compulsory. He felt that in that respect he was right, and that if it was made voluntary there was great scope for the cultivation of the vernaculars. He had little experience of the other Universities, but he knew a little of Bombay, where he believed about a decade ago they made a change in the University curriculum, and that was that the vernaculars of the Province should be introduced for the M.A. examination, and he believed those who wanted to cultivate the language could take advantage of the instruction that was given. The lecturer had observed that among the civilians there was not much scope for the cultivation of the vernacular languages owing to the fall in the value of the rupee, and that the reward was not a sufficient temptation to civilians to cultivate the vernaculars. He would not quarrel with the reward of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000, but he thought there should be a voluntary element in it, and then he believed those civilians who had a special liking for a language would, irrespective of the reward, make it their own, and later possibly publish standard works in that language, as many British civilians had done. He had a recollection that at some stage the lecturer suggested that too much importance was paid to the study of English, with the result that the vernaculars were neglected and undeveloped. He did not agree with him, and his knowledge of the Bombay Province supported him in the view that in spite of the instruction being given in English, the vernaculars were very well cultivated and studied by Indian scholars. As an instance, he would like to quote Professor Rajvade, of Poona, who was a great scholar of history, who, although he had a great knowledge of English and had a very facile pen in English, still preferred to write his original works in his own language. Such instances could easily be multiplied, and they would

tend to show that though English was studied by most people in India, it had not in any way deteriorated the value of the vernaculars, nor had it in any way killed the study of them. (Hear, hear.)

MR. R. SEWELL spoke shortly on the subject of Tamil literature. He said that, such as it was, that literature was very ancient, and that little was known of anything that could be called medieval Tamil literature. The known ancient works dated from perhaps the sixth to the eighth century A.D. or thereabouts, and then, with the exception of one or two astronomical works of the thirteenth century, nothing that can be classed as literature is known till modern times. The language of the ancient works is totally different from modern Tamil—as different as Anglo-Saxon is from modern English—so that, except as an interesting study, there is nothing to induce the modern Tamilian to take up the subject. But from the antiquarian, and especially from the historical, point of view, no doubt the study of the vernaculars all over India ought to be encouraged. The Universities should certainly do all in their power to increase amongst the people of India the knowledge of their country's history, and a knowledge of the ancient languages and their growth is indispensable to this end. The palæography of the written characters should be taught, so that people may be able to take an interest in the immense number of historical inscriptions which exist, especially in Southern India. But it must be distinctly remembered that such a course of study would be academic and scholastic; it would not be entered on by the ordinary Indian student who has to make his way in a practical and utilitarian world.

MR. CHISHOLM said he had not the faintest intention of measuring swords with the learned lecturer or with any of those who had spoken so admirably on the subject under discussion; he simply looked at it from the point of view of the man in the street—the commonsense point of view. When he was in India, he commenced his service in Bengal, and he was at once sent out into the district without knowing a word of the language, and in going about he saw the way in which children acquired a knowledge of the vernacular. Many present would probably know the method of learning the alphabet. A space was cleared in the village, and spread over it, and the pundit wrote the letters in a circle, and all the children sat round and rocked themselves, squatting, from one letter to the other, tracing each with their fingers, and shouting out "Bhoiaka, bhoieka, bhoidrige" (the names of the letters), and the noise went on all round the circle, all speaking at once. That was being done by thousands, even millions, of children—it was an actual force—and they might as well put their backs against a locomotive engine and try and stop it from starting as attempt to coerce so vast an educational force. He looked upon English in India in much the same way as he did upon Latin of the Renaissance period in England. It was the classical language of the time, but, as time moved on, it would be displaced by the vernaculars as certainly as Latin had been displaced in England by English. (Hear, hear.)

MR. ABBAS ALI BAIG said that his impressions were confined to what he had heard in the course of the discussion, as he was not present when

he paper was read, and had no exact idea of its contents. He believed the question was between the merits of English and the Indian vernaculars as the media of instruction in the primary and the higher stages of education. References were made to the time when Latin was the language of learning in this country and indeed all over Europe, and Mr. Chisholm thought that English was likely to be displaced in India by the vernaculars of the country as Latin had been in England. With all deference he would venture to remind Mr. Chisholm of one dominant factor in the situation. The ascendancy of Latin waned in Europe with the decline and fall of the Roman power. English would share a similar fate if the British ceased to be the ruling power in India—which God forbid. Under Moghul rule Persian was the language understood from one end of India to the other, and all the principal elements of society made Persian a subject of special study. The same thing was happening in regard to English in India to-day. Many of the less known of the 278 Indian vernaculars were without any literature and even without a script. There was a distinct tendency in recent years, as the result of expanding inter-communication and increasing education, for the more important vernaculars to absorb those spoken by minorities. The greater Indian vernaculars, such as Urdu and Bengali, would survive and continue to develop, but only as the media of primary and secondary education. For instruction in the higher sciences, arts, and philosophy, a more efficient medium, like the English language, with a rich and copious vocabulary and a vigorous literature, was essential. To utilize the Indian vernaculars for University education would be as absurd as making Welsh or Erse the channels of instruction at the English Universities.

MR. COLDSTREAM said he was in the same position as the last speaker ; he had not heard the paper read, but he had gathered the gist of it from what he had heard in the discussion, and he agreed with the last speaker that some of the vernaculars of India, such as Urdu, and Bengali, and, possibly, Hindi, might be included in the subjects of a University course. He did not think they had now, or would ever have, in those languages, so far as his knowledge extended, a literature which would enable them to carry on in them the higher education of India. English had been in the field so long and was a matured language. But at the same time he heartily sympathized with the aspirations of those who were endeavouring to promote the learning of those grand vernaculars, Bengali and Urdu, which were still *growing* languages. There was already a great deal of excellent literature in them, and he would not like to see them neglected ; he certainly thought that they might be raised to the rank of University study.

The LECTURER, in replying to the discussion, said : Ladies and gentlemen, I am very pleased and proud to have succeeded in giving rise to so interesting and admirable a discussion. I did not hope to have evoked anything like so important a discussion, and I am very much obliged to you for having taken so much interest in the subject. I have listened to every word that has been said with the greatest possible interest, but I do not wish to enlarge again on the subject of my paper. I began by saying

it is a difficult subject, and there is a great deal to be said on both sides, as is manifest from what we have heard this evening. I am afraid I am responsible for bringing Latin into the matter. We have been told that English depends on the continuance of the English rule, and differs from Latin in that respect, but please remember that Latin is not yet dead. (Hear, hear.) It has left its traces; and certainly the French people would be very angry if you told them they were not a Latin people. Of course, there is no doubt as to the extent English is saturating and penetrating the modern languages of India. I am bold enough to say now, after what we have heard to-day, that part of Mr. Ravindranath Tagore's wonderful achievement is undoubtedly due to the knowledge he has of English literature; it has affected his imagination and his style, and made Bengali in his hands an instrument of much greater literary power than it would have been if he had not known English.

In conclusion I have only to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the kindness you have shown to me this evening, and for the valuable and interesting remarks to which I have had the pleasure of listening. (Hear, hear and applause.)

The SECRETARY, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman, said he wished to express the gratitude of the Association for the treat they had had. Mr. Anderson was a very modest man, and he himself hardly recognized the great power he possessed for good over India, both young and old. In the discussion the word "dialect" had been used as if it were the equivalent of "language"; he need hardly explain that that was not so—the two were quite distinct terms. He thought the Lecturer was right in urging that they should have vernacular Chairs in the University. In his own dear old country they intended ultimately to revive the Erse language, very much in the way it had been mentioned they might deal with some of the languages of Southern India! The lecturer had dwelt in his reply upon the wonderful power that Latin still was in the languages of the world. Well, after all, English was only a modified Latin. In the course of his duties connected with a world-wide movement he had to study closely the root-words of the civilized races of the world, and it was positively wonderful how many words in all the languages could be traced to what appeared to be a Latin or Roman source. He sometimes fancied, as a result of his researches, that the Latin races could not have been the original races in that part of the world from which they afterwards controlled a great Empire. He thought they must have pressed the indigenous tribes out of Italy and those parts and driven them further North and West, and that these tribes were now only just coming into their own again. There must be some truth in this theory, because the root-words (or the stem-words, for no one had got to the roots yet) of civilized Europe (and he might say of Arabia, Babylonia, and of Egypt) were so closely connected with words that were so generally supposed to be of Latin origin.

MR. PENNINGTON seconded the vote of thanks, and the Chairman suitably replied. The meeting then terminated.

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MR. PENNINGTON seconded the vote of thanks, and the Chairman suitably replied. The meeting then terminated.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST

1. LES DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS PAR AUREL STEIN DANS LES SABLES DU TURKESTAN ORIENTAL. Publiés et traduits par Edouard Chavannes. (Oxford: *University Press*.) Price £3 3s. net.

At last a British public body has made a noble beginning in subventioning or endowing, so to speak, pure Chinese research, and it is to be hoped that the brilliant results thus attained at the outstart will induce the British Government and British societies generally to extend to Central Asian studies the same meed of encouragement that has always been given to them in France, whether under the monarchy, the empire, or the republic, which fact has consequently had the effect of placing and keeping French sinologues as easily at the head of their kind, as is now afresh the case in another sphere of utility with French airmen. At the same time, in connection with the present specific matter, it must not be forgotten that we students owe an initial debt of gratitude to the Indian Government—more seigniorial and leisurely, perhaps, in its moods than its busy parent at home—for having despatched Sir Aurel Stein on various missions of exploration. Sir Aurel's sagacity, carefulness, and—it is presumed German—thoroughness in collecting these marvellous relics from the Tunhwary and Khoten regions have placed our museums in an enviable position, and in regard to the particular speciality of "wooden-peg" literature have placed London in a condition of at least temporary superiority over Paris, though France is amply avenged for this presumption by our having had perforce to appeal to a distinguished French sinologue in order to obtain adequate appraisalment and elucidation of the treasures found by the distinguished explorer. Indeed, Sir Aurel Stein's marvellous collection would have been of little value to the general public had not his wisdom or his good fortune impelled him to hand part, if not all, of it over for examination to Professor Chavannes. It is probable that there are not half a dozen sinologues in existence capable of thoroughly understanding all the inner mysteries of the subject rescued from the *Ewigkeit* for us by this illustrious and patient scholar. With the exception of his colleague M. Paul Pelliot—who seems, in fact, to have been consulted, and to have willingly rendered some casual assistance in the present great work—and possibly of M. Berthold Laufer (Field Museum, Chicago), two gentlemen who with M. Chavannes are in a fair way of completely revolutionizing the minute study of Chinese, it is doubtful if

any other sinologues in any country, least of all native sinologues of China herself, could have accomplished what M. Chavannes has done ; and it is quite certain that not a single one could have achieved the results he has achieved in a more thorough and more disinterested and just spirit. M. Chavannes himself has been one of the foremost authorities upon ancient Chinese script and writing materials. Students of this particular branch of sinology (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1908) have been known to reproach Chinese antiquity because it has failed to preserve for us evidences akin to the Egyptian *papyri* or the Babylonian clay ; but here we have before our gloating eyes not only perishable wood and paper preserved hermetically by the burning sands, but we have it all in a language and a form which is almost as comprehensible to us now as it was to the Chinese of 2,000 years ago. It is positively marvellous to think how very little the Chinese letters, inventories, prescriptions, calendars, and, in short, all written matter on wooden pegs and tablets touching matters governmental, economical, or personal, differed from the same documents as they would be written on paper to-day. Neither Egyptian nor Babylonian antiquity can thus connect itself intelligibly and immediately with modern workaday practice. Unfortunately, the editor, who apparently only received the book—or, at all events, only sent it for review—a few days before going to press, is compelled to limit the space left available after the occupation of unusually great space by reviews on other remarkable Chinese subjects, and therefore it is impossible for the moment to do more (November 28) than to say a few general words by way of examination. It is as though the original correspondence, say, of Cæsar, Vespasian, and Severus, with their lieutenants in England, had been dug up intact in the neighbourhood of Chester, Newcastle, and York ; together with private letters to and from the soldiers and officers ; bills of stores ; expenditure ; accounts of guardhouses from Dover and London to the North ; complete Roman calendars ; original fragments of Papinian and Paulus ; personal “papers” showing from what province and village in Italy each soldier came ; and, in fact, illustrating everything necessary to provide us with an accurate photograph, or even mental moving cinematograph, of Roman military life in Albion and Gaul. Needless to say, each of the thousand or so of manuscript documents, most of which are photographed to scale, besides being translated into French and reproduced in plain modern printed Chinese, will be carefully studied (and commented upon where necessary) some other time. Meanwhile a special tribute must be paid to the memory of the late Father Pierre Hoang, who (as mentioned in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1911) spent his last hours in completing his wonderful *Concordance of Dates*, that priceless work which enables M. Chavannes to “reconstruct the crime” in each event or case to a day, or even in many instances to an hour. Meanwhile it may be said without exaggeration that he has performed a public service to mankind of the highest class. His great volume, which is cheap at three guineas, even to the non-specialist reader, is nothing less than epoch-making. No doubt other explorers and excavators will now be encouraged to seek similar Chinese

links with the past in Bactriana, Sogdiana, Kashgaria, etc., and thus throw much desired light upon the Kushan or Ephthalite civilization and the development of Buddhism in High Asia.—E. H. PARKER.

2. **KOREAN FOLK-TALES: IMPS, GHOSTS, AND FAIRIES.** Translated from the Korean of Im Bang and Yi Ryuk. By James S. Gale. (London: *J. M. Dent and Sons.*) Price 3s. 6d. net.

Im Bang, Governor of Seoul, was a statesman of literary renown living in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. Yi Ryuk, "a man of many offices and many distinctions in the way of literary excellence," flourished in the fifteenth century. We commend these terse, quaint stories—some of romantic love, some of strange wizardries and magics, some mere records of suggestive happenings—to all students of the Chinese culture. Those interested in psychical research will regret that Prince Cheung did not leave behind him the prescription for his most successful "kill devil pills." "The man who lost his legs" seems a Far Eastern variation of the adventure of Ulysses in the cave of Polyphemos. A misprint of 1564 for 1464 in the biographical foreword should be amended in a second edition.—H. M. H.

3. **THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF JAPAN.** With twenty-five illustrations. By Okakura-Yoshisaburo, Professor at the Higher Normal School, Tokyo. (London: *Dent and Sons.*) Price 3s. 6d. net.

In his unassuming, almost deprecating, manner, the author tells us that his wholly delightful little volume is "a result of my humble attempts to bring about a better understanding of my native land by the Occidental mind . . . and to show that Japan, in spite of such modern developments as the feminist or the anarchist movements, still remains in spirit very much the same as she ever was in the days of yore." Japan—essentially conservative in spirit, as she is catholic in her powers of assimilation—is to-day, in her feverish adoption of European methods and culture, merely realizing a further stage in her evolution, for which her whole past has been an orderly preparation. She has embraced in turn Confucianism, Laoism, Buddhism—and, but that she astutely foresaw foreign intervention with the advent of missionaries, would have added Christianity—not as new faiths, but as the more complete and scientific formulation of native ideals, and as a means of achieving deeper and wider self-expression through the absorption of the foreign culture they introduced. Her desultory intercourse with Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was maintained chiefly for the sake of the new medical and other science it brought to her shores. And now, in obedience to the memorable pronouncement of the late Emperor in 1868, that "knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted," Japan is flinging herself heart and soul on Occidental civilization, to extract fresh treasure for her national enrichment. The professor makes a touching appeal to his Western readers to "kindly continue to

live the ideal lives, full of sweet and sunshine, if not for your own ends, at least for the sake of the edification of your most humble students over the sea, the Japanese."—H. M. H.

4. **GEMS OF JAPANESE ART AND HANDICRAFT.** By George Ashdown Audsley, F.R.I.B.A. (London: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co. 1913.)

Mr. Audsley has already contributed many valuable and beautiful works to literature on music, art, and architecture, but this, his latest "*Gems of Japanese Art and Handicraft*," excels them all. It is a wonderful publication. Within its cover L'hermancier and Cie. of Paris, aided by their able staff of lithographers, have prepared as faithfully as one art can delineate another representative plates of—(1) painting and colour-printing; (2) embroidery; (3) textile fabrics; (4) lacquer; (5) incrustated work; (6) metal work; (7) cloisonné; (8) modelling and carving. These plates constitute a series of exquisite examples of the work of special artists with whose names Japanese art lovers are well acquainted. A panorama of single sheets following one after another in sequence shows forth many of the best and richest specimens of Far Eastern art and genius. The eyes become dazzled and bewildered by colour, tone, and semitone, all tenderly diffused and portrayed. Light and shadow, gold tracery, diaper patterns, symbolic designs, perfect modelling, are selected and worked out with the utmost care. The examples of lacquer incrustated work cannot be too highly praised.

In the essay that preludes this wealth of representative illustration, under a separate cover, we recognize much that Mr. Audsley set down in his former work, "*The Ceramic Art of Japan*," published conjointly with his able confrère the late James Lord Bowes of Liverpool, whose museum will long be remembered, though it has ceased to exist.

"*Gems of Japanese Art and Handicraft*" does ample justice to the triumph and industrial skill of a people who, although they created these precious objects in an age of quietness, confidence, and seclusion, are now in this their hour of necessity the most active race on the face of the earth.

If there is a fault in the production of the publication before us, it is the manner in which the portfolio is constructed. This is decidedly cumbersome. Even the rich, red leather royal *mon* of the Kiku and the yellow lining does not atone for the decided want of artistic feeling expected. "*The Ceramic Art of Japan*" was, on its publication, considered "worthy of a King's library." To what higher place of honour can we relegate Mr. Audsley's latest labour of love? May it become a national heirloom, for its place is decidedly among the best and most beautiful books of this new century.—S.

5. **THE RELIGION OF THE SAMURAI.** (Luzac's Oriental Religious Series.) By Kaiten Nukariya, Professor of the Buddhist College, Tokyo. (London: Luzac and Co. 1913.)

The author of this volume wishes to point out the great differences that exist among the Buddhistic schools of religion, and more particularly

between Southern and Northern Buddhism. He states that concerning these divisions very little has been written, and still less preserved, owing to neglect or damage of books and manuscripts by fire.

The followers of the Northern School are known as the Zen sect, Zen being the Sinico-Japanese abbreviation for the Sanskrit *Dhyāna*, or Meditation. It is a religion of tradition, carried on from one generation to another by precept and practice. Kaiten Nukariya considers the importance this religious system can hardly be exaggerated, having influenced in the past to such a high degree that noble class of distinguished soldiers called *Samurai*, whose virtues have been constantly proclaimed to us during the last fifty years. He further states it is Zen that Japan has acknowledged as an ideal doctrine for her rising generation. The book requires careful reading and deep study. It is decidedly an interesting addition to Luzac's Oriental Religious Series.—S.

BOOKS ON INDIA

6. GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER TAYLOR. By A. C. Taylor. (*Williams and Norgate*.) Price 25s. net. Two volumes.

This monumental work describes the achievements of a very gallant General of Mutiny times. It is also controversial in its character, as it raises once more the question of who was responsible, and to whom the credit was due, for the taking of Delhi. We cannot, therefore, attempt here to give more than a preliminary notice of a book which is bound to provoke some discussion in the columns of the *Review*. Alexander Taylor came from a Scotch-Irish stock, and is an interesting example of the effect of heredity, education, and environment on character. He received an ideal and peculiar training at Hofwyl, in Switzerland, under a professor, who was filled with the educational ideals of Rousseau, the influence of which was apparent throughout his whole life and markedly in his extreme old age. Again, his friends Lord Lawrence, Lord Napier, Nicholson, and Chamberlain, were all men of iron, and reflected the idealistic conceptions of his life, which was totally devoted to public ends. Also he shared with some of his friends of that time that extreme dislike of personal ambition or self-advertisement, which he ingrained so thoroughly into the minds of his pupils during his administration of Cooper's Hill. Miss Taylor reveals effectively the character of her illustrious father in the numerous incidents she relates of his varied career: the swimming of the Indus; the military week-ends in the Himalayas; the adventurous life before Delhi; between there and Lucknow—the expedition to Mulka; the incident of Sunday service at Kuric. The work is not only a noble biography—it is also a vivid picture of conditions in India during those years; and she gives excellent thumb-nail sketches of the great figures of the other heroes of that time. With regard to the Delhi controversy, space does not permit of its examination here. We content ourselves for the present with saying that the non-controversial parts are admirably written, and provide excellent reading.

7. AN ACCOUNT OF MY LIFE. By Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Translated by C. H. Payne, M.A., with map and illustrations. (London: *John Murray*.)

No one can read the imposing volume of Nawab Sultan Jahan's autobiography without recognizing that resourcefulness, readiness to grasp a situation, pleasant or unpleasant, and a notable restraint, to make up the remarkable personality of the third successive woman ruler of the State of Bhopal. The account of her life is much more than the title suggests—it is at once a State document and a family history; for she traces the events of importance in connection with the rulership from the time of her grandmother, Sikander Begam, to the year 1904, the third year of her reign. She achieves the success of creating in her readers an appetite for more, and it is to be hoped that the narrative of events from 1904 to, let us say, 1914, will not be long delayed.

8. INDIAN HISTORICAL STUDIES. By H. G. Rawlinson, M.D. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*)

It is a pleasure to read these studies, little connected with each other though they are, as they all add to one's knowledge of Indian history and progress. One of the most interesting is placed, curiously enough, last, and is on "Foreign Influences in the Civilization of Ancient India," and has much to tell about the Greek-Scythic culture that filtered eastwards through Bactria. The other studies on older India include a thoughtful one on Gautama Buddha, one on the Buddhist Emperor Asoka, and a pleasant study of the ever-new Chinese pilgrims to the Buddhist shrines. The vignettes include one on the voyager Ibu Batuta, Akbar, Sivaji, and Ranjit Singh, the two last dealing with the rise of the Maharatta and the Sikh powers. Rather incongruously a sketch of the adventures of Robert Knox in Ceylon is included; but though rather surprised to find it, one is glad to read it, nevertheless.—A.F.S.

9. THE DIWAN OF ZEB-UN-NISSA. Rendered by Magan Lal and Jessie Duncan Westbrook. (*John Murray*.)

This book, in the "Wisdom of the East" Series, is a courageous attempt to translate fifty Ghazals written in Persian by the Princess Zeb-un-Nissa, the eldest daughter of Aurungzebe. She flourished from 1639 until 1689, and the extremely interesting Introduction gives all that is known of this studious Mogul Princess, and places her culture and erudition high. At one time her father's favourite, she was allowed to live the life of a patron of arts and letters with very considerable influence, and, while dallying with marriage, enjoyed considerable freedom. Later she fell under her father's displeasure, and her concealed lover was by his orders boiled in a *deg*, and she herself imprisoned. The writer was a Sunni but a Sufi, and her verse, for which she was famous all her life, abounds in mystic imagery, God usually being addressed as the Beautiful Beloved. She attempted to write or interpret the other Indian religions through her Sufic ideas, and this gives to her poetry, well translated here, a special Indian interest of its own.—A.F.S.

10. **BRADSHAW'S THROUGH ROUTES TO THE CHIEF CITIES, BATHING HEALTH RESORTS OF THE WORLD.** 600 pages. Full red cloth. Maps, plans, and charts. (London: *Henry Blacklock and Co.*) Price 6s. net.

We understand that this is, for all practical purposes, a new book, entirely rewritten, and greatly extended. It begins with useful hints for travellers, then proceeds to enumerate the various bathing resorts of the Continent and of Great Britain with all particulars. The next section is devoted to the routes of the principal express services. The traveller is then taken further afield to practically every part of the world.

11. **A HANDBOOK FOR TRAVELLERS IN INDIA, BURMA, AND CEYLON.** (London: *John Murray.* 1913.) Price 20s.

The above is an indispensable companion, not only to those travellers who take their vocation seriously, but also to such as are bent on pleasure only. Originally published in three separate volumes, we now have the whole between two covers, and this is the ninth edition. The groundwork was originally prepared by Captain Eastwick, while for the description of Ceylon we are indebted, originally, to the late Lord Stanmore. There is a long introduction giving general hints, descriptions of the voyages out, and statistical, ethnological, and archaeological information. The description of the country which follows leaves nothing to be desired.

The seventh edition of "Mediterranean Winter Resorts," by Eustace Renold-Ball, F.R.G.S., is due in January of this year, and will be published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., London.

BOOKS ON THE NEAR EAST

12. **THE FRINGE OF THE EAST.** By H. C. Lukach. (London: *Macmillan.*) Price 12s.

Mr. Lukach's tour in the Near East, which took him a little outside the beaten track of the ordinary tourist, is admirably described. Indeed, from a literary point of view, "The Fringe of the East" is worthy of being coupled with Miss Lowthian Bell's "The Desert and the Sown," or Mr. D. G. Hogarth's "Wandering Scholar in the Levant."

The author has the rare gift of investing well-worn topics with fresh interest. It is difficult to say anything new about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but Mr. Lukach has brought home with singular vividness the significance of this remarkable shrine, and can understand the bewilderment of the stranger who attempted to unravel this maze of chapels, shrines, and sanctuaries. His definition of what is, perhaps, the most famous Christian temple in the world is well worth quoting: "In the first place, it is a perfect example of the true medieval cathedral, that comprehensive scheme which included, in addition to the building actually set apart for the celebration of the liturgy, the dependent schools and

orphanages, hospitals and residences wherein religion and secular life could be lived side by side. Secondly, it is the gathering-place of every form of Catholicism, Eastern and Western, a home of strange races and forgotten heresies, a very Babel of Christianity, in which Armenian and Jacobite, Copt and Abyssinian, have their place, as well as Latin and Orthodox. Thirdly, it is the incorporation under a single roof of many churches commemorating many sites." The author, however, in his reference to the miraculous invention of the Cross, is unintentionally a little misleading in stating that the Church of Constantine (Anastasia) was "close to a small hill which was already being venerated as the scene of the Crucifixion." He is probably referring to the Mount Calvary of the Holy Sepulchre Church, a rocky knoll only some 15 feet above the level of the church.

Mr. Lukach is very happy in his description of Damascus of to-day—a city full of charm in spite of its modernization. Indeed, few Oriental cities offer more startling contrasts between Western civilization and the Oriental old-world atmosphere than the ancient capital of Syria, where camels dispute the right of way with electric trams, and the burnous of the stately son of the desert brushes up against the hobble-skirt of a Parisian tourist. The cosmopolitan character of the Damascus street scenes has been greatly intensified since the Mecca railway was built, and Damascus has now become the starting-point of pilgrims from Central Asia and Asia Minor, and the tourist, sitting at a Damascus café, sees, as at Galuta Bridge, half Asia defiling before him.—E. A. R. B.

13. *TURKEY IN AGONY.* Translated from the French of Pierre Loti by Bedwin Sands. Published by the *African and Orient Review, Ltd.*

This is an admirable translation of the renowned author's book, "*La Turquie Agonisante*," and the work of translating must have been difficult. To those who have been accustomed to the Anti-Turk manifestations of the press, the above is a veritable eye-opener. We have heard a little too much of Turkish atrocities, and we have seen too much evidence of atrocities committed against the Turk. The author is a great admirer of the Turks, we might say almost a fanatic, but that only adds to the extreme interest of the book. After a few introductory chapters on the Turkish-Italian War, the author proceeds to grapple with the problem of the Balkan War. This he does chiefly by publishing certain letters of great interest, written at the time of the crisis. But the best chapter is entitled "*Knights-Errant*," and really puts the matter in a nutshell.

14. *DER JUNGEN TÜRKER NIEDERLAGE.* By Field-Marshal-General von der Goltz. Published by *Gebrüder Petzel*, Berlin.)

This brochure gives in seventy pages the causes to which the distinguished German military writer attributes the defeat of Young Turkey. He gives his opinions in a most lucid manner, and they should carry weight by reason of Marshall von der Goltz's long and intimate connection with the Turkish army. All those who have studied Turkish affairs with

open eyes will agree on the main with Freiherr von der Goltz. Turkey, at the time of war, was bent on evolving from the stagnation of the ancient régime into the light of a great national revival. No country could, in similar circumstances, escape passing through a period of danger. Then it was that the one-time allies, at the instigation, and with the financial help of Russia, seized their occasion. It was only three years since the Turkish army had been reorganized on paper, and, practically speaking, it takes more than three years to carry out reforms so far-reaching as those suggested by Marshall von der Goltz. Turkey, in consequence, could merely put into the field an army consisting partly of cadres of modern-trained recruits and partly of a wholesale levy of old and inefficient troops who knew nothing of tactical methods, field exercise, and had never seen a modern rifle.

There were other causes, which were psychological. But in spite of them, in spite of defeat, in spite of the delimitation of spheres of influence, Freiherr von der Goltz is optimistic. He is convinced that the process of regeneration will not suffer, will perhaps gain, from the results of the war. One piece of advice he gives to Turkey: "To withdraw officially into Asia and to take the lead of the Moslem world." The advantage of the change of capital might be a doubtful one. There is no doubt in my mind about the necessity of taking heed of the second advice. The only nations Europe respects nowadays are those she fears.—B. S.

15. WITH THE RUSSIAN PILGRIMS TO JERUSALEM. By Stephen Graham (London: Macmillan and Co.) 7s. 6d.

Mr. Graham shows us a new Jerusalem, which is poles apart from the Jerusalem which the tourist expects, or to which he is accustomed. The ordinary traveller has, of course, no opportunity of seeing below the surface, nor has he perhaps the inclination. The author describes the Pilgrim's Way, and thereby gives a valuable contribution to the bibliography of Jerusalem. The story of the pious migration of thousands of Russian peasants to Jerusalem and the holy places has, as far as we know, never been told before. He is certainly equipped in every way to tell it. He travelled as a *bona fide* pilgrim, without shirking the discomforts of the pilgrimage or the crowded hospices. The numerous illustrations, from the author's own photography, are not the familiar Holy Land snapshots, but depict many aspects of native life which the ordinary tourist never sees.—E. A. R. B.

16. CHANTILLY IN HISTORY AND ART. By Louise M. Richter. (John Murray.) Price 21s.

This is a book which, as has been rightly stated, fills a gap in the French history of art, and will therefore be welcomed by all art-students. The sumptuous volume is richly decorated with portraits of the owners of Chantilly, with reproductions of the famous miniatures of the Très Riches Heures, and with numerous French sixteenth-century "crayons," among them originals by Perréal, and Jean and François Clouet.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first, the history of the Château of Chantilly, whose owners—the Montmorency's and the Princes of Condé—played so great a part in the history of France, is eloquently narrated. The author has shown great skill in blending history with art, for also in the second part of her book she never quite loses the historical thread which makes the chapters on Jean and François Clouet particularly fascinating.

Nor does Mrs. Richter abstain from art-criticism, but plunges, on the contrary, courageously into the vexed question of the French fifteenth and sixteenth-century drawings and their supposed authors. The conclusion she draws is that the subtle art of the French crayons really originated on French soil, "that it was evidently practised by Jean Fouquet, Perréal, and probably also to a certain extent by Bourdichon before Jean Clouet appeared in France"—a conclusion which will no doubt raise great satisfaction on the other side of the Channel. It should prove an acceptable Christmas present, and is, we hear, running into a second edition.

LITERARY GOSSIP

It is a great gratification, not only to his many Indian friends and admirers, but also to the whole literary world, that Mr. Rabiendranath Tagore has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature this year. It is a remarkable event in more than one way; for not only has the East on this occasion taken a crown which has so far been invariably held in the West (and he is the second English-speaking man of letters to have received it—Mr. Rudyard Kipling was the first), but the recipient has taken the remarkable decision of not touching a penny of the stipend, and has devoted the whole sum to the furtherance of his educational ideas at his school at Bolepur. Some may wonder how it is that, with so many rivals in the field, this Oriental has snatched the Prize away. We refer them to the conditions on which the Prize is given. The literary work in any given year which has contributed most to the spiritual uplifting of the human race, that our poet has achieved.

A new book has just been published by Smith Elder, entitled "India of To-day," by E. C. Meysey-Thompson, M.P. He discusses the various problems of India in a short but suggestive volume of 230 pages, and includes in it a description of his tour.

Ouseley has brought out "War and Sport in India" and "Officers' Diary in the First Years of Last Century." It is an interesting contribution to the imperial history of a century ago.

The Rose Garden Series, published by Foulis, has now added to its number the "Rose Garden of Persia," with four illustrations in colour by Frederic Gardiner. It gives selections from the treasures of Persian poetry.

Messrs. Constable will soon publish the "Secret History of the Balkan War," by the Special Correspondent for the *Times* with the Bulgarian

forces, while the Greek achievements will be described in a book to be published shortly by Mr. Fisher Unwin, the author of which is D. J. Cassavetti.

We have just received a pamphlet entitled "The Armenian Question," by Captain C. F. Dixon-Johnson. We may quote: "The reformed government of Turkey desires to fulfil her part of the Constantinople Convention by re-organizing the administration of her Asiatic Provinces with the help of British officials, and looks to Great Britain for the help she is entitled to expect; and so long as Great Britain remains in Cyprus she is bound by the Convention 'to undertake the onerous obligation of a defensive alliance with Turkey if Russia should attempt to extend her annexations beyond the present frontiers, which the present negotiations will assign' (letter of Lord Salisbury to M. Waddington, July 7, 1878)." We commend this brochure to all who have British interests in the Near East at heart. It is printed by Nutt and Co., Leeds.

"Truths about India" is a reprint of various leaflets issued by the East India Association bound in a compact form. The title is well chosen. Anyone who has visited India at once sees that the articles are by men who know their subject. The very names of the contributors, as far as they appear, are a guarantee of accuracy. There are excellent articles on the recent reforms and their effects. British rule in India is shown to be the cheapest and most efficient Government in existence. The reason for this is that there is no "democratic" nonsense about it. In a country where public servants are responsible to their superiors in knowledge and experience efficiency of a high order results. A perusal of these pages soon shows a man the wonderful amount of constructive work the now-abused civilian has contributed to India, and makes one sigh for the time when a man of common sense will convince the British public that public servants should not be responsible to millions of ignorant voters.

The great improvement in the condition of the peasantry is another very interesting feature of our work. A series of articles on the Punjab gives a birds'-eye view of the progress of the last thirty or forty years, which is instructive, moderate, and convincing.

Railways, famines, and other exclusively Indian problems are dealt with clearly and concisely. The fatuous twaddle about India talked by amiable dreamers like Keir Hardie comes in for rebuke in a dignified and well-reasoned article. Amongst the contributors are Sir Roland Wilson, Sir James Wilson, Sir George Sydenham Clarke (now Lord Sydenham), while Lord Ampthill supplies a Foreword—in fine, a most instructive shillings-worth.

Owing to lack of space we have been compelled to omit our customary list of books received.

EVENINGS AT LONDON THEATRES

THERE must be something in the atmosphere of the Christmas season that intensifies our delight in old favourites whose worth we know, as against innovations which may, of course, be excellent—or may not. Certainly revivals play a large part in the list of amusements presented for our approval this month. In order of seniority, the first is "Charley's Aunt," which is celebrating its twenty-first birthday at the Prince of Wales' Theatre. Older, perhaps, counting from the date of its inception, though not so continuously before the public eye, is Sardou's brilliant comedy "Diplomacy," in which Mr. Gerald du Maurier has been encouraged by the booking to display his manifold talents for many weeks past.

Christmas would not be complete without Peter Pan; accordingly "Peter Pan" is lodged at Duke of York's, though, we fear, only for matinées. At the same theatre another of Sir J. M. Barrie's plays is being presented—viz., "Quality Street"—of which a longer notice appears below. This also applies to that most particular favourite of all those who indulge in amateur theatricals—a pantomime rehearsal.

Among new plays perhaps the most noteworthy is "Magic," at the Little Theatre. It is always interesting to watch the first plunge into drama made by one who has already attained high honours in other branches of literature. Mr. G. K. Chesterton is too great an artist and too clever a man to despise teaching; he has been willing to learn the technical lessons of the theatre instead of claiming complete knowledge of stagecraft by virtue of his experience of novel-writing; the result is a highly attractive entertainment, in which Mr. Chesterton's own imagination has taken full advantage of the opportunities afforded by the stage without belittling the one or straining the other.

A résumé of London theatre entertainments cannot nowadays be called complete without some mention of the musical comedy and the review. The other day I read in a paragraph anent the revised version of the musical comedy "The Laughing Husband," a delightfully naive remark to the effect that, since its first production, considerable alterations have had to be made to bring the piece down to the level of the audience! Certainly, I remember being agreeably surprised to find in the last act of the original version not only a really novel situation, but also an exceedingly clever piece of character acting. Can this have had to be altered?

With all these manifold attractions, serious or frivolous, grave or gay, even the most confirmed dyspeptic can have no excuse for grumbling. And to crown all, Mr. Arthur Collins is once more delighting our eyes with his gorgeous Christmas pantomime, to which all the marvellous appliances of the Drury Lane stage lend their aid in producing a kaleidoscopic feast of beauty and colour.

Duke of York's Theatre—"Quality Street," by J. M. Barrie.

"Quality Street" might have been a dramatization of "Cranford," but it was not; for despite a marked resemblance in some of the salient characteristics, the genius of Sir J. M. Barrie has created an entirely individual personality, which strangles the hint of plagiarism. The story of the play is too well known to need recapitulation; the perfect art of each transition from tragedy to comedy breathes a humanity into the personalities which can only be the outcome of a perfect understanding of mankind and its ways. This humanity finds its expression more particularly in the character of Miss Susan Throssel; the exquisite sympathy with which Miss Nina Boucicault portrays the little old maid of Quality Street gives one a choky feeling in the throat which even the laugh that follows so swiftly only makes more real. Whether she speaks or is silent, whether she laughs or cries, Miss Boucicault carries us straight to the heart of gold in the Blue and White Room in Quality Street just a hundred years ago.

As her younger sister, Miss Cathleen Nesbitt played with a soft and delicate joyousness which was as attractive to us as it must have been to her lover, the "dashing Mr. Brown." At moments, also, Miss Nesbitt attained to real power. Mr. Godreff Tearle imparted to the character of Valentine Brown a virile strength both of appearance and personality. He was particularly effective in the scene with "Miss Livvy" at the ball, when the passage of ten years of war and campaigning had added to the young man's impetuosity a depth of character and feeling which he himself barely realizes. Only one thing we should like to note—Mr. Tearle is perhaps too much inclined to make free use of his hands. His gestures are very frequent, and somewhat unmeaning.

The three dear neighbours of the Misses Throssel were admirably portrayed by Miss Mary Barton, Miss Marie Hemingway, and Miss Muriel Martin Harvey, while the sewing-maid, Pathy, of whom Miss Susan is so desperately afraid, finds a clever interpreter in Miss Louie Pounds. The inanity of Mr. Austin Melford and Mr. Edward Douglas, as the young coxcombs Ensign Blades and Lieutenant Spicer respectively, was beyond reproach; and the bluff heartiness of Mr. George Tully as the recruiting sergeant made one wish to see more of him.

Nothing could be prettier than the Miss Throssel's drawing-room. There is a quaint old-world atmosphere, which pervades the whole scene; the faint tinkling of the spinet calls up imaginations of old-fashioned flowers and quaint embroideries. Quality Street is a dream which we continue to desire and regret long after we have woken up to the draughtiness of our homebound taxi.

Strand Theatre—"Mr. Wu," by Harry M. Vernon and Harold Owen.

Wu Li Chang, an ancestor of the central figure of this play, had a daughter who was more to him than daughters usually are to Chinese fathers. So when he discovered, on the eve of her marriage to a mandarin of very high rank, that the young lady had already jeopardized her happiness by placing it in the hands of another, he took up a sword and killed her; moreover, he killed her lover, and all the members of his family—father, mother, sister. In the case of Wu Li Chang the descendant, history repeats itself, the third party in this case being the son of Mr. Gregory, the head of a shipping concern in Hong Kong. But this Wu Li Chang—or Mr. Wu, as the Europeans call him—having been to Oxford and read the Old Testament, seeks a revenge on the strict lines of the proverb "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth"; he tries to exact from the boy's mother a payment which corresponds more closely with the nature of the primary offence, holding out as an inducement the release of the boy who has fallen into his hands. This, together with a side issue which concerns itself with the ruin of Mr. Gregory's business, chiefly to show the wide authority and unquestionable power of the malignant mandarin, is the general idea of the play "Mr. Wu."

One's first impression of this piece of transported Orientalism is a mysterious suspicion of hidden knives and ghastly forebodings. The entire first act is full of the promise of a really forceful drama. The glamour of an unusual and beautiful setting covers, and at the same time aids, the conventionality of the characterization. But we must confess to disenchantment almost as soon as the curtain rose on the second act. No sooner had we got accustomed to the sudden transition from a lotus garden to a dockyard strike than we were asked to believe that a particularly obstinate Englishman could be prevailed upon by a mandarin, upon whose unscrupulous cunning he himself continually insists, not only to unload his revolver, but also to leave the ejected cartridges within reach of his opponent's stealthy fingers. The plausibility of Mr. Wu, in fact, was less convincing than it would appear to have been to the director of the steamship company and his entire staff. This same obviousness of intention was equally baffling, it would seem, to the more human Mrs. Gregory who, with a naïvety hallowed by long-tradition stagecraft, appeared to be very easily led into playing straight into the hands of the almond-eyed inscrutability.

The play is thin, decidedly thin. The authors have trusted so much to the magic which surrounds the word Chinese, connecting with it all those half-guessed terrors of locked doors and sound-proof walls, that they have omitted to extend the same probability to the actions of European characters. It is doubtful whether personal magnetism exercised in a dockside office could induce a woman, however distraught by anxiety for her son's safety, to keep an appointment alone in the house of a man whom she knows to be intensely antagonistic to her husband, without even the adventitious protection afforded by a small-calibre Browning pistol. One feels that the judgment of the various individuals has had to be warped to suit the exigencies of the plot.

But the weakness of the play is certainly redeemed by magnificent acting. Mr. Matheson Lang not only looks the personification of the malignant and inscrutable Orient, but realizes to the full the miraculous patience of the strong character which can wait calmly in order to attain its ultimate object. The quiet dignity with which he receives the insults of the feckless Englishman, whose conduct even his own wife compares unfavourably with that of a bull in a china shop, is worthy of a better cause; and the blankness of his expression under circumstances which would make most Europeans look as savage as they would feel is pure reality.

Mr. Leslie Carter tries to make the part of Mr. Gregory natural, and he attains a far greater measure of success than one would expect, on which he is to be highly congratulated. That even his efforts cannot make the personality of the shipowner entirely convincing can only be attributed to the fact that the character of Mr. Gregory is made so closely to resemble the pig-headed, bull-necked John Bull of convention that he seems almost to have strayed in from a political satire.

The love duet of the first act is very charmingly and sympathetically played by Miss Hilda Bayley—of whom we wished we could have seen more—and Mr. Evan Thomas, who plays the part of the "*fons et origo mali*" with considerable skill and charm. Nor must we forget the Chinese servant of Miss Marian Lind, whose absolute immobility was a wonderful study of Chinese character.

But the chief success of the evening was scored by Miss Lilian Braithwaite as Mrs. Gregory. The restraint with which she approached Mr. Wu in her husband's office on the subject of her son's disappearance showed more clearly than any amount of hysterics the anguish which she was suffering. Miss Braithwaite alone made us feel that there was anything bewildering, anything really to fear, in the impassive composure of Mr. Wu; while her gradual realization of the full meaning of the mandarin's actions and her own appalling position was an artistic triumph.

The play is beautifully produced, and for an object-lesson in Chinese customs, art, and habits, one could not do better than pay a visit to the Strand Theatre. You will find also thrills of an unusual and interesting type, particularly in the final scene between Mrs. Gregory and Wu Li Chang; and if you can lose sight of any inconsistencies of character or actions, you should be able to spend a highly entertaining evening.

J. G. BRANDON-THOMAS.

OBITUARY

MR. H. F. B. LYNCH.

WE regret to record the death of Mr. Henry Finnis Blossie Lynch, F.R.G.S., which took place on November 24, 1913. He was educated at Eton, Heidelberg, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his degree with first-class honours in the Classical Tripos, and in 1887 he was called to the Bar of the Middle Temple.

Joining the firm of Lynch Brothers, of which he was senior partner at the time of his death, he began his extensive travels in the Middle East for the purposes of scientific, political, and commercial research. Later he inaugurated a new river service under the British flag on the Karun River. He travelled from the Karun across the Bakhtiari Mountains to Ispahan, and carried out surveying operations for a new trade route into Persia, now known as the Lynch Road. This road, 270 miles in length, was opened in 1900, has been of immense value to British trade with Persia. Mr. Lynch's second journey of note was in 1893 and 1894, embracing the Caucasus and Armenia. In the course of it Mr. Lynch ascended Mount Ararat, reaching the summit in September, 1893. His third journey was in 1898, when he again explored Armenia, surveying the great crater of Nimrud and mapping out the country, with the assistance of Mr. F. Oswald.

From time to time he contributed articles to this *Review* on Middle Eastern questions, and he was generally recognized as a severe critic of the Foreign Office with regard to Persia, for he held that Great Britain had been too complaisant with regard to Russian interference in North Persia, and had not supported the new constitutional Government of Persia to an adequate extent. His interests in the Tigris and Euphrates navigation were considerable, and may have acted as some incentive to make him the outstanding authority on Middle Eastern questions that he was. Through good and ill report he remained a staunch believer in the regeneration of Persia on constitutional lines. On the other hand, he was no believer in the Anglo-Russian Convention, which he maintained from the first must inevitably lead to the partition of Persia, and eventually to our finding ourselves face to face with Russia across a bad frontier line.

Major-General W. Winson (Peshawar frontier during Indian Mutiny 1857-58, Bhootan expedition 1864-65);—Colonel B. G. Davies-Cooke (Indian Mutiny);—Colonel William A. W. Strickland, M.V.O., of the Indian Army;—Captain the Hon. C. E. Hobart-Hampden, late Bombay Army;—General Sir W. Stirling-Hamilton, Bart., C.B. (Indian Mutiny);—Deputy Surgeon-General N. Norris, late Army Medical Service;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Bigg-Wither, late F.W.D., India;—Her Highness the Dowager Maharani Saheba;—Major-General George de la Poer Beresford, formerly Assistant Adjutant-General, Madras;—Major-General R. Warren, late R.E.;—Colonel George Poignaud;—Mr. George E. Ormiston, M.INST.C.E., late Chief Engineer, Bombay Port Trust;—Colonel A. H. Mayhew, formerly Bombay Staff Corps;—Lieutenant-Colonel George Penry Montague Prichard, late Indian Army;—Admiral Francis Starkie Clayton;—Colonel Richard Maurice-Bonner, late Bombay Staff Corps;—Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel John O'Neill, M.D., late I.M.S.;—Major A. B. Whatman (Tirah, South Africa);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Babington (Indian Mutiny);—Major Sir W. E. Evans-Gordon, late Indian Army;—Surgeon-Major R. Byramjee, late Bombay Army;—Right Hon. Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.;—Nawab Colonel Sir Hafiz Muhamad Abdul Khan, K.C.I.E., Aide-de-Camp to H.M. the King-Emperor;—Colonel W. J. Holt, C.B. (Abyssinia 1867-68, Burmese expedition 1886-88);—Colonel St. George C. Gore (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General D. W. Laughton, late Madras Staff Corps;—Colonel A. J. A. Jackson, late Royal Irish Regiment;—Lord Radstock;—Lord Napier and Ettrick.

COMMERCIAL NOTES

SOME PLAIN FACTS ABOUT THE INDIAN TRADE REPORT FOR 1912-13.

THE latest report on the trade of India is so encouraging to those who take a hopeful view of the progress of our Indian Empire that one is naturally afraid of making too much of it, and we prefer to quote the words of an old and experienced Administrator who is not likely to be too favourably disposed to the existing system. This is what Sir Henry Cotton says in a recent issue of *India* :—

THE COMPETITION OF JAVA.

“ In all civilized countries there has been a great expansion of trade in recent years, and India has fully shared in this advance. The total trade of the year rose to 271 millions, showing an increase over the preceding year of 11 per cent. It would be interesting to institute a comparison of the trade of India with that of other Eastern countries, but, so far as I know, this has never been attempted. How, for instance, does the expansion of trade in Japan, Java, the Straits Settlements, or even in Ceylon, compare with that of India? If a comparison could be made, I suspect that the figures from Java would prove to be the most instructive. Java is a small island compared with India, but the point of interest is that it is a Dutch dependency, just as India is a British dependency. Indian administrators know no more of Java than they do of the Philippines; but it would be a good thing for India if they devoted more attention to both. We get a few hints about Java in Mr. Noel-Paton's report. It is recorded that in the past year Java exported to India no less than 9,310,252

cwts. of cane-sugar, notwithstanding the fact that India is the largest producer of cane-sugar of any country in the world. And yet ten or twelve years ago Java sugar in the Indian market was a negligible quantity. What has happened to bring this state of things about, and how is it that Java in the course of a decade has been able to undersell the Indian producer almost to an unlimited extent? Again, I find in another part of this report that no less than 61 million pounds of tea were exported from Java in 1912. This also is very suggestive, and shows what a formidable competitor this Dutch island is in the world's market. I have no access to the total figures of Java trade, but I suspect that they will show a rate of expansion surpassing that of India and also of Ceylon, and even of the Straits Settlements. At any rate, whether they do so or not, the circumstances attending the recent development and prosperity of Java demand more consideration in India than they have hitherto received. Both Japan and Java have on more than one occasion sent official deputations to India to learn something of the conditions of that country, but I do not remember that India has ever thought it worth while to repay the compliment by a deputation to those islands. It is true that Englishmen now know a good deal about Japan, but Java is still a sealed book to us. And so, for that matter, are Dutch Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and even the American Philippines.

"The aggregate value of the imports into India of cotton yarn and cotton goods in 1912-13 was £40,518,000. Nearly the whole of this came from Lancashire, and the amount is just double of what it was ten years ago. *In the face of this unprecedented importation, it is very satisfactory to find that the year was one of exceptional prosperity in the Indian cotton industry.* The value of yarn exported to China amounted to nearly six millions. The value of raw cotton exported was over eighteen millions, of which considerably more than half went to Japan. *The Bombay cotton-mills were more active than they have ever been before,* and it is mentioned incidentally that there was an increased importa-

tion of long-staple cotton required for fine fabrics, a remark which is of importance, as it is manufactures from the long-stapled foreign product which directly compete with the Manchester piece goods. *Per contra*, it is instructive to note that, while the total number of spindles in India has increased to 6½ millions, Manchester has added more spindles to her gigantic equipment during the past five or six years than are existing in India after half a century of effort.

RICE AND WHEAT EXPORTS.

"Another very interesting section of the report is that which relates to the export of rice and wheat. Forty years ago I compiled for the use of Government a report on the rice trade of the world. The exports from India then amounted to about a million tons. They now amount to 2,763,000 tons. Of this amount, 170,000 tons only go to the United Kingdom, about 700,000 tons to the rest of Europe, and the other principal buyers of Indian rice are—Straits Settlements, 409,000; Ceylon, 381,000; Japan, 241,000; and *Java*, 160,000—tons. These are enormous figures; and, while the Asiatic exports are undoubtedly for food consumption, the vast quantities sent to Europe appear to be used mainly for starch-making and distillation. But further information would be welcome as to the uses to which rice is put, especially when the vast exports of competing places like Saigon and Bangkok are taken into account. Forty years ago the exports from Saigon were 250,000, and from Bangkok 150,000 tons, but I do not know what the figures are now.

"The exports of wheat from India during the year rose to 1,660,000 tons, of which the United Kingdom took 1,185,246 tons. *It is noted that in 1912, as in 1904, the United Kingdom imported more wheat from India than from any other single source*, but in absolute quantity the record of 1904 still rules. It may be expected that that record will be broken in the current year, as the crop area of the past cold weather exceeded the average area of the preceding three years by 5 per cent.

The trade of Calcutta (in merchandise) still keeps well ahead of any other part of India, and amounted to £108,280,000, that of Bombay being £77,266,000, Karachi £31,806,000, Burma ports £28,400,000, and Madras £25,320,000.

"After all, the most important feature of the trade of the year is the confirmation it affords of the well-known fact that, while the greatest share of the imports into India comes from the United Kingdom, the bulk of the exports are distributed all the world over, but principally to the Continent of Europe. The United Kingdom enjoys 63 per cent. of the value of imports into India, and then comes Germany 6·4, Java 5·8, and the United States 3·2. Of the exports from India, Great Britain is a buyer of only 25·1 per cent. The remaining 75 per cent. goes to foreign buyers, among whom the chief are Germany 10·1 per cent., China 8·4, United States 7·8, Japan 7·7, France 6·5, and Belgium 5·4."

HEDGES

AND

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LTD.

WINE MERCHANTS

to H.M. The King.

LONDON: 155, REGENT STREET.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1914.

THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEUDATORY STATES OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

MORE than forty years ago, when I was devoting my somewhat scanty official leisure, with the permission of the Governments of Bengal and India, to the work of editing the *Calcutta Quarterly Review*, a task in which I had entered on the fruits of the labours of Sir John Kaye, Sir Richard Temple, and Mr. Justice Beverley, I had the good fortune to obtain from the pen of one of the greatest feudatory Princes of India, the then Maharaja of Travancore, a most important article on the public career of His Highness's great Dewan, Sir Madhava Rao. Thereafter I was engaged in supporting in the Press, both in England and in India, Lord Lytton's great policy of improving and drawing closer the relations between the feudatories of the Empire and the central Government. That policy Lord Lytton had inherited, through Lord Mayo, from Lord Canning, who had issued the *sanads* guaranteeing the Feudatory States against annexation, and recognizing the right of adoption that secured the permanence of the princely dynasties. But Lord Lytton was far more closely identified with it than any other Viceroy. Some of his most interesting proposals in this direction—such as that

for the creation of an Imperial Council of Magnates, and some other measures for bringing together the Princes of the Empire in friendly co-operation, and for aggrandizing their position on the model of that of the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony in the German Empire—were not carried into effect owing to his premature retirement in 1880. It has been stated that he wished the Empress to create the Prince of Wales "King of Delhi," that title to belong to every Imperial heir-apparent from his birth, like the Duchy of Cornwall; but Mr. Gladstone's strong objection to the Imperial title itself rendered any amplification of it inadvisable at that time. But Lord Lytton carried through his idea of conferring Imperial titles, both civil and military, on the greater feudatories; he recognized the right of the Nizám to confer the old Mughali titles on the noblest and most meritorious of His Highness's subjects; he established "Indian Etons," special colleges for the scions of royal houses; and, above all, he forced through, and obtained the sanction of the Queen-Empress and of Lord Salisbury for, the restoration of the ancient Hindu dynasty to the throne of Mysore, a "rendition" that has been abundantly justified by the eminently beneficent rule of the late and present Maharajas of that "model State."

In 1877 I was selected by the Government of India for the task of writing the articles on the Feudatory States for the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, in which work I was subsequently joined by Sir Arthur Wollaston, K.C.I.E., the well-known Persian scholar, late of the India Office. That work, and my subsequent compilation of "The Golden Book of India," prepared by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, brought me into close association with many of the great Feudatories, with whom I was privileged to be on terms of personal friendship.

I have been led to these observations by reading the interesting and forcible article in the January number of this *Review* by the Chief of Inchalkaranji, entitled, "A Plea for the Mahratta Brahmin." His Highness writes

not only as Ruling Chief, a feudatory of Kolhapur and a sub-feudatory of the Empire, but also as being himself a Brahmin of Brahmins, a scion of the great house of the Peshwas. His article is, in substance, a bold challenge of the theory of no less an authority than Sir Valentine Chirol, that much of the recent and prevailing unrest in India is due to a revival of Brahminical pretensions. I have no wish to intervene in that controversy—*non nostrum . . . tantas componere lites*. But in one point that he makes, to which he devotes a considerable portion of his article, I am entirely in agreement with the Chief of Inchalkaranji. He says :

“ My own opinion of the present unrest is that it is more of an economic than of a political nature. . . . If with the growth in number of this community the opportunities for obtaining employment also had been increased, there would have been little discontent. . . . The independent professions are over-stocked, especially the legal career, so it is no good everybody aspiring to such openings. . . . As living is becoming so costly, and the competition for employment is so keen, many Brahmins are now taking to industrial and commercial pursuits. If the right direction were now given to this new phase of activity, I think a large section of the community would be thus employed. . . . Now that the usual avenues of employment are becoming scarce and congested, this class is prepared to take up other avocations, if only proper facilities are held out to them.”

Every year the great and efficient Universities of India send out into the world a vast number of clever and ambitious young Indians, who find, as the Chief of Inchalkaranji says, that the chief avenues of employment—Government service and the legal career—are hopelessly congested, and that there is only room for a fraction of their number. In England, in France, and in most, put civilized countries of the world, a large proporti

balance would naturally find their way into industrial pursuits. But in India, notwithstanding all its boundless natural resources, the only manufacturing industries that exist as yet are still in the nature of "nascent industries," and these are starved by the overwhelming competition of protected and subsidized imports of foreign goods, often "cheap and nasty," it is true, but sufficiently attractive to spoil the market for Indian goods.

Practically all the great Feudatory Chiefs have shown themselves keenly alive to the urgent necessity of encouraging industrial expansion.

The liberality of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in this direction is proverbial. The magnificent expansion of the gold-mining industry—which by the nature of its product is independent of the fiscal policy of the Imperial Government and of foreign imports—has owed much to the fostering care of the Mysore Durbar. The planting industry, too, is always the object of the solicitude of the State; and when, a few years ago, Lord Curzon, by negotiating with France for mutual concessions, secured preferential treatment for Indian coffee, the Mysore coffee industry was at once in a position to take the fullest advantage of the boon thus obtained. And again, a year or two ago, when the Government of India in a fit of economy ruled that the services of that brilliant Director of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Chatterton, who had done much to quicken industrial progress in Madras, were no longer needed in that capacity in British India, the Mysore Durbar at once obtained his transfer to that State.

Similarly in Travancore. The consumption of matches in India is literally prodigious, and yet, though all the raw materials for the manufacture of matches are abundant in many parts of the country, the whole of that immense trade has until now been monopolized by Japan, Sweden, Norway, and Austria, owing to the protection enjoyed by the manufacturers in those countries. Now, the Travancore Durbar Plea for its manufacturers fiscal protection, because the

Imperial Government is "Free Trade," which in this case amounts to giving protection to the foreign manufacturers. But His Highness the Maharaja does the next best thing—he gives the best he can, though that is far more costly and far less efficient than the imposition of import duties: he gives his manufacturers what is tantamount to heavy subsidies, the free supply of material from the State forests, with liberal concessions of sites for factories, and other advantages.

And in his attitude towards all other industries His Highness, energetically seconded by his Dewan, adopts the same liberal policy. The Travancore Durbar supplies agriculturists with free manure (lime and cocoanut refuse). But without the aid of some import duties on refined sugar, it is absolutely helpless to resist the overwhelming influx of Java sugar; and the area under what used to be one of the most profitable crops, sugar-cane, steadily diminishes year by year, as it does in every part of India.

The generous encouragement that is given to industrial enterprises of all kinds, mining, textile, and other, by the Government of His Highness the Nizam is well known, and is frequently the subject of laudatory notices in the Indian Press. So, too, with Baroda, Indore, Gwalior, Jammu and Kashmir, Jaipur, Bikanir, Nawanagar and many other States that might be named: in every case the Durbar is found ready and anxious to welcome industrial expansion. Again and again, in all these States factories of various sorts have been started, and have received every encouragement from the Durbars; again and again these factories have been compelled to close down by the severity of foreign competition, which is always resolved to crush nascent industries before they attain sufficient strength to enable them to resist the combined forces of protection, bounties, and subsidies. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, in a speech delivered at the inauguration of the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition in 1903, put the whole thing in a nutshell thus:

"It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands; but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat. National defence against alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles."

Instances to illustrate the force of His Highness's statement are continually brought to light in the Indian Press. I can here refer to only one or two.

No sooner were the concessions of the Travancore Government to its subjects endeavouring to establish a match-making industry in the State announced a year or two ago, than immediately the Scandinavians established a line of steamers specially equipped for the Indian match trade, to run direct from Christiania in Norway to Bombay, Tuticorin, or other Indian ports—doubtless with heavy advantages to Swedish and Norwegian shippers. And it appears from the latest returns (Blue-book No. 6783, issued in 1913) that out of a total import of matches into India valued at £583,884 per annum, more than half came from Sweden and Norway! Moreover, about the same time the Japanese Government deputed a Commission to visit India, to devise measures for the improvement of the match trade with that country; and at this moment Japan supplies about a quarter of the matches imported into India! And yet it is not denied that the supply of raw materials for this industry that is possessed within the territories of the Feudatory States is not surpassed in the world!

One of the very few successful factories for the manufacture of woollen goods in all India is situate in the city of Bangalore, which is politically separate from Bangalore Cantonments, and in the very heart of the dominions of the Maharaja of Mysore. The history of the woollen industry in India is a typical one. Under the East India Company it flourished in all its branches—in manufactures

of wool, of goat's hair, of pashm, of wool and silk, of wool and cotton, and so forth, from the costliest products of Kashmir to the roughest and cheapest blankets and shawls. The first Indian power-mills were started in 1876; by 1904 the number of mills in British India had only increased to six, and in 1912 these had diminished to four!—and this notwithstanding the remarkable fact that India imports woollen manufactured goods to the value of over two and a quarter million pounds sterling per annum!

The reason is not far to seek. Reviewing the woollen industry in 1896, Mr. O'Connor wrote, with special reference to the foreign export: "The trade is as yet quite unimportant, and is likely to remain so for a long time to come, unless the Indian mills are able to find markets in Asia for coarse blankets and horse-clothing, the only descriptions of goods for which there would be a fair demand in the regions we could hope to supply, and the only kinds we could manufacture with profit to compete outside India with European goods." But Sir George Watt, writing in 1908 ("Commercial Products of India," p. 1123), pointed out that in 1895, only two years after the date of Mr. O'Connor's review of the trade as here quoted, the imports from Great Britain had fallen off by $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while those from Germany had increased sixfold, from France threefold, and from Austria twofold. Sir George Watt continues: "It had thus almost immediately been demonstrated that the attractively got up shoddy and mixed woollen goods of the Continent of Europe (more especially of Germany) were not only ousting the superior manufactures of England, but had undermined the ground that the Indian mills were believed capable of holding." And as an illustration of this he adds elsewhere (p. 1131): "The shawl traffic is almost entirely with Calcutta, and is very largely the expression of the demand made by the coolies employed in the tea industry for shawls and blankets, so that Germany has not only driven the Indian mills, but the British as well, out of this particular market."

Here, I may remark incidentally, may be found a most valuable lesson in the use of tariffs that should be taken to heart by the Imperial Government, if they desire to aid the Feudatory Chiefs in building up Indian industries. There is a small revenue duty of 5 per cent, *ad valorem*, on the import of manufactured woollen goods into India—is on most other imports—levied impartially on British and foreign goods. Now, we see that this 5 per cent. duty is sufficient, as there is no excise, to act as a mild protection against the goods of Bradford and the Yorkshire woollen industry, because those Yorkshire goods enjoy neither protection, nor bounties, nor subsidies. But it is very different with the imports from Germany and other protected nations; the advantages their manufacturers enjoy from those sources far outweigh such a nominal tariff as the Indian revenue duty. The consequence is what is shown by Sir George Watt—the Indian mills cannot compete successfully with the German for the Calcutta trade in cheap coolie blankets, so they are driven to compete with Yorkshire in the costlier lines.

Thus it is that in every industry in which Mr. Chatterton may advise the Mysore Government to encourage its subjects to engage—and so, too, for every other Feudatory State—they will be met in the initial stages by this powerful, organized, foreign competition; and progress must be slow, and results often sadly disappointing.

The East India Association has issued, under the title "Truths about India," with the powerful and authoritative imprimatur of such known and proved friends of India as Lord Ampthill, Mr. Pennington and Dr. Pollen, a most useful and illuminating brochure on some of the burning questions of the day. Its chapter on the Feudatory States is a crushing exposure of the ignorant rubbish wherewith Padgett, M.P., and his friends delight to regale the British public on their return from their "personally conducted tours" in India. The autocratic rule of the Chiefs, which is properly tempered by their loyal responsi-

bility to the Paramount Power, undoubtedly represents the patriarchal and aristocratic form of government that is best suited to the genius of the Indian peoples and that is best able to recommend to them valuable reforms. The chapter shows that in all matters affecting social or domestic or religious habits and customs, the feudatory form of government has, *ex natura rei*, a freer hand than any ordinary local government. It is well known that all the greater ruling Princes and their Dewans are heartily in favour of such a policy of industrial expansion as that which is suggested by the Chief of Inchalkaranji in his *Asiatic Review* article, and which has been urgently asked for by Sir Gaugádhár Chitnavis and the Indian-born members of the Imperial Council. The ruler of Inchalkaranji declares that such a policy resolutely carried out would do more than anything else could possibly do to allay the spirit of unrest that is abroad in India. Such a policy carried out by the Feudatory Princes, with the friendly aid and co-operation of the Imperial Government, would not only be an assured success *ab initio*, but would greatly enrich both themselves and their subjects.

And why should it not be? Literally nothing stands in the way save only the disastrous influence of the Cobden Club with the India Office and the Government of India! Every educated and intelligent economist knows perfectly well why it is that nascent industries in India are strangled; why it is that, with all her wealth of raw material and cheap and docile labour, unrivalled elsewhere, and with the biggest markets in the world at her doors, India finds it impossible to run a dozen woollen mills, or a dozen paper mills, or a dozen match factories, or any considerable number of sugar factories, or, indeed, any other of the innumerable industries for which there is in India an immense field. In every one of these cases it is the foreign dumping from Protectionist countries!

And everyone knows equally well how the foreigner manages to do it so effectually. How did the Dutch

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And why should it not be? Literally nothing stands in the way save only the disastrous influence of the Cobden Club with the India Office and the Government of India! Every educated and intelligent economist knows perfectly well why it is that nascent industries in India are strangled; why it is that, with all her wealth of raw material and cheap and docile labour, unrivalled elsewhere, and with the biggest markets in the world at her doors, India finds it impossible to run a dozen woollen mills, or a dozen paper mills, or a dozen match factories, or any considerable number of sugar factories, or, indeed, any other of the innumerable industries for which there is in India an immense field. In every one of these cases it is the foreign dumping from Protectionist countries!

And everyone knows equally well how the foreigner manages to do it so effectually. How did the Dutch

Government of Java increase their sales of sugar (now largely refined) to India from less than £10,000 in 1888-89 to £5,971,804 in 1911-12? Starting with the initial advantages of Indian helplessness under Free Trade; with the Indian industry already nearly ruined by the bounty-fed beet-sugar of Germany and Austria, and only partially restored under the Brussels Convention; with free silver against Indian taxed silver and closed mints—the Dutchmen had only to raise their tariff to prohibitive rates, and to subsidize their own Javanese exporters to any necessary extent, and the thing was done. And India, which used to produce half the sugar of the world—largely in Feudatory States—not only lost the whole of her export trade, but hundreds of thousands of acres of sugar cane (including large areas in Mysore) fell out of cultivation.

The late Sir William Lee-Warner—whose recent lamented death is deeply deplored by every well-wisher of India—published in the *Fortnightly Review* of November last a powerful article, in which he pointed out some of the dangers that would threaten British India under a system of sheer, full-blooded Protection. By that I mean, of course, the imposition of import duties not only on the goods of protected and subsidized foreigners, such as the Japanese, the Javanese, and Germans, but also on the Free Trade goods from the United Kingdom and the rest of the British Empire; and on this point Sir William Lee-Warner's arguments were entirely in accordance with the masterly speech on the subject, delivered in the Governor-General's Legislation Council on March 17 last by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, then Finance Minister of India. Sir William pointed out that the perils to India threatened by such a system of Protection are (1) the enormous increase of smuggling that would inevitably follow the establishment of such an endless and obscure Customs-line as that between British India and the Feudatory States, and (2) the increased cost of the necessities of life to the

poorest classes in India likely to ensue on the taxation of imported goods.

These objections to a full measure of Protection for India are undoubtedly serious. And it may well be that the slackening of the demand in British India for such a full measure of Protection is largely due to the appreciation of the strength of the arguments put forward by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson on the part of the most highly educated Indians. And it is fortunate that these arguments do not in the least apply to a system of modified Protection with Imperial Preference—for this fact brings within the range of practical politics a scheme of fiscal reform for India that will benefit equally the Feudatory States and the provinces of British India, and that will injure no part of the British Empire.

For, with regard to the first of Sir William Lee-Warner's warnings noted above, under Imperial Preference the Feudatory States would naturally form an integral part of the Indian Customs Union. As in the case of the South African Customs Union, there would be one Imperial tariff, with no Customs-line between British India and the Feudatory States, and from the proceeds each State would derive a substantial revenue, distributed perhaps in proportion to its population as in South Africa. And with regard to the second of his warnings, under Imperial Preference the existing taxation on Indian cotton goods and Lancashire cotton goods will be altogether remitted, the taxation on foreign goods being maintained or increased. Now, the only necessary of the poor Indian raiyat that depends even remotely on import is his scanty cotton clothing, and seeing that India and Lancashire between them provide over 90 per cent of this cotton clothing, it is obvious that the cost of this necessary, so far from being increased, will be substantially diminished. I challenge reasoned contradiction of this undoubted fact.

Here, then, we have an indication of the direction in which we must look for the material development of the

Feudatory States of India, which has hitherto been retarded by our fiscal policy, by our currency policy and (in some cases most seriously) by our recent opium policy. Under a system of Imperial Preference that will foster the industrial expansion of all India, mills and factories will spring up in the Feudatory States, secured from the "alien industrial inroads" from Protectionist countries which have hitherto rendered such enterprises wellnigh hopeless. The Chiefs will gain a substantial increase to their revenues that have been depleted by the loss in their States of such paying crops as opium and sugar, while their poorer subjects will obtain their necessities at a considerably reduced price, and all classes will participate in a general increase of material prosperity.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA*

BY EDWARD G. BROWNE.

IT has been said of Napoleon that the greatest of all his talents lay in his power of convincing his countrymen of the greatness of those talents, and thus establishing a "Napoleon Legend." On a smaller scale the same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of Sir Edward Grey, whose name will ever be associated, for better or worse, with the policy of the Anglo-Russian Agreement. That he has "made history" no one will deny, though whether the chapter for which he is responsible is one of which Englishmen have reason to be proud, or which their successors will read with satisfaction, is another question. So far as the Muslim World is concerned, at any rate, it is one of the darkest chapters in their history. When he came into power eight years ago there existed four independent Muhammadan States, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Morocco, and of these four only Afghanistan has thus far escaped scatheless from the direct or indirect consequences of his policy. How far this policy has been responsible for the recent misfortunes of Turkey and the ominous clouds which still darken her future is ably discussed by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall in the January number of *La Revue Politique Internationale*.

What unfortunate Persia, at the very moment of her attempted regeneration, has suffered at his hands is known

* This article is appearing simultaneously in *La Revue Politique Internationale* by especial arrangement.

to all, and forms the subject of a literature already voluminous, of which Mr. Morgan Shuster's great work, "The Strangling of Persia," deserves special mention. As for Morocco, it is, alas! now little more than a geographical expression; and it is worthy of remark that whereas Sir Edward Grey's constant boast is that he has at least "kept the peace of Europe," the one occasion on which he nearly plunged his country into a European War was to compass the destruction of the last independent Muhammadan State in Africa. To what degree he was privy to the Italian raid on Tripoli is not at present ascertainable; but, even assuming the absence of such complicity, there is enough for which he is admittedly and avowedly responsible to account for the profound mistrust—to put it mildly—with which he is regarded by the whole Muhammadan world, and the prevalent belief amongst Muhammadans (which no well-informed person can affect to ignore) that a desire to destroy the political power of Islam, and to prevent it from entering on the path of reform, is one of the chief factors in his policy. The dangerous effects of this belief are already manifesting themselves in India, and are causing grave anxiety to her rulers, and it is to be hoped that there is truth in the current rumour that those of Sir Edward Grey's colleagues who are especially responsible for the safety of this great dependency are beginning to exercise a more jealous watch over his policy in its relation to Muhammadan sentiment. In this connection it would be unjust to withhold a tribute of praise and admiration from Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, who, whatever his responsibility in promoting the Anglo-Russian Agreement, has won the respect and affection of the people of India by the courage which he shewed on the occasion of his attempted assassination, and by the sympathy manifested by him in connection with the South African troubles and the affair of the Cawnpore Mosque.

To return, however, to Sir Edward Grey and the Russophile, Germanophobe and anti-Islamic policy which

he has succeeded, with a skill equally wonderful and deplorable, in forcing upon this country, it must be said! at the outset that the extent to which this policy is his own is still doubtful. Of all the British Government Offices, the Foreign Office is, perhaps, the least sensitive to public opinion, and the most controlled by a special hierarchy recruited from a very limited area ; and during Sir Edward Grey's *régime* it has succeeded in emancipating itself to a very much greater degree than at any previous time during the last half century from any kind of democratic control. The higher permanent officials in particular possess an enormous power of shaping its policy, and if the Minister or Secretary of State be weak, indolent or confiding, they can without much difficulty impose their policy upon him, while persuading him that the ideas of which they make him the mouthpiece are really his own. In this way his course becomes both easy and pleasant : easy, because he need not trouble to attend to details or to evolve a policy of his own ; pleasant, because he becomes immensely popular in his department and in all the circles—social, political and journalistic—which his department directly or indirectly controls.

Difficult as it is to penetrate the mysteries of Downing Street, there is some reason to suspect that something of this sort has taken place in the case of Sir Edward Grey. Whatever may be thought of his policy, his personal integrity has never been questioned. Almost alone amongst the present Ministry, he has, in spite of the advanced Radicalism of his views on Home Politics, almost entirely escaped the violent attacks made on every one of his colleagues by the Opposition Press. Of the imputations made upon their characters and actions, in language often transcending the bounds of decency, no whisper has reached him. Typically English in character, untravelled, unskilled in foreign tongues and ways, of ancient and noble family, devoted to sport, devoid of sentiment, cold, reserved "practical," "unsentimental," of unimpeachable personal

integrity, and, as all Members of Parliament testify, extraordinarily weighty and impressive as a public speaker, he has succeeded in silencing criticism and securing the acceptance of the most amazing statements in a way which no other Minister has achieved, and which, indeed, is little short of miraculous. "Transparent honesty" is the quality commonly ascribed to him, not only by his political allies, but by his opponents; and yet probably no Minister has made so many statements in Parliament of which the inaccuracy was so patent, and which nevertheless passed unchallenged. Instances of this might be multiplied, but four or five will suffice.

I. SECRET AGREEMENTS.

On November 27, 1911, Sir Edward Grey said :

"We have laid before the House the Secret Articles of the Agreement with France of 1904. *There are no other secret engagements . . . From ourselves we have not made a single secret article of any kind since we came into office.*"

Referring to this explicit statement, Mr. Bonar Law, the Leader of the Opposition, said :

"The Right Honourable Gentleman has first told us, and we are glad to hear it, that *there is no extension of our obligations by any secret arrangements of any kind whatever.* We are all glad to hear it."

And later in the debate the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith) said :

"The House has heard from my Right Honourable friend the Foreign Secretary, and I believe has heard with *universal satisfaction, that the world is now in possession of the whole of our Treaty obligations on this subject.*"

Nothing could seem more clear and candid than this. But little more than a fortnight later, on December 14, 1911,

on Mr. Wedgwood's enquiring whether "every agreement, treaty and understanding between this country and any other country, was now public property," Sir Edward Grey replied that the answer to this question was in the negative. Thereupon Mr. McNeill asked "Are there other secret treaties beside the Treaty recently disclosed between this country and France?" to which Sir Edward Grey replied, "*There are other engagements which have not been published.*"

The glaring discrepancy between these two statements, to which I called attention in a letter published in the *Times* on February 22, 1912, has never been explained, and not only the people but the Parliament of Great Britain still remain entirely in the dark as to a matter in which they are vitally concerned.

2. EXPANSION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Again on November 27, 1911, Sir Edward Grey remarked :

"I say this—the wise policy for this country is to expand as little as possible, and certainly no further the African possessions ;" a statement which Mr. Bonar Law again hastened to endorse.

Within three weeks the British public was astonished to learn that by some hitherto unexplained diplomatic legerdemain, a long stretch of the North African coast between Egypt and Cyrenaica, including the important harbour of Sollum with a triangular piece of the *hinterland*, had been "provisionally annexed to Egypt," which of course, in fact if not in name, was equivalent to its annexation by England. In other words, Sir Edward Grey, having declared the unwisdom of extending the British Empire, especially in Africa, immediately proceeded to annex a large segment of territory in that continent.

3. THE "UNAGGRESSIVE" CHARACTER OF RUSSIAN POLICY.

Another astounding statement made by Sir Edward Grey on the occasion last referred to (November 27, 1911) is the following :

"One of the essential conditions of the friendship of ourselves with France and Russia in the last few years *has been the certain knowledge that neither they nor we wish to pursue a provocative or aggressive policy.*"

These words, as though by an exquisite irony, were uttered four days after Persia, acting on the advice of Great Britain, had submitted to the first Russian ultimatum, and two days before the second still more cruel and unreasonable ultimatum was launched upon her !

4. BEHAVIOUR OF RUSSIAN OFFICERS IN PERSIAN SERVICE.

The most amazing instance of Sir Edward Grey's attempts to make black appear as white where Russia is concerned is, however, his statement (thrice repeated in slightly different forms on July 27, November 27, and December 14, 1911) that the Russian officers—viz., Colonel Liakhoff and his colleagues—in the service of the ex-Shah Muhammad Ali, and in command of the notorious Cossack Brigade, "could, by lifting a finger, have stopped the revolution against the Shah, and prevented his deposition," but that they "did not lift a finger, and let the Shah be expelled."

The active part played by these Russian officers, first on the occasion of the *Coup d'État* of June 23, 1908, in the destruction of the first National Assembly, and again in July, 1909, in the attempt to check the Nationalist advance on Teheran, and to maintain Muhammad Ali on the throne, is so notorious, and was so fully described at the time in the British Press, especially by the *Times'* special

correspondent, Mr. David Fraser, that it is astonishing that even the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could have been ignorant of it. Yet here again such, apparently, was Sir Edward Grey's prestige that no Member of Parliament was found to call attention to this amazing perversion of the facts.

5. THE SPRING RICE MEMORANDUM OF SEPTEMBER 4, 1907.

Four days after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, which was signed on August 31, 1907, Sir Cecil Spring Rice, then British Minister at Teheran, sent to the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs a Persian Note or Memorandum (*yâd-dâsh*t), designed to reassure the Persian Government and people as to the scope and effect of that Agreement, and to dispel the apprehensions (only too well founded, as subsequently appeared) which it had aroused in their minds. The text of this Memorandum was published in the *Habl-ul-Matîn* and other Persian papers ten days later, and an English translation of it was published by me in January, 1909, in a pamphlet entitled, "A Brief Narrative of Recent Events in Persia." During three years (1909-1911) this translation was repeatedly cited in Parliament and the Press without its genuineness or accuracy being once challenged, until at the end of the fateful year 1911, first Mr. Acland (on December 5), and subsequently Sir Edward Grey (on December 14), professed entire ignorance of its contents, and even threw doubt on its existence. A photograph of the original document had, however, been obtained meanwhile from Teheran, and this was placed in Mr. Acland's hands for examination by one of the Members of Parliament who had taken a prominent part in the debate. On February 1, 1912, Mr. Acland, in a letter addressed to this same Member of Parliament, was compelled to acknowledge the genuineness of the Memorandum, and the substantial accuracy of the translation on which he had cast doubt.

"On receipt of your inquiry," he wrote, "Sir Edward Grey caused an abridged translation of this paper to be made, and a copy of the English text of it to be asked for from Teheran.

"The English text has now been received, and contains passages in substantial agreement with those quoted in the House of Commons, with which the abridged translation above referred to also corresponds.

"The document was written in an unofficial form as an explanatory memorandum by Sir Cecil Spring Rice for the benefit of the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs of that time to allay certain apprehensions felt by various provincial *enjuuens* in that country.

"The text of the official announcement made to the Persian Government is that contained in the papers presented to Parliament."

In his reply the recipient of this letter expressed his very natural surprise that a document of such importance "should have been familiar to everyone with any knowledge of Persian affairs except to the Government" (*i.e.*, the British) "whom it chiefly concerned. It is, I think," he added, "the most surprising example of official ignorance that I have ever come across. In saying this I accept, of course, most fully and absolutely the statement that this Memorandum was unknown to Sir Edward Grey and yourself. I am only surprised that the whole Foreign Office should also apparently know nothing about it."

Mr. Morgan Shuster was therefore fully justified when he wrote at p. 242 of his book, "The Strangling of Persia":

"It appears, therefore, that at the time that I was being charged with having displayed ignorance of the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and for months before that date, I was familiar with an important official exposition of the views of the British and of the Russian Governments formulated by the British Minister Plenipotentiary at Teheran; yet the British Foreign Office

officials who presented these charges of ignorance or negligence against me were themselves at that very time in ignorance even of the existence of this important paper which they have only since come to peruse. Is it at all possible that a department of the Government, so conducted as to permit such a lapse in delicate and important affairs of this nature, may have been equally uninformed as to the real facts of other incidents arising during my administration of the finances of Persia, although this department of the British Government saw no hesitation in promptly endorsing Russia's demand for my removal and dismissal from the post of Treasurer-General?"*

If, as we are obliged to assume, the above statements made by Sir Edward Grey to the House of Commons about important affairs connected with the department for which he is responsible were made in good faith, we are driven to believe that they must be explained by forgetfulness, distaste for detail, an obstinate determination to defend his cherished idea of Anglo-Russian friendship and co-operation against all criticism, and to declare the policy based on this idea successful in the teeth of all evidence to the contrary, and a silent but deeply-rooted contempt for the House of Commons, rising to indignation and anger, when it seeks to penetrate those mysterious *arcana* of which he is the high priest. England has gained little by the curtailment of the powers of the House of Lords effected by the present Government, since they have got in its place a Cabinet more despotic and more contemptuous of public opinion than has ever been known in recent times, where each Minister is given the most autocratic powers in his own department on condition of allowing each of his colleagues a similar autocracy in theirs; and when these Ministers loudly assert, as they do from time

* As a matter of fact it subsequently appeared from the Blue Book (Cd. 6,105), p. 52, No. 127, that Sir Edward Grey actually suggested the dismissal of Mr. Shuster to the Russian Government on November 17, 1911.

to time, that Eastern countries like Turkey and Persia are unfitted for popular government, we may suspect that their real opinion is that all countries, England included, are in the same case, a view that has actually been advanced lately in at least one Conservative paper.

To such politicians, as well as to a certain section of the clergy and the majority of the rapidly-increasing bureaucracy, the Russian autocracy, seen from a comfortable distance, appears supremely attractive, and we may be pardoned for believing that at times they are tempted to envy the expeditious methods by which the Russian Government silences its critics. Mr. Hitchens observes in his novel "The Green Carnation," that while the wicked are supremely indifferent to the doings of their respectable neighbours, the respectable are intensely interested in the doings of the wicked. In like manner it may be said that while autocrats take very little interest in the sayings or doings of Liberals, save when these threaten to interfere with their powers, many professing Liberals are, for some inexplicable reason, intensely interested in, and even attracted by, the doings of autocrats. Mr. Gladstone, who was wont to speak of "Holy Russia" and her "mission," who never wearied of denouncing the Turks and advocating their expulsion from Europe "bag and baggage," and whose ears were ever open to the suggestions of that able Russian agent Madame Olga Novikoff, who exerted so great an influence also over men like Thomas Carlyle, Freeman, and Stead, is an instance in point; but even his enthusiasm, reinforced as it was by religious motives, never rendered him so blind to Russia's faults as Sir Edward Grey has shown himself to be, while the strong Turcophilism of Lord Beaconsfield and the Conservative party always offered an alternative to such voters as cared more about foreign policy than about domestic affairs.

To such voters at the present time no such alternative is open. Many people who supported the present "Liberal" Government at the last, or even at the two or three last

elections are, for various reasons, and especially on account of their profound dissatisfaction with Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy, their dislike of the Russian entanglement, and their desire either for the old "splendid isolation" or for a closer friendship with Germany, prepared to sacrifice all minor issues in order to secure a reversal of that policy; and were a new Beaconsfield to arise and put a new foreign policy, or rather the old, sane Conservative foreign policy, in the first place on his programme, he might easily be returned to power at the next election. Unhappily the Conservative party are at present bankrupt of any such ideas, while the chief items on their programme, Protection (or "Tariff Reform") and Conscription (or "National Service") remain, and are likely to remain, profoundly unpopular. They, like the Liberals, have lost the broad, sane outlook on foreign affairs which characterized Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, and, with one or two brilliant exceptions amongst the old Free Trade Conservatives (who are become anathema to their discredited and derelict Party), are as much absorbed in "parochial" politics as their Liberal antagonists.

One of the greatest, most wonderful, and most dangerous achievements of Sir Edward Grey is his success in what it is now the fashion to call "lifting Foreign Policy out of the domain of Party Politics," and establishing the theory of its "continuity" at the very moment when he had upset the tradition of nearly a century. For a hundred years, ever since the disastrous treaties which Persia was compelled to conclude with Russia at Gulistán (1813) and Turk-máncháy (1828), the general policy of Great Britain, in spite of what good old Sir John McNeill, writing in 1834, called "the foolish click (*clique*) of believers in Russian benevolence and other nonsensical matter," has been to support Persia in resisting further Russian aggression. Every advance of Russia in Central Asia was jealously watched, and in March, 1885, the so-called "Panj-dih Incident" brought England and Russia to the verge of

war. Fifteen years later Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the idol of the New Imperialists, and the inventor of the "New Diplomacy," created some sensation by remarking in a public speech, *à propos* of agreements with Russia, that "he who would sup with the devil needs a long spoon"; while his ally, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, of South African fame, affected contempt for "the decaying Latin races," and included the Germans in the scheme of Rhodes Scholarships at Oxford, whereby he sought to consolidate the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races. Finally the Anglo-Japanese Alliance prepared the way for Japan's triumph over Russia in the great war of 1904-5, which, with the succeeding revolution in Russia, seemed to promise to a score of anxious nations and millions of oppressed people a prolonged respite from the aggressive schemes of that restless, ambitious, and gigantic Empire.

Eight years ago, therefore, it seemed that the really continuous foreign policy pursued for nearly a century by Great Britain in Asia, which had as its principal aim the safeguarding of India from a Russian invasion, had culminated in an almost unimagined success. And the very magnitude of this success seems to have alarmed its architects, and led to the most astounding reversal of British foreign policy within the memory of man. Four months after the signature of the Treaty of Portsmouth on August 23, 1905, Mr. Balfour's Government fell, and the Liberals came into office with Sir Edward Grey as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. During eight years he has done all in his power to restore the shattered strength and prestige of Russia, seeking her friendship, as it would appear, at any cost, deferring to her wishes, aiding her schemes of aggrandizement in Persia, Turkey and China, and freely placing at her disposal, for the first time, I believe, in history, the resources of the British money market, so that now Russia is stronger and more aggressive than she has ever been before, and having repressed revolution at home, emasculated the Duma, crushed

Finland, seized four of the richest provinces in Persia (Ázarbáyján, Gílún, Mázandarán and Khurúsán) and, garrisoned them with some twenty thousand troops, practically destroyed Persian autonomy, invaded Mongolia, bullied China, and grievously enfeebled Turkey, stands forth, ominous, overbearing, reactionary, with her countless armed hosts and her infinitely cunning diplomatists, a menace to the whole world.

So far as England's share in bringing about this state of things is concerned, it is the work of two comparatively small but compact, astute, influential and powerful groups, the one distinctively Russophile, the other primarily Germanophobe (though to some extent overlapping each other), comprising courtiers, high officials (especially in the Foreign Office), financiers, ecclesiastics, and journalists. The extent to which these two groups have succeeded in controlling the Press of Great Britain, and by its means in inspiring the minds of the unthinking public with a vague fear and mistrust of Germany, and in obliterating from their memories the fear and mistrust of Russia which until a few years ago had dominated them for several generations, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of our time, and affords a striking illustration of Max Nordau's thesis that the freedom of the Press is only one of the "conventional lies of our modern civilisation." "If all the prominent newspapers throughout the length and breadth of the land," he says, "unite in striving to accomplish certain purposes, if they repeat certain thoughts and propositions for months, for years, without cessation, if they bring their readers again and again to their point of view, there is absolutely nothing that they cannot finally accomplish, there is not a Government, a law, a custom, nor even a conception of the universe, that can withstand them." When, as is now the case in England, most of the prominent newspapers are in the hands of three or four persons, and the really independent papers of some influence can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand, a powerful clique, such as has been

described above, has only to gain the adhesion and co-operation of these three or four persons in order to impose its ideas on the vast majority of the community, and this is precisely what has happened in England during the last six or seven years. How else can we account for the monstrous delusion prevalent in England that Russia is an unaggressive and Germany an aggressive Power? After all, nations, like individuals, must be judged by their acts. Can any unbiassed observer describe Russia's actions, especially since the Morocco crisis of 1911, in Persia, Mongolia, and the Far East as "unaggressive"? And can anyone deny that, when all is said, Germany has kept the peace for more than forty years, and is the only great European Power which during this period has hardly annexed any territory at all?

Another extraordinary thing connected with this question is that the defenders of the Anglo-Russian *entente* take one of two diametrically opposite lines of argument. One party asserts that the weakening of Russia's power, in consequence of her disastrous war with Japan and her subsequent domestic troubles, upset the balance of power in favour of Germany, and that consequently it became necessary to restore this balance by the employment of every possible means for the strengthening of Russia. Such persons may be invited to consider whether they have not over-redressed the balance, and whether the time has not now come when its last oscillation should be corrected by the support of Germany. The other party, however, take the view that the hegemony of the world will inevitably fall to Russia, that we cannot resist or oppose her, and that it therefore behoves us to "make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness." It is even said that there exists amongst the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy a school—happily a small one—which believes that England will inevitably lose India, and who would prefer in that case that it should pass into Russia's hands rather than into the hands of any Asiatic race. These, it is to be supposed, are the disciples of

Nietsche and the believers in the doctrine of the "good European."

If the views here advanced are correct, Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy has been a gigantic mistake, which Europe generally, and England particularly, will one day, and that at no very distant date, have good reason to lament. In the opinion of the writer (which, it must be admitted, is at present the opinion of a minority of Englishmen) the Anglo-Russian *entente* will last just so long as England is content to follow where Russia leads. This is at present the case. Russia objected, in 1911, to the appointment of Captain Stokes to command the Persian Treasury Gendarmerie, and though he had been explicitly told that he could accept this post if he resigned his commission, means were found, in deference to Russia's wishes, to prevent the acceptance of his resignation. Russia then demanded the dismissal of Mr. Morgan Shuster from the post of Treasurer-General of Persia, and, in the teeth of the protests not only of the Persian people but of all European merchants, bankers, and others who were interested in the solvency and good government of Persia, Sir Edward Grey co-operated with Russia to secure his dismissal, whereby, incidentally, besides ruining Persia, he did much to alienate American sympathy and friendship from this country. Russia then brought masses of troops into North Persia, and inaugurated the "Bloody Assize" of January, 1912, by publicly hanging eight prominent and respected citizens of Tabriz on New Year's Day (which happened to correspond with the 10th of Muharram, the most solemn day of mourning in the Persian ecclesiastical year), amongst whom was included the *Sikat-ul-Islam*, the chief ecclesiastic of the province. Sir Edward Grey ventured a feeble protest, to which the Russian Government replied, with incomparable cynicism, that, as the Turks had once hanged a Christian bishop, they considered themselves justified in hanging a Persian *mujtahid*, who was, moreover, "the head of a dissenting sect" (meaning the Shaykhí school, to which the

Sikat-ul-Islam belonged). To show how little they cared for Sir Edward Grey's mild remonstrances, they still further outraged the feelings of the Muhammadan world three months later by bombarding the sacred shrine of the Imám Rizá at Mashhad, looting its treasures, and killing a number of inoffensive people, pilgrims and residents, some of whom are stated to have been British subjects. This outrage, which rang through the whole Muhammadan world, is scarcely even alluded to, much less described, in the Blue-Book dealing with the events of this period. On December 27, 1913, the *Times* published an interesting article from its correspondent at Teheran on "the Work of the Swedish Gendarmerie in Persia." In the course of this article he says that "the Russians are inclined to view with apprehension the development of the gendarmerie in the *Neutral Zone*." In other words, they not only regard all North Persia as already their property, but are beginning to cast covetous eyes on what lies to the south of Isfahán. This is a good example of what Mr. Arthur Diósy, in his "New Far East" (p. 341), well describes as "the calm way in which Russia pursues her policy in Asia, undeterred by remonstrance or bluster, steadily making for the goal she has had in view for generations." That that goal is India was almost universally believed by our ancestors and by ourselves until seven or eight years ago, and though the belief that we are much wiser than our ancestors is always a pleasing one, it does not necessarily follow that it is true. "Russia," says Mr. Diósy in the work cited above (p. 349), "wants to rule over Asia, and to control Europe too, ay, and as much of the rest of the globe as she can place under her influence. Russia wants as much of the world as she can get hold of, because Russia believes, firmly, implicitly, that it is her 'manifest destiny' to be a World-Power, a greater Rome, a stronger and more Imperial Britain. 'Russia first and the rest nowhere!' That is the idea implanted in every Russian mind, the wish imbedded in every Russian heart. . . ."

Sooner or later, then, and probably sooner rather than later, Great Britain will have to choose between becoming Russia's antagonist, or her vassal. Complacent as Sir Edward Grey has been to Russia, especially during the last two years, there must come a limit to such complacency if England is to remain not merely a Great Power, but a Power of any sort. If and when this limit is reached, the Anglo-Russian *entente*, which Russia will maintain only so long as it serves her purposes, will be at an end, and England will be forced to renew the secular struggle, which Sir Edward Grey fondly imagined that he had composed for ever, under circumstances infinitely more disadvantageous than at any previous period. To draw nearer to Germany, Europe's chief barrier against the Slav hordes, and to the United States of America, whom our recent diplomacy has so seriously offended, and with their help to support Turkey, Persia, and China, and so recover something of the influence and prestige which we have lost in Asia, would be the first step of a wise and far-seeing British foreign policy, but it is questionable whether there is more than one member of the present Ministry or two of the Opposition leaders who have the strength, statesmanship, skill and will to inaugurate such a policy, though in this direction only, as I believe, lie safety, honour and the hopes of true civilization and progress.

THE QUESTION OF THE GRECO-ALBANIAN FRONTIER IN EPIRUS

By C. P. CASANGES

(The writer of this article was born at Samira, and spent his youth in Epirus. He subsequently had to flee because he was an agitator against the Government. He has made a life-study of the problem of Epirus, and has worked for twenty-five years for its liberation. He has now come to Europe from the United States of America as one of the delegates of the Epirotes in America before the Conference in London.)

PEOPLE who live under the shadow of a volcano that is eternally expected to explode and yet never does, get at last lulled into a state of security which periodical, spectacular, but otherwise harmless, eruptions only serve to strengthen. Europe has been for a century past terrorized with the idea that a great menace for its peace lay dormant at its door, in what has been known as "The Near Eastern Question." The combined Machiavelism of European diplomacy claims the credit, which, as a matter of fact, belongs rather to the general political changes that took place in Europe, for averting a cataclysmal solution of this dreaded question by periodically inducing several partial readjustments. These reduced gradually the area of its influence, and thus materially lessened the peril of its final disposal. Dismembered as it now stands into several questions of minor importance, the question of the Near East still retains in some of its fragments the virulence of the whole. The source of danger has not been eliminated; it has been parcelled out and diverted away, while Europe, now inured to the danger that has never materialized, wrongly concludes that it is immune.

One part of this ever-puzzling question of the Near East

is the Epirotic question. There is no other question just now on the political horizon which, for its size, is more pregnant with future developments. Two great Powers, Austria and Italy, are interested in it jointly, but in such a complicated way as to render their seeming accord a cloak for an irreconcilable divergence of interests. To borrow an expression from the Turf, they are both in the race and both jockey for position, but their entente does not extend beyond pushing other competitors to the outer edge.

How is it, then, that this important question remains practically unknown to the public at large? The reason is that diplomacy has clothed it with an apparently innocuous term. The question is put as one of a delimitation of frontier in "Southern Albania." As one sees, it is a case of "giving a dog a bad name." For all the trouble comes from the fact that what, persistently and to no good purpose, Europeans have been misled into calling "Southern Albania," has nothing, or very little, Albanian in it. It is really the northern part of a Greek province known to the ancients as Epirus, and called even to-day by its neighbouring Albanian tribes in their language *Erberi* or *Erbri*, this being only an alliteration of its Greek name.

Ethnologically, the character of its inhabitants furnishes no debatable ground. Except for the fact that some of them speak, besides Greek, a dialect akin to the Albanian language, the Epirotes have nothing in common with the Albanians in the north. Whatever they may have been originally, whether Pre-hellenic-Pelasgians or Illyrians, to-day they are in sentiment, civilization, and national consciousness as Greek as any Athenian—only more so. They pride themselves on being Epirotes, but only use that name in order to assert a claim on some sort of a superior patriotism over the other Greeks.

Unfortunately for the Epirotes, their land lies along the coast of the narrowing end of the Adriatic. It has a few landings—none of them can by any stretch of imagination be dignified with the name of a port—which face Otranto

on the Italian end of the Adriatic. For a long time Austria has looked upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic as its legitimate share of the prey in a decaying Turkey. Its occupation would prolong her Dalmatian coast to the entrance of the Adriatic and insure for her ships free access to the Mediterranean. Thus we find that Austria inaugurated very early in Albania a system of nationalistic propaganda through the Catholic priesthood over whom she exercised an exclusive right of protection. At first, it was limited to the Catholic tribes in the north. Very soon the propaganda was spread, through the Austrian Consuls, among the Mussulman beys, who, true to their traditional character of mercenaries, were ready to sell to the highest bidder.

Italy, not to be outdone, started a similar propaganda in the south of Albania, which, through the astuteness of one of her agents, Monsieur de Gubernatis, she extended also to Epirus. She has opened a number of schools and established several commercial agencies there. Austria's occupation of the Albanian littoral to the Epirotic border, Italy could counterbalance by the occupation of the Epirotic coast with the harbour of Valona at the north and that of Preveza in the south. Thus Italy would dominate the exit to the Mediterranean, and Austria would still remain bottled up in the Adriatic.

One must not be led to believe that this has been done by any preconceived arrangement as to well-defined spheres of influence. It was a game of who would get there first, and their propagandas often crossed each other and encroached on each other's preserves. Neither must one imagine that their aspirations found any deterrent in the well-known Hellenic character of Epirus. The Greek revindications on it were already once easily disposed of in order to leave the field open for their intrigues. With the backing of the Powers, who were always cowed by the fear of a break in their Concert, Turkey refused in 1881 to cede to Greece the part of Epirus lying near the seaboard, which was allotted to her by the Treaty of Berlin. To the same

end, but on behalf of Austria, the conquests of Servia and Montenegro in Albania were vetoed by the London Conference of the Ambassadors. The ostensible reason given for this decision was the desire to incorporate all the Albanians into a State of their own. A somewhat over-scrupulous respect for the principle of nationalities in a case where a national conscience did not yet exist!

It was expected that in Epirus, where there are scarcely any Albanians except a minority who speak a corrupt Albanian, the Ambassadorial Conference would ratify the Greek occupation of a territory over which no valid claim could be raised on the ground of the principle of nationalities; the more so, since the Conference allowed Servia to retain the indisputably Albanian districts of Prisren, Djacova, and Dibra. As if rescinding this precedent, the Conference decided to amputate Epirus from the district of Corytsa in the north-east and half her littoral in the west, from a point below the narrows of Corfu, called "Stylos." From the remnant the Conference separated another good-sized province, the future of which was to remain in abeyance until an International Commission especially appointed for the purpose should visit the country and decide on its fate, according to its ethnological composition.

The International Commission went there, and its sad Odyssey in the Epirotic highlands is now a matter of history. This Commission was empowered to cut and slice up and down this disputable area after an impartial inquiry as to the prevailing nationality. There was very little impartiality in its composition, and it was a foregone conclusion that its verdict would be against the people of Epirus; still, it was not allowed to render it. Before the Commission had concluded its labours, Sir Edward Grey issued the well-known circular by which, in order to provide Albania with a southern frontier possessing all the requirements, strategical, ethnological, and economical, for an *état viable*, he gave very nearly the whole of the disputed territory to Albania. Austria and Italy, whose views the British

proposal embodied, adhered to it with reservations as to the evacuation of this contested zone by the Greeks.

According to Aristotle, Greece was settled originally by a people called *Γραικοί*, or Græci, that came out of Epirus. It is idle to inquire for practical purposes into the racial antecedents of any nation. Even the one that isolated herself by a high wall did not keep her racial purity. In all Europe, and in the Balkans particularly, the flow and ebb of the different currents and counter-currents of the great "Voelkerwanderung" has produced a confusion of races in all the present national crystallizations. It is even a more thankless task to establish a working theory in a case where the commingling of the races goes back to prehistoric times. I leave, therefore, all theories as to the racial descent of the Epirotes to scientific treatises on the subject. They form a very fascinating ground for investigation—all insoluble questions do—but make no interesting reading, and, as against the will of the people, they have absolutely no practical value. When the Magyars insist upon being Hungarians and the Bulgars Slavonians, what avails it to prove to them that they are Turks, and more Turkish than they of Turkey? Whether Aristotle's estimate be true or not, the Epirotes have acted according to it. They took it literally, and they unconsciously consider Greece rather as a dependency of Epirus than the latter as forming a part of Greece. They have devoted to her all their thoughts and energies, as if they considered it incumbent upon themselves to resuscitate the land which their mythical ancestors are supposed to have settled.

When the curse of the Turkish rule pressed heavily upon all the Christians in the Balkans, Epirus produced a race of men, who scattered all over the peninsula, and, themselves content in their humble station, sowed the seed of renaissance, which was to grow into the present tree of liberty. They were simply schoolmasters, and there is hardly one among those apostles of the new political

dispensation that has not come, either from some obscure village in Epirus, or not studied in the then famous schools of Epirus. National gratitude has honoured the most brilliant of these self-sacrificing men with the title, "Teachers of the Nation." There is not a single name among them that does not belong to an Epirote.

This intellectual warfare, no more than any other warfare, was not waged without the sinews of war—money. The Epirotes furnished that, too, lavishly—I use the word on purpose, for the Epirote is by nature as close as the Scot. They slaved and saved, at home and abroad, with the one constant pre-occupation in mind—how to help Hellendom. They stinted themselves when alive, in order to leave large fortunes to the nation. There are in Athens to-day few important institutions that have not been founded and endowed by Epirotes. Most of them, by a strange irony of fate, come from villages situated in this zone which Greece is summoned to sacrifice to Albania.

More potent than the racial instinct in the formation of national entities have been the geographical peculiarities of the chosen homestead. In our days of cultural unity, very little attention is paid to the latent influences exerted by the configuration of the soil upon the nationalization of the primitive settler. A close scrutiny of the Balkan situation from this point of view would explain many a racial anomaly. Certainly some magic must lurk in the locks and barriers by which Nature separates the children of the same race, and, using on each side of them a different formula in mingling and fusing, obtains two different, often inimical, nations. Between Epirus and Albania there is such a natural boundary. It is the old border-line which from the remotest antiquity protected the Epirotic tribenations against the incursion of the Illyrians from the north. It starts from the mouth of the River Vojussa, and following its course southward, reaches the mountain range of Dangli, and thence to Bunar in the Macedonian border,

a little above the Lake Prespa. Strategically, no tactician could improve on them. Neither a long political union, nor a longer common subjection of the two lands, have been able to efface these boundaries completely. In their effects, they stand there yet as traceable as ever. In the border zone one common mother-tongue is spoken—Albanian. In some spots towards the east the mother-tongue becomes Vlachian, without entirely crowding out the Albanian; for the general intercourse, as a language of commerce and culture, Greek is used. The entire borderland is bi-lingual or tri-lingual; nevertheless, a man from the north side of this ancient border line is no more like a man from the south side than the citizen of Dover is like the bourgeois of Calais. Type, customs, culture, character, and dress, change perceptibly. One can easily detect whereabouts in this borderland he is, by the change in the *fustanella*. The farther north one goes, the shorter and narrower he finds it, until in Albania this garment gives way to a short shirt outside the homespun trousers, ending in a gaiter. The *fustanella* is the characteristic costume of the Greek mountaineer, and is so emblematic of Hellenic affinities that one may rely upon it as a criterion more safely than on the language. By following the track of the *fustanella*, one cannot go far astray in determining the ethnological character of each locality in those parts of the Epiro-Albanian confines.

Under the Byzantine Emperors, although Epirus and Albania were united under a common rule, this natural frontier, if it did not prevent intermingling of the two neighbouring peoples, has yet so effectually stemmed out the tide of Hellenic culture from the south, that after the collapse of the Empire they remained two separate and distinct countries. While Albania was split into many feudal principalities—that of the Castriottis' being the most famed—Epirus as a unit became a despotat under Greek Princes of the Imperial houses of the Comnenes.

The Turkish conquest, when it came, found in Albania

a stubborn resistance. The feudal Princes there, as long as Venice or Spain or the Empire were willing to pay them to wage war against the Turks, endeavoured to keep them at bay. When the subsidies ceased, they made their submission to the Sultan, and, in order to retain under the new order of things the same prerogatives they enjoyed in the past, they promptly adopted the faith of the conqueror. Only as Mussulmans could they be trusted to carry arms in the service of their new masters. Their apostasy has by no means been a forcible one, nor was it individual. It has been tribal and voluntary. Whole villages, priests at the head, abjured Christianity and went over to Islam. On the map of Albania a small streak to the north-east remained white—that is to say, Christian. The Catholic clans of the Malissori and the Miriditi, whose fastnesses rejoin the unconquered Black Mountains, remained faithful to their religion. Everywhere else, wherever a white spot of Christianity appears, it is due to Hellenic influence.

In Epirus totally different conditions prevail. There an advanced Greek civilization and a well-awakened national conscience stood in the way, unfortunately not of the conquest itself, but of a wholesale apostacy. The Epirotes were not then, and are not to-day, warriors by trade and predilection. When reduced to submission by the Turks, they offered a passive resistance. Inwardly fired by an inextinguishable hope of a quick and certain national renaissance, they suffered silently, and planned secretly their revenge. There were many abjurations in Epirus, too, but never voluntary. As a means of escaping constant aggressions by Muhammadans, many a paterfamilias made one of his sons embrace Islamism. This renegade could protect his kin, and especially the women, from attack, or their chattels from depredation. Thus it is that the Mussulmans are in the minority in the Epirus. They form less than a third of the population.

Under Ali Pasha of Janina, Epirus came very near to

becoming what should be best defined as a *Greek Egypt*. To look upon Ali Pasha and his State as Albanian is a mistake which ulterior motives have done much to propagate. Like his counterpart in Albania, Kara-Mustafa Pasha, Bouschatli, of Scutari, who descended from the renegade Montenegrin Prince George Czernoyevitz, Ali Pasha was of Servian origin. His father came to Tepeleni in boyhood as a captive of an Agha of mercenaries. He was there converted to Islamism and adopted in the family of his captor. Ali Pasha's administration was entirely at the hands of the Greeks, and conducted exclusively in Greek. His military organization was composed of Greeks and Albanians indiscriminately; high posts of confidence were confided more often than not to Greeks. The language in his court and harem was Greek, and although his mother-tongue was Albanian, he rarely spoke it after he came to Janina. His sons spoke it even less than himself. The only remaining descendants of his house to-day, the Malik-paschides of Libohovo, come from his sister Hainitza, and speak as pure and as choice Greek as any cultured Epirote.

After his fall, the Epirote Christians took arms for liberty and fought beside their brethren through the Greek Revolution which they prepared. For, three Epirotes, merchant clerks in Russia, started the secret organization known as "Philike Hetairia," which instigated the movement for Greek independence. European diplomacy, in recognizing the independent kingdom of Greece, left Epirus under the Turkish yoke. However, the first Governor appointed to Greece, Capodistria, was an Epirote. His house is yet to be seen in Argyrocastro, one of the towns now assigned to Albania.

In 1847 Mussulmans and Christians banded together under the leadership of Gioleka, one of the chieftains of Kourvelessi, and raised the standard of revolt against the Sultan in the districts of the contested zone. The revolted chiefs demanded aid from Greece through its Prime Minister, the Epirote Coletti. Before any aid could reach

them, the insurrection was crushed by the Albanians of Malacastro and Mouzakia. The Bryonis of Berat, who claimed descendancy from the noble Byzantine house of the "Vryennii," were particularly distinguished for their ruthlessness in stamping out the rising. By a curious turn of the wheel, the latter head of this house, Omerbey Bryoni, was destined to become one of the three first martyrs for the Albanian cause. In 1878 he was imprisoned by the Turks in Tschanakale, together with two other conspirators, for fomenting troubles in Albania.

After the frustration of their hopes to be annexed to Greece in 1881, and particularly after the disaster of 1897, many faint-hearted Epirotes lost confidence in Greek aid, and they began to look around for other means to shake off the yoke. Their ranks were soon swollen by the accession of many far-seeing Epirotes who foresaw at once that the régime of the Young Turks was aiming at the extinction of all national aspirations. Without their progressiveness, the Young Turks pursued a policy similar to that of the Magyars in Hungary. Turkey was no longer in the ascendancy, but what the ottomanization would fail in bringing about, was left for the depopulation to accomplish. High taxation and brigandage increased abnormally and rapidly the emigration from Epirus. This was sapping the strength of the Greek element, and, in no distant future, the Greek revindications in Epirus would be deprived of their real object.

Austrian and Italian propagandas had undermined the situation in Albania and Epirus, each for a different purpose, but working on parallel lines. In Northern Epirus many beys were, by one or the other, bought and paid. Quite a number of Christian notables in different regions were also lured by the mirage of a brand new Albanian polity, in which they were to obtain the prominence to which they could never attain in a Greek Epirus. To those, more or less interested promoters of

an Albanian nationality, was soon to be added a class of adepts of quite a different stamp : the dilettanti who make voyages of discovery to virgin and untrodden grounds, and the enthusiasts for all difficult or impossible causes. They delved into the origins of the language, the local traditions, the songs and legends, and they exulted in their discoveries. They were captivated by their archaic flavour, and they went to work to compile, out of the meagre material at hand, a connected history, and so build up a language out of a few rudimentary vocables. All these caisson-workers, so to say, were fitted out for their task in Greek schools, and brought to it, besides the zeal of the neophyte and the devotion of the originator to his creation, all the application to theoretical work inherent to the Greek mentality. Nevertheless, but for the short-sighted intolerance with which the movement was opposed by the Pan-hellenic jingoists—the *Grecomans*, as they are called in the new literary Albanian—the whole thing might have never amounted to more than a literary revival, like the Provençal or the Gaelic. It developed into the formation of a new nation. They did for Albania what the Epirotes of a former generation did for Greece. What Italy and Austria intended by their propagandas to accomplish is mere guess-work. What they succeeded in doing, however, is to cause the birth of a new national conscience which will eventually foil their selfish aims in Albania.

It has often been said that Albania is merely a piece of Turkey dragged from the teeth of Serb and Greek, and destined for future partition by Austria and Italy. I share no such apprehension. An Austro-Italian condominium, through the government of a puppet Prince, though admissible, is beset with great dangers for the continuance of the Triplice. An agreement between Austria and Italy for the division of Albania is altogether unthinkable. One or the other must possess the whole of it or nothing. In a few years a good Government may not accomplish much in the way of material progress in Albania, but it is certain to give

the Albanians the self-consciousness necessary for independence. A new Poland in the twentieth century is not permissible. An autonomous and durable Albania ought to be an object of genuine rejoicing for every fair-minded Greek.

Greece has also cultivated secret relations with many influential Albanian Chiefs. Though her efforts have been spasmodical, there was ground enough for justifying the belief in a friendly understanding. Ismail Kemal Bey, who can take money from more parties at once than he has hands, has on occasions strutted up and down Greece boasting about the solidarity of Greek and Albanian interests; therefore, when the only vital force in Turkey was this Albanian *irredentism*, with which even the Committee of Union and Progress had to coquet, many Epirotes saw in it the only way of salvation. The Greek Government itself, since the advent of Mr. Venizelos, seemed to wink at a *rapprochement* for a concerted action. They calculated that the success of the Albanian movement would leave all Greek claims on Epirus intact, and to be asserted against a weaker foe. At the worst, the half a million Epirotes, combined with the other Christians in Albania, would be able to overmatch by their superior culture the more numerous Albanians, and keep the civil government in their hands. There was a third prospect, but a remote one. The "Drang nach Osten" might carry Austria down to the Ionian as well as the Ægean Sea. Even this alternative was not unwelcome. As between ottomanization or expatriation on the one hand and the administration by a State that respects all national susceptibilities on the other, not a man could hesitate for long.

At this juncture the Balkan Alliance came, and it came in the nick of time. The attitude of the Moslem Albanians, who up to that time prevented with difficulty their uneasiness from breaking out, during the invasion of Turkey by the Allies gave food for thought to all pro-Albanian Epirotes. It ought to open the eyes to the most head-

strong believer in a non-Mussulman Albanian State. Another fallacy was thus exploded. It is no longer certain that the Albanian's hold on his faith is so loose as was generally supposed. The people who, ignoring his Christian name, take pride in Skanderbeg because of his Turkish surname, are still distant from the point when national solidarity takes precedence over religious. The last events in Albania are only an additional proof. The attempt of Izzet Pasha would be incredible in a nationally self-conscious Albania. Ismail Kemal may play at make-believe on a non-sectarian Albania. After all, he is only an albanized Epirote. Essad Pasha, a real Albanian chieftain, with all the virtues and the defects that this implies, has repeatedly shown, and very wisely too, how little he cares to overburden the new Albanian polity with more Christian inhabited districts than is absolutely necessary. He has the consciousness that religion is among his co-religionists equivalent to a political status. Greece, left alone to deal with him, would easily effect a settlement by the concession of a district where the Moslem element predominates. Austria, Italy, and lately even Turkey, who up to now has shown an inexplicable detachment, each for a special reason of her own, oppose this; and Greece, having other fish to fry in the *Ægean*, will soon have to withdraw her troops. This will be the prelude of a comedy or of a tragedy.

The Epirotes, after the taste of liberty they got in the last eleven months of Greek administration, under which, for the first time in their life, they enjoyed what they possess, will not submit to this proposed substitution of a semi-barbarous government for an enlightened one. Besides the annihilation of secular hopes and aspirations, the resubjection to a ruling caste, which they just escaped, is extremely distasteful to them. Their denationalization alone will entail the wiping out of a grown-up civilization and the starting anew from the beginning. They would have to

give up the ready-made Greek civilization and settle down to evolve an Albanian civilization out of the present chaos. It would be setting back the clock of progress for centuries. But even if all things were equal, there is no escape from the economic catastrophe that stares them in the face.

A change of frontier carries always with it a disarrangement of vested interests. Their readjustment necessitates, under the best of governments, a very slow process. Such readjustments are not obtainable under all conditions. Under a Government which for generations to come will have its hands full in keeping the truculent clans in order, as would be the case with the Albanian, the chances for healing chronic economical disorders are slight. Furthermore, in lands far from the great arteries of traffic, intercommunication once interrupted is hard to re-establish. What were formerly flourishing towns are bound to stagnate and dwindle, if cut off from their natural hinterland and each other by Customs barriers. By the tracing of the new frontier the whole of Epirus will be affected. Besides the evils that follow in the wake of smuggling, which in these parts will force both States to police their frontier with strong guards, there will come a great depreciation of land values on both sides of the border. Especially the towns of Janina and Corytsa are doomed. Both get hemmed in far away from what hitherto had been their easiest outlet to the sea. Other towns in the borderland will equally suffer. Argyrocastro and Konitza will be reduced to simple military outposts. Hence the inhabitants of Epirus must defend their homes, or sooner or later lose them. They intend to defend them, and in this lurks the danger for the peace of Europe.

A new Epirotic Government will be ready to step in on the very day the Greeks evacuate the disputed territory. A gendarmerie will be organized to preserve order, and a militia to guard the northern frontier against Albanian incursions. There are already 40,000 men under arms, well equipped, well trained, and well led by Epirote officers,

veterans of the Greek war. They increase daily by new accessions of Epirotes returning from America, where most of the male population of the contested zone had emigrated. These are presumed to give to their brethren at home the support of minds that have been well disciplined in an atmosphere where law and order reign supreme. All of them are determined to repulse aggression from whatever quarter it may come, and they will not be left alone in their struggle. Every Greek will help them. This not by any dictation or even suggestion of the Greek Government. Quite the contrary—since Mr. Venizelos's policy is strongly pro-Albanian—but because Epirus is for Hellendom holy ground. Indeed, for Greece to abandon the Epirotes to their fate now, after the energetic stand they have taken in opposing annexation to Albania, would expose them to fearful reprisals. Albania has just graduated from the Turkish school of politics and government. The Turkish method for paying off old scores to political suspects has been exile, confiscation, imprisonment. An amnesty, no matter though it be granted through an international treaty, could not protect them—there would always be exemptions. The Albanian method will be simpler. In the state of anarchy the whole process of law will be dispensed with. All the *Grecomans* made themselves and their leanings sufficiently known to their would-be Albanian neighbours. Only a precipitated flight will save them from their hands. Something of the kind Mr. Venizelos must have suggested to the foreign ministers of the Powers in his last round of visits to the capitals; hence the ready assent he obtained for an indefinite prolongation of the Greek occupation in the contested zone. Until an organized Albanian gendarmerie has demonstrated its efficiency to cope with the lawless elements within the actual confines of Albania, it would be folly to entrust the new Albanian State with the protection of the life and liberty of those who so far have with might and main opposed it.

An armed intervention by the Powers is not to be

feared. If it does happen, it can take only one course—that is, to appoint a Lord High Commissioner, or to impose the sovereignty of the Prince of Wied over autonomous Epirus. The Powers, though, will never be able to replace their contingents by Albanian gendarmes. Equally improbable is a dual armed intervention by Austria and Italy. It is an open secret that the Austrians were so unpopular in Scutari—that is the city which they are supposed to have snatched from the Montenegrins for Albania—that they had to be kept in their ships in order to prevent popular outbreaks. In Epirus, it is the Italians that monopolize the unpopularity which the Austrians enjoy at Scutari. The Epirotes cannot forgive them the barefaced assertion of so-called Italian interests to the detriment of their own. They may have to be made, in case of a joint intervention, to keep to their ships also. The Epirotes are prepared to face emergencies, but naturally they are not courting them. Their feelings towards the Powers can be best expressed in the words which a village priest addressed to the members of the International Commission: "For four hundred and sixty years we were enslaved, and we never heard from you. Now that we at last get our liberty, you come to give us the right kind. We want neither you nor your gifts."

BULGARIA AND THE TRUTH.*

BY DIMITRI IVANOFF,
Captain of Bulgarian Artillery.

(TRANSLATED BY P. S. CANNON.)

A CAMPAIGN of insinuations has been opened by those who only a few months ago called themselves our friends and allies. Our isolation from the whole world, and the depth of our national humiliation, have hitherto forced us to hold our peace, and our long silence has created an unfortunate impression among our supporters. Even those most anxious to learn the truth have become convinced that there is nothing to say on our behalf. Many of them have become alienated from us, having seen their hopes falsified during and since that fratricidal war, the only account of which they have obtained from the reports of a Balkan agency, and the despatches of a King turned newspaper reporter.

It is to you, my friends of the noble British nation, that I appeal, you whose sympathies remain ever constant; for you, at any rate, will be the first to see the bright light of truth as a reward for your loyal impartiality. It is to you that I write the following pages :

1. WHICH OF THE ALLIES DESIRED A FRATRICIDAL WAR ?

Among nations, as among individuals, the thoughts of the heart are revealed by outward manifestations. Whilst the

* Written (in French) at Sofia.

Bulgarian army was consummating the national revenge upon the Turk at Tchataldja and Boulair, the Servian and Greek armies were actively engaged in preparing for a second campaign. Fortifications were constructed, strategic roads levelled, all points where the enemy was expected to pass were blocked by artillery posts, every kind of reconnaissance was made. Sultan Tépe became a miniature fortress, only a few kilometres from the old Bulgarian Frontier. Ovtché Polé became an entrenched camp. The Serbs in front of Adrianople began to fraternize with the Turks towards the end of February—in fact, as Turkish prisoners informed us, they played the rôle of unpaid spies. At the end of the month the Servian officers showed a reticence which began to cause us some uneasiness. It was after the fall of Adrianople that the Servian Press opened a campaign of hostility. By openly discussing questions such as, "Who took Chukri Pasha prisoner?" "How many Servians fought at Adrianople and Tchataldja?" they paved the way for a revision of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty—at the moment the chief object of Servian diplomacy. It began with an aggressive policy, which forgot that the true interests of Servia lay in the West, and which chose entirely to ignore the great sacrifice made by Bulgaria to Slav unity in treating the territory to the west of the line, Givich-Okrida, as contested territory, to be decided by Russian arbitration. This sufficed for the moment. The Serbo-Greek alliance, and the plans to be carried out by the armies, already existed; they realized that the success of their policy was assured; and when Montenegro, Roumania, and even Turkey, smiled on the enterprise, the war-hunger of the Allies surpassed all bounds. One army saw the day of revenge at hand, the other the day in which national resentment would be satisfied; and so, assured of a friendly Press throughout Europe, all their espionage plans perfected, a preliminary newspaper attack was launched. The method employed was to put forward certain questions which had not yet been settled, and in every case to link up the Greek and Servian

claims. Consistently the Allies refused arbitration. On June 20, M. Pasitch announced that Serbia would accept it, but a Ministerial crisis occurred, the Skupchtina was summoned, and endless discussions supervened. Finally, there occurred, on June 30, the "incident" provoked by the Bulgarian army—an event so eagerly looked for, so ardently desired by our enemies. It was this incident which gave the signal for the beginning of a war for which they had prepared so carefully and longed so eagerly.

Oh, my poor country, how severely you were punished for this one mistake! For what, we may well ask, had been the actions of Bulgaria while her enemies were preparing for war? Her army, already exhausted by the sanguinary struggle in Thrace, suddenly saw the curtain rise and disclose two enemies, both armed to the teeth and well prepared for battle; it saw large forces preparing to invade territory described by the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty as either "undisputed territory" or "condominium." We had lost 318 officers and 29,711 men killed, 915 officers and 52,550 men wounded, 2 officers and 3,193 men missing—one-fifth of our total strength. We had gained by this time sufficient victories and enough glory, we had no need to go in search of more; our very minds were unable to conceive the idea of a revenge for Slivnitsna. The distaste of our Government for a second war was still further increased by the earthquake at Tirnovo, and by the facts that 20 per cent. of the army was absent on leave, that supplies had run short, and that those which had been ordered could not possibly arrive for two or three months. These facts had the more weight with the Government, in that it numbered the greatest pacifists in the country, with Dr. Daneff at their head. Their pursuit of the policy of "arbitration" led them momentarily to forget that the other side were not only anxious for war, but ready for it; that since their armies were already in the field, Bulgaria ought to be prepared for anything that might happen. My country committed

the fatal mistake of not wanting war. Paradoxical as this statement may appear to the pacifist, from our point of view its truth is incontestable. That the incident of June 30 was not expected to lead to war is proved by telegram No. 5647 of General Savoff, in which he declares that his object is, "in view of a possible outbreak of war between the Allies, to insure a speedy settlement of the points at issue by the aid of Russian arbitration." In point of fact, the very day after this incident orders were issued to the Bulgarian troops to stop operations, and to retire to the positions they had previously occupied; but it was too late, and the Allies did not let the long-sought chance pass by. Manifestoes embodying a declaration of war were already lying ready with every Servian and Montenegrin regiment; the date had but to be filled in, and war began.

If my readers would desire fully to understand the feelings of a Bulgarian soldier, let him imagine himself to be a knight who has sacrificed all his worldly wealth to the one object of recovering his ancestral castle, wherein rest all the memories and traditions of his house. Bespattered with blood, and covered with wounds, yet victorious, he rides towards the castle rock. But what are these cries which ring in his ears? "Hold!" they cry. And who are these men whose bayonets re-echo the sounds of war? They are his friends—his friends of yesterday. He halts; days pass by; and though trust in God be great, patience lasts not for ever. He tries to scale the rock, but every way is barred. He looks around to see if aught will hear his cries for justice. But, alas! none will forgive him that he has tried to scale the rock in defiance of those who would bar the way, and at last, poor knight! beneath the rock he lies, bleeding and wounded unto death by the hands of his kin, and unpitied by the world. Was it his fault? Was he the aggressor? Who can answer "Yes"?

2. THE "BARBARITIES" OF GREECE, SERVIA, AND BULGARIA.

(a) Bulgaria a Tolerant Nation.

"Of all the Balkan peoples, the Bulgarian is the most tolerant," is the judgment of a well-known Catholic priest. I will quote a few facts in support of this contention :

In Bulgaria the Turkish, Greek, and Jewish communities have hundreds of schools in which they can teach in their mother-tongue. The Catholic missions have, in many Bulgarian towns, schools in which instruction is given in French or German. The German colony possesses a school of its own, and this privilege is allowed even to the small Roumanian colony, which numbers only a few hundred persons. Turks, Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Roumanians, possess full religious liberty. At Sofia the Catholics, 3,000 in number, have the use of two churches (the 6,564 Catholics in Belgrade have not a single one), the Protestants have two, the Russians have one, the Greeks one, the Armenians one, the Roumanians one, the Jews two synagogues.

In the Budget of 1912 provision was made for the expenditure of 75,000 francs to aid Mussulman schools, and of 137,000 francs for Catholic priests and Turkish "hodgas." All the missions, composed of foreigners whose stay in the country is purely temporary, testify to this national virtue of ours. It was even more conspicuously displayed in the territory which we freed from Turkish rule—so much so as to create a deep impression even among our enemies of to-day—the Servians at Adrianople. In that city every person, without distinction of nationality, enjoyed full personal liberty. This statement is endorsed by many foreigners, including General Broadwood of the English army, a witness whose veracity nobody will call in question. In Thrace our army found the population predominantly Greek and hostile to us. At Ortakuei (a small town on the Arda) the Greek population flatly refused to give hospitality to passing officers; but these latter,

though the law was on their side, did not press their demands, but went and begged hospitality of Jews and Armenians. I myself, when passing through Demotika, spent from eight till ten at night looking for somewhere to sleep, owing to the point-blank refusal of the Greeks to admit me; I eventually found shelter in a Jew household. At Adrianople the Greeks were, if possible, more hostile, and even more tolerantly treated. The "committee for the Hellenization of Bulgarians," which had existed under Turkish rule, continued its operations under the presidency of the Greek Bishop of the city, and opened an active campaign in furtherance of Thracian autonomy. Arms were distributed to Greeks; a representative of the Greek Government—Georges Pouridi—was on the spot, and engineered an attempt upon the life of General Savoff, and three similar attempts against the commander of the garrison. And yet the speech with which the Mufti of Adrianople welcomed the Turkish soldiers on their re-entry into the city is one of the greatest testimonies to that tolerance which we had shown to our prisoners of war, whether Servian, Greek, or Turkish.

Whenever the charge of intolerance is made against my countrymen, I cannot help recalling, not without feelings of the deepest regret, the following scene, which occurred only a few weeks ago, when the Servian prisoners were leaving for their homes: I was escorting a number of them, when on our route we met a lady in deep mourning. With trembling voice and tear-stained eyes she addressed them: "Good luck go with you, my friends. May your home-coming bring joy to your loved ones again!" And this at a time when our national grief and rage was at its height. In the barracks, too, the prisoners cried "Jivio!" (Long live you!) to us as they left. The hospitality given in Bulgaria to the Carnegie Mission, as compared with its reception in Servia and in Greece, gives an excellent criterion of the respective tolerance of these countries.

The Treaty of Bucharest shows with startling clearness the intolerance of the Greeks and Servians; the latter, indeed, have conclusively proved themselves to be a nation of barbarians by the law of Draconian severity passed on September 24—a law which indeed could not have existed among savage peoples. The cruelty of the Serb is exercised with the use of a finer intellect than is possessed by any savage race. We now understand the truth of the confession made by the officers of the cavalry regiment of Timok (?): "Our army executed more than 30,000 Albanians without distinction of age or sex during the invasion of Old Servia in the first war. . . ." Poor Bulgarians and Albanians, how you must appreciate the culture of the twentieth century!

(b) Greek Excesses during the Second War.

The territory traversed by the Greek army, in which the excesses were committed, is populated, in a large majority, by Bulgarians. To prove this statement, I will give some statistics (taken from Brankoff, pp. 93 and 250):

1. Koukoutch (Kilkitch): 54 villages, exclusively Bulgarian. Exarchists number 28,168; Patriarchists, 376.

2. Caasa Doiran: 20 Bulgarian districts, of which 18 are Exarchist and 2 mixed; the town of Doiran containing 2,072 Exarchists and 1,040 Patriarchists.

3. Caasa de Ghéorgèli: 37 villages, exclusively inhabited by Bulgarians (9,016 Exarchists, 5,952 Patriarchists, 432 mixed).

4. Cassa de Dêmîr Hissar: 42 Bulgarian villages (26,626 Exarchists and 7,112 Patriarchists).

5. Caasa Sérès: 81 villages are inhabited exclusively by Bulgarians (47,402 persons, of whom about half are Patriarchists). In the town of Sérès there are about 5,105 Greeks, 2,000 Bulgarian Patriarchists, and 360 Exarchists.

6. The district of Drama has 7,816 Exarchist Bulgarians, 3,988 Patriarchists, and 2,890 Greeks.

7. The "Caasa" of Neozokop, Petritch, Stroumitza, Pechtchevo, and Melnik, which were traversed by the Greek army, possess a population even more overwhelmingly Bulgarian.

Given this predominance of the Bulgarian element, combined with the great numerical inferiority of the Bulgarian army *vis-à-vis* with the Greeks (26,000 against 160,000), it must surely be obvious that the Bulgarian army had no desire to turn the country into a hideous desert, nor, if they had desired, would they have had the power so to do. The excesses (if any, which is distinctly questionable) committed by the Bulgarian troops were confined to the village of Doxat and the environs of Doxat and Sérès, and were the result of numberless provocative acts committed by the Greeks, as, for instance, when they shot their prisoners at Doxat. When the King of Greece utters loud-voiced complaints against "Bulgarian atrocities," he has one object alone in view—to divert the attention of Europe from the atrocities of which his own troops have been guilty. More than 100,000 Bulgarian refugees, crossing the old frontier in the last stage of misery and exhaustion, have given us a living proof that our apprehensions were well founded, and that the intention of the King and Government of Greece to deal a death-blow to the Bulgarian population has been carried out to the letter, amid scenes of indescribable barbarity. Others among the refugees not so well favoured by fortune were butchered in the most cruel manner, together with their wives and children, who, after undergoing the vilest outrages, were killed without mercy. In every Bulgarian village houses were burned, cattle carried off, and the possessions of the inhabitants sequestered. In this manner the deliberate extermination of the Bulgarian population has been realized. The Greek at Salonica can sleep in peace, for there are no Bulgarians left at Doiran, none at Démir Hissar, none at Drama.

Excuse me, my dear reader. The writer of these pages is a Bulgarian, and his heart bleeds for his poor countrymen.

(c) Excesses committed by Servians and the Servian Army.

All Bulgarian Bishops were ejected and compelled to return to Bulgaria ; the same thing happened to professors, schoolmasters, priests, and all citizens who refused to sign the declaration put before them by the authorities. The Bulgarian population still remaining in the districts occupied by the Servians was consigned to extermination *en masse*, and a wholesale destruction of their property by fire and rapine was begun, which has not yet finished. Among the forty-five villages burnt by the Servian army, with the assistance of the Turkish population, we may mention Laki, Prosnik, Negotino, Kavadtzi, Dolno, Gorno Kouri, Prijdevo, Tremnik, etc. The Servians, in their action towards the population, were entirely swayed by the idea of forcing it to become Servian. Upon their arrival, therefore, they at once made it clear to villagers and prisoners alike that unless they became Servian they would at once be put to death. I could give the names of hundreds of persons killed by the Servians. At Koumanovo, for instance, in addition to a wholesale slaughter of Bulgarians, more than seven hundred Turks were put to the sword. Those of my compatriots who were taken prisoner describe the acts of cruelty committed by the Servians as innumerable ; their treatment at the hands of officials and population alike was disgraceful. At the beginning many of them were put down as "lost," that is, in all probability, killed, as undoubtedly was the fate of Colonel Taneff, of the 6th Regiment of Cavalry, and of Lieutenants Stephanoff and Minkoff, who were taken prisoners by troops of the 10th Servian Regiment at Bossilegrad, and who were killed, after first undergoing torture.

At Bucharest the Servians refused to recognize religious and scholastic liberty in Macedonia : "Our Constitution provides for these questions," they said. I agree. We are to-day witnesses of measures of the most pitiless severity employed by a so-called civilized country, in a century

which is not accustomed to see even native tribes so oppressed. The law to which I refer punishes minor infractions with five to ten years' imprisonment, major infractions with death. The power to apply Section 2, which carries with it the penalty of eight years' imprisonment, is left entirely in the hands of the local police. Section 8 punishes entire families for illegalities committed by one of their members. I will quote: "If in a commune certain cases of rebellion are noted, and the persons of whom complaint is made do not return home within ten days, the police is empowered to force their families to emigrate to any locality they think fit." These emigrants cannot gain permission to return, despite all the protests of the Russian Legation at Sofia.

There is a veritable reign of terror in Macedonia. Even the Servian newspaper *Stampa* confesses that the personnel of Government there is of a very low class. I am sending you a document which will show you how the Servians are endeavouring to denationalize Bulgarians by enforcing the replacement of the Bulgarian termination "of" by the Servian "itch" in proper names. The Servian Government are bringing to the work of denationalization all the resources of cruelty and harshness, but their efforts, I hope and trust, will be in vain. Happy it is for us that Servia, the oppressor, and Bulgaria, the oppressed, are not the only nations in the world, happy, too, that over all human affairs there still rules the one Divine and ineffaceable law of Justice.

THE TRUTH VERSUS BULGARIA

BY CHEDO MIJATOVICH.

I AM much obliged to the Editor of this Journal for his courtesy in showing me Captain Ivanoff's article.

I do not intend to enter into a polemic with the gallant Bulgarian officer. No doubt he is as good with his sword as with his pen, and his literary effort would facilitate that polemic, as it is open to attack on all sides. But such a polemic would not be worthy of this Journal, and would be only a glaring abuse of the Editor's courtesy.

Besides, such an attack would be only a painful echo of our recent struggle on the battlefields. It seems to me that the real task of the true patriots in Bulgaria as well as in Servia ought to be to work at the reconciliation of the two Slavonic nations in the Balkans, healing the wounds, sweetening the bitterness, and paving the way for the re-establishment of old friendship.

But Captain Ivanoff has touched questions and facts which are of historical and moral interest, not only for the Servians and Bulgarians, but for our British friends too, and indeed for every civilized nation. On such questions I wish to express my opinion, from the Servian point of view, of course, but as impartially as if I were writing a history.

Before entering into that task I wish to be allowed to make a remark of a personal character. Captain

Ivanoff is no doubt a fervent Bulgarian patriot. His patriotism is entitled to be respected. But it is not true that the Servian soldiers in front of Adrianople have fraternized with the Turks, and it is an abominable lie that they played the rôle of unpaid spies to them. I am astonished that a Bulgarian soldier could throw such a suspicion on his Servian comrades, who helped the Bulgarians to capture Adrianople from the Turks. If he is an honourable man and a true soldier, he will at once and spontaneously withdraw that mean imputation.

The question of the greatest historical importance is this: Who is responsible for the war between the allies? Captain Ivanoff tries to prove that the Servians and Greeks are responsible, but he admits that the Bulgarians did start it "by the 'incident' of June 30, provoked by the Bulgarian army." He admits that "it was this incident which gave the signal for the beginning of a war for which they (Servians and Greeks) had prepared so carefully and longed so eagerly." We did prepare for war, but by no means were we longing for it. The fact is this: Servia and Greece were making repeatedly confidential efforts in Sofia to induce the Bulgarian Government to come in good time to a friendly arrangement with them concerning the territories, which the Servian and Greek armies have actually, and without direct Bulgarian assistance, conquered from the Turks. The Bulgarian Government refused every suggestion of a compromise, and insinuated that Servians and Greeks must evacuate and cede Macedonia to the Bulgarians, as otherwise they would be thrown forcibly out of it. Of course, both Servia and Greece took precautionary measures eventually to defend themselves. Certainly they were preparing for war if that war should be imposed on them by the Bulgarians, but at the same time they were both ready to let their controversy with Bulgaria be decided by arbitration. The Servian, Montenegrin, and Greek

Premiers were actually on the point of leaving for St. Petersburg, expecting to meet there the Bulgarian Premier in the preliminary conference, when the Bulgarian army most unexpectedly attacked the Servian and Greek positions on the entire front. Captain Ivanoff admits that that Bulgarian attack gave the signal for the beginning of the war. By what logic, then, can he proclaim that we—Servians and Greeks—are responsible for that war? The leading Bulgarian statesmen acknowledge that the war was provoked by the Bulgarian attack on the Servian and Greek positions, and try to fix the responsibility for that fateful deed on General Savoff, or even on King Ferdinand himself. And in the face of all these facts, well known to all the world, Captain Ivanoff comes to assure Englishmen that the Servians and Greeks, and not the Bulgarians, are responsible for that "fratricidal war"! I leave it to the fair and impartial judgment of the English friends of the Bulgarians to decide who is really responsible.

The second question of importance, which Captain Ivanoff treats with vehemence, is the question of the alleged Servian excesses against the Bulgarians.

It is true that the people of the newly acquired country have as yet not been made the partakers of those full constitutional liberties which the Constitution guaranteed to the people of the old kingdom. It is true that the temporary rules and regulations for the administration of the new country are of a somewhat severe nature. It is probably true that several Bulgarian bishops, priests, professors, and teachers have been requested to leave Macedonia. On the other hand, it is true also that the articles of the Constitution guaranteeing the liberty of the individual and the inviolability of property have been applied in the new country, and independent and impartial Courts of Justice have been established. Of the forty-five villages which, according to Captain Ivanoff, "were burnt by the Servian army with the assistance of the Turkish population" I have never heard anything until I read the

Captain's assertion, which, of course, I cannot accept without further and absolutely impartial corroboration.

I ought to say that the temporary non-application of the full Constitution to the new country, and the new temporary regulations for the administration of that country, have not the unanimous approval of all the Servians. The Opposition in the Servian Parliament has frankly criticized the measure. But the overwhelming majority of the Servians—more especially those who have practical knowledge of the situation in Macedonia—approve it unreservedly. To explain their motives and objects I must take a short retrospective view.

The Macedonian Slavs are, strictly speaking, neither Servians nor Bulgarians. Their dialect stands between the two languages. By their ethnic features, by their national customs, folklore, national songs, and historical traditions they are far nearer to the Servians than to the Bulgarians. As the Servians of Shumadiya were the first nation in the Balkans to rise against the Turks (1804), and were also the first to obtain some sort of autonomy (1817), the Macedonian Slavs naturally gave all their sympathies to the Servians, and identified their own political aspirations with those of the Servians. After the Crimean War the Russian Panslavists decided to support the Bulgarian people and work to create eventually a great Bulgaria. Russia succeeded in 1870 in creating the Bulgarian Exarchate in Constantinople, attaching to it almost all the Orthodox dioceses in Macedonia. The Bulgarian bishops brought with them Bulgarian priests and teachers, and set to work to Bulgarize all the Slav population of Macedonia. Of course, as the Macedonian Slavs preferred to go to the Bulgarian churches, in which the service was in Slavonic, than to go to the Greek churches, where they did not understand the language, the Bulgarian propaganda had its work greatly facilitated. Still the so-called Macedonian Central Committee in Sofia was not quite satisfied with the result of thirty years' assiduous propaganda, as there

were many villages in Macedonia which did not leave the Greek Church for the Exarchate's churches nor wished to be called Bulgars. Therefore during the last decade the Commitadjis' bands in Macedonia—sent there to intensify the anarchy produced by the Turkish misrule—were instructed to support the ecclesiastic and scholastic propaganda by their own terrorism. And in many instances where the bishops could not succeed the Commitadjis did succeed in forcing the villages to declare themselves Bulgarian, although in reality they were nothing of the kind. The terrorism of the Bulgarian bands was so terrible that the Greeks and Servians had to form their own bands, and to protect their co-nationals in Macedonia, not against the Turks, but against the Bulgarians.

The Servian army, after bloody battles with the Turks, conquered part of Macedonia, and the Treaty of Bucharest confirmed the possession of that country by the Servians. But in that new territory the Servian Government had to solve a very difficult problem. It had to evolve order out of chaos. It had to establish the law as the highest authority in a country in which law never reigned. It had to guarantee the security of individuals and property where neither the personal liberty nor the security of the property was ever known. It had to introduce among the people self-confidence and confidence in the State authority. To succeed in this programme it had to stop the terror of the Bulgarian Committadjis in Macedonia, and the propaganda of the Bulgarian bishops, priests, and teachers. If in the conflict of a modern Government with the medieval anarchy some anarchists come to grief, I do not see why that modern Government should be blamed. If the Servian Government does not consider opportune to introduce at once the full constitutional régime in the newly acquired country, it only follows the example given by much stronger, greater, and more civilized nations. Great Britain has not yet introduced full constitutional régime in India and Egypt, nor France in Tunis. Besides, I am absolutely certain

that our temporary régime in Macedonia will not even last five years. The population is meeting the Government with confidence, and the Government will soon give them proofs of its own confidence in them. Of course, the artificial Bulgarization of the Macedonian Slavs is now for ever at an end. The Bulgarian patriots know that well, and hence their bitterness and despair. But by-and-by they will see that Bulgaria can be a great, progressive, and prosperous country without gathering the artificial fruits of the Bulgarian propaganda in Macedonia, which was not and never shall be theirs.

ISLAM, CHRISTIANITY, AND OTHER RELIGIONS

(Continued from p. 61)

BY KHWAJA KAMALUDDIN,
Editor of the *Islamic Review*, London

THIS statement may be startling to many ears, but we have simply to refer to the annals of history, to study conditions obtaining in the whole world some five hundred years after the advent of Christ. Suffice it to say that human society at that period of human evolution had sunk to its lowest ebb spiritually as well as morally. And if prophets come only in times when wickedness is rampant, as the sacred history shows, so in Nature light follows after darkness, and rain comes after drought. This state of things called either for the appearance of several prophets in several countries, or the advent of one masterly hand, who should come to restore the old religion, "Islam," in its perfect form. But the history of the world had then taken a new turn. Circumstances arose which facilitated the means of mutual intercourse between various nations of the world. Different components of human society, so separated from each other by natural and artificial barriers, were about to come close to each other and make one united whole. The vast wide world was destined to be reduced into a single country, with countries as its cities, and cities as its streets. Men of various nations and denominations

were on the threshold of coming into contact with each other. To give different teachings to different nations at such a juncture was to cause a regular chaos; hence the great Divine wisdom was pleased to raise the last of its prophets in a place which occupied a central position in the known world, and which possessed a language the least susceptible to any change in form as well as in the meanings of its component words—a condition necessary for a language to become the conveyance for the last word of God. Languages come into existence, and being subject to constant change in form and signification of its words, meet the fate of a dead language. This makes ancient literature unintelligible and difficult to understand. Every language spoken on the surface of the earth has met or will meet this fate, and if an exception can be made to this general rule, it is, as European philologists like Professor Whitney and others admit, in favour of the language of Hedjaz in which Al-Koran was revealed. This peculiar conservative nature of Arabic, which makes it least susceptible to change, gives it a special claim, in my opinion, to become the throne of the last word of God. There is another peculiarity in this language—the suggestive and meaningful nature of its words. Arabic words in themselves are eloquent. They convey what, in other languages, we need pages to explain. They are, therefore, most suitable to convey theological conceptions. This is a very interesting subject in itself, and requires separate dealing; but it will sound here as an assertion on my part if I fail to quote one or two instances to substantiate my statement. Take, for example, the word “sin.” Theologies of various religions and creeds differ in their conception of sin, but do the various words in different languages which are equivalent to “sin” convey its theological conception? Does the word “sin,” or any of its synonyms in any European language, convey the Church idea of sin? Does the Persian word *Gunah* convey the Zoroastrian conception of evil? or does the Sanskrit word *pāp* mean what is

understood by wickedness in the Vedas? I fail to read in these words the real meanings given to them by various creeds. But come to the Arabic language, and its equivalents for sin in themselves convey what is taught in our religion about sin. Nothing, according to the teachings of the Koran, is in itself right or wrong. Everything created by God has its own particular use; take it from that use, and it is sin according to the Koran. And this is what the words *Junah*, *Zanb*, *Ism*, *Jurm*, and others literally mean. Anything turned away from its proper place is *Junah*; anything gone beyond its limits is *Zanb*; anything cut from the main thing is *Jurm*. To strengthen my position I here cite the word *Taubah*, which is Arabic for repentance. The word literally means to return to the point from which one has receded. Thus, sin in Islamic theology means to turn away from the point, and repentance means to return to that point. This is what is literally meant by the words *Junah* and *Taubah*. There are various other abstract truths in theology—conception of God, of revelation, of angels, of prophethood, of evil, of virtue, of hell, of heaven, and of very many other things. In other languages you have to read books and treatises to understand various conceptions. To know the Islamic conceptions, you have simply to consider the meaning of the Arabic words. They are a sufficient clue. No other language within my knowledge claims this peculiar richness of meaning, and therefore I say, if the coming together of the different parts of the world into one whole demanded one cosmopolitan religion, if the old, old religion of obedience to God was to be revealed in its perfect form once for all, it could not but be through the medium of the Arabic language.

Koran was revealed, and it taught the same old Islam which had been preached by others before, and brought a book which recapitulated old truths in their unalloyed form with requisite additions, as Al-Koran says: "Al-Koran is nothing but the old books refined of human alloy, and con-

tains transcendent truths embodied in all sacred scriptures, with complete additions, necessary for the development of all human faculties. It repeats truths given in the Holy Vedas, in the Bible, in the words of the Gita, in the sayings of Ramachandra, Buddha, and all other prophets, and adds what was not in them, and gives new laws to meet the contingencies of the present time, when the different members of God's family, who lived apart from each other in the days of old revelations, had come close one to the other. Al-Koran gives us rules and regulations adapted to the various needs and requirements of life. It is not merely a collection of moral precepts, or a book of rituals. It gives us, on the one hand, a true conception of Godhood, and enlightens us with great truths, such as angels, revelations, prophethood, future life, heaven and hell; on the other hand, it supplies us with principles to guide us in political and social, economic and domestic affairs, so that the whole human society, by acting up to them, may attain to its perfection.

Al-Koran is not confined to prayers, fastings, and sacrifices. It is a complete code of life. If a King is ordered therein to observe certain laws to govern his country, his subjects have also been enjoined to pay allegiance to their ruler, foreign or otherwise. Similarly a law-giver, a statesman, a judge, a military officer, a merchant, a craftsman, a son, a father, a brother, a husband, a wife, a neighbour, a friend, the rich as well as the poor—in short, a person in various capacities and walks of life will find therein principles of guidance to make him a useful member of society and a good citizen. This perfect teaching I could only find in the Koran, and therefore we Moslems believe that the old religion of Islam that was preached by generations of prophets saw its perfection in this final revelation in matters of law, as the Koran says: "To-day the law is perfected for you."

The space at my disposal hardly permits me to enter into any details, however brief, of what I have sketched above ;

but I should do gross injustice to Islam if I did not point out one important thing which the Koran makes mention of, amongst very many other reasons, which necessitated its revelation. "And we have not revealed to thee (O Muhammad) this book, except to explain away the differences (into which various sects have fallen) and give them true guidance," are the words of God. And who can deny the terrible differences which exist in various sects of one and the same religion? I can understand differences of opinion arising from differences of temperament; it may lead to the existence of several schools of thought; it cannot harm religion as far as its cardinal principles are taught in their pure integrity, as is the case amongst the various sects of Islam. Each and all of them do believe in the fundamental principles of Islam; their minor differences amongst themselves have no bearing on the religion. But what about various sects in various religions? They differ from each other in their cardinal principles, and yet they count upon one book as their final authority. There can be only one true creed. What is taught by the Romish and the English Church cannot both be right. One of the two only can be the teaching of Christ. There are two great sects of Buddhists; those who do believe in the existence of God, and those who do not. One of the two must be on the right side. Similarly other religions have given way to ramification, and truth is, after all, one and not manifold. If God is the original source of all religion, if He has been gracious enough to reveal His mind from time to time, if He always chose one man to act as His mouthpiece, and if His ways and laws do not admit of change, conditions obtaining in every religion after the advent of Christ demanded some final decision in every religion. Decision not between Christian and non-Christian, but between Christian and Christian. Before the appearance of the Holy Prophet of Arabia all these different sects actually existed. It was necessary that someone should come and restore the old original form of religion. This was done

through Muhammad, the last messenger of God. For this reason the Koran calls itself *Hakam*—"judge"—to decide between Christian and Christian, between Hindu and Hindu, between Buddhist and Buddhist, and so it did. Then who is the Moslem?

He is an Israelite, in following the Ten Commandments of God and the law of retribution within its legitimate bounds. He is a follower of Christ, doing away with all the ritual of the Pharisees, and denouncing their hypocritical observances. He observes the law of mercy promulgated on the Mount of Olives when it leads to reclamation. His object is reformation through mercy, or retribution, as the case may be. He is an Arya Hindu in breaking images, and a Sanatan dharma in paying respect to all the godly men of any nation and creed who have been called Avatars, or incarnations of God. He is a Buddhist in preaching; Nirván—*i.e.*, self-effacement as the key of salvation; he is Unitarian in establishing the unity of God. In short, he embraces, through the Koran, every beauty in every religion, and turns his face from what has been added to the religion of God by man—and this is Islam.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NAVY: THE TURNING-POINT

By H. P.

IF any object-lessons were required to demonstrate the probable inconveniences of life under an alien and humourless rule, the recent events at Zabern, together with the subsequent proceedings in the Military Courts, furnish them with greater emphasis than any other occurrences within recent years. With these events before him, it is difficult to understand how an English statesman, backed by a considerable following, can think the present time suitable for the reduction of the principle of armed force upon which these islands, and the Empire at large, depend for the prevention of the possibility of similar, if not worse, events happening in his own country.

Although it is quite possible to agree with Mr. Norman Angell as to the absurdity of all war between civilized and well-established nations, and as to the waste caused by the upkeep of permanent armed forces for other than police work, it is just as impossible to see how, until all, or at least the most powerful, nations regard matters from the same common-sense point of view, any reduction can be made by a single nation without risking the most unpleasant consequences.

The discussion of the relative strengths of armed forces nearly always generates a vast amount of heat; and usually the discussion develops entirely on party, seldom on

national, lines, and generally calls forth a confused flood of miscellaneous and acrid correspondence and oratory. From this deluge of matter it is difficult to disentangle the main trends of thought in the country; but as far as it is practicable to make out anything at all coherent, the divisions of opinion appear to be pretty much as follows:

At one end of the scale is the high-patriotic, flag-wagging, damn-the-expense school, of little value and much noise; the expert school, burying itself and its hearers under masses of technicalities and statistics; the general retrenchment school of loose thought; and finally the reduce-at-all-costs, this being the inverse of the first division. In this school will be found a very curious assortment—genuine lovers of mankind, cranks, popular politicians and wealthy Radicals.

Amongst all this welter but little is to be found that is based on broad lines of common-sense, national self-interest, or knowledge of warfare in the past.

The flag-wagging school, being as a rule very vague, is almost impossible to criticize; but, on the whole, it may be said to do more harm than good, for its utterances merely annoy the more thoughtful, irritate beyond measure the classes from which the bulk of the fighting services are drawn, and give all and sundry opponents chances of effective and destructive criticism, owing to the extravagance of its members' utterances and writings. Men who want to see their country safe do not need to state their views with Celtic fervour and inaccuracy.

Statistics, and figures generally, are most useful servants; but the expert school is very apt to let figures become its masters; and as armed forces depend on a good many other factors besides tabulated cash columns and armament statistics, this school's methods are apt to lead to misapprehension, in addition to which the actual figures are presented in such different ways by the various countries that really accurate comparisons of expenditure and strengths are almost impracticable. In fact, to put it bluntly, it is impossible for

anyone to give a closely reasoned statement of relative strengths who has not a knowledge of the conditions under which the various armed forces work, the morale and intelligence of the personnel, supplies, the state of national feelings, and a thousand other factors. The number of men who possess such knowledge is necessarily extremely small, and unless the Admiralty, War Office and the Foreign Office are considerably more leaky than is generally supposed, the attainment of such knowledge should be impossible. The best the self-constituted expert can produce is a laborious "boil out" from "Brassey," "Jane," the Annual Estimates, and sundry foreign publications corresponding to the English books just mentioned.

The general retrenchment school appears about as vague as the high-patriotic, its tenets apparently being merely that armed forces are very expensive—in fact, somewhat in the nature of luxuries—and *ergo* should be reduced.

The thorough-going reduction school is extremely difficult to meet on any grounds; the majority of its members appear to be genuinely kindly people who cannot grasp the fact that as it takes two people to make a quarrel, so to keep the peace either requires the law courts, or that someone shall accept someone else's will. In this school will also be found a strong leaven of loud-voiced, self-seeking, ignorant demagogues. Argument with members of this school is wasted, for past history, experience, or duty to friendly nations, does not appeal to them; their own appeal is direct to the sentiments, stomachs, or pockets of their audiences, and at the back of their arguments can be detected in some cases the theory—which, however, they do *not* bring into the foreground—that perhaps, as far as manual workers are concerned, it does not matter much who rules England. The incident of the cobbler of Zabern may do something to lessen the tendency to this view, which has undoubtedly been gaining strength.

Reflection on all these varied doctrines causes the ordinary layman to ask himself, "Who amongst all these

instructors knows anything of what he is talking about? and are any of them likely to know more than the men whose business in life it is to assess the national needs?" The answer to these questions are left for the reader to consider for himself.

For anyone who wishes to arrive at some sort of conclusion for himself, the following further queries seem natural: "What pulled Europe in peace through the Balkan crisis? Was it love of the Entente for the Alliance, or was it a very wholesome realization of the fact that forces were so even as not to make it worth anybody's while to attempt any grabbing?" The thorough-going reductionist will say that common-sense did it, so will the ordinary man; but they do not mean the same thing. The reductionist will say it was a common-sense dislike of war; the ordinary man will say it was a common-sense fear of the results of a war fought on a small margin.

The mention of the word "margin" is the crux of the whole matter, and leads directly to the question, "What should be the margin between our forces and those which we may reasonably, and without indulging in fancy panics, expect to encounter?" The answers to this depend mostly on personal taste, but probably, if the person giving the answer happened to be personally concerned, he would prefer the country to give him a fairly liberal margin; whilst, unfortunately, few reductionists are personally concerned beyond their pockets, and therefore their views are inclined to lead them to think a narrow margin good enough for those who have to do the fighting.

As a good sort of average working theory, a ratio of about 10 to 6 should insure victory, if it does not restrain an eager foe from taking action at all. By this is not meant that a man with a grasp of a situation would hesitate, even with no margin, should the country need it. As the aged Lord Howe said before the battle of the First of June, "England is now much in need of a victory," and he got it; but it was of little real value beyond

restoring confidence, for he was unable to follow it up, owing to lack of a margin after the action. History is full of examples of other desperate victories, but, as a rule, their results on the general run of affairs were small. It is the crushing victory, followed by the relentless pursuit, which alone can assure that peace the attainment of which is the ultimate aim of all war. Closely connected with this matter is the question as to what extent the country should allow the love of its pocket to force the risk of failure on to its silent servants; the country knows this risk will be dutifully run, but does it wish for a repetition of the fall of Byng, with its pitiful ending on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*? Is the story of Torrington, who was unable to do more than command "a fleet in being" while the French paraded the Channel, a pleasant prospect to contemplate? Torrington was tried, and was lucky to escape with his life; but the verdict of history is that the Government, and not Torrington, should have been in jeopardy.

As far as the ordinary layman can find out, by a careful study of good books of reference, the ratio of the Entente naval forces to those of the Alliance is about 10 to 6, except in the case of armoured cruisers, where it is about 10 to 4, and destroyers, where it is about 10 to 8; practically similar ratios hold good for the most powerful naval members of the respective groups. Of the Entente naval forces England supplies well over a half, and this seems but reasonable, as the military assistance she can render is not very great. It therefore appears as if the present situation were satisfactory, more especially when the great preponderance of the English repair craft and auxiliaries, together with the advantages of voluntary enlistment of the personnel, are taken into account. The rate of growth of the Alliance forces, however, has lately been, and seems likely to continue to be, more rapid than those of the Entente.

In considering relative strengths, it should be borne in mind that there are usually under construction in the

building-yards in England some vessels of great value for Powers unable to build for themselves, and that these vessels would be available at a time of emergency ; this, however, appears rather a haphazard sort of procedure for a nation depending for security on its navy.

It is almost impossible to compare the personnel of naval forces ; the proof of their worth can only be made evident in actual practice, but the probabilities seem in favour of the voluntary system giving the best results.

At one influential meeting "efficiency and economy" were taken as the theme, and the audience was assured that if the armed forces of the country, especially the navy, were run on really business lines, enormous savings could be made ; but, unluckily, the speaker did not divulge his secret. It must therefore be presumed that he is a person of exceptional ability, and should be at once employed to rectify matters. Doubtless this speaker was correct to a certain extent, for it is difficult to follow the line of thought in adopting the "all-oil" policy for certain large ships. Oil is the best fuel for ships in every way, but it is required in large quantities, the supply is limited, and the lines of transport from the source to the consumer are long ; whilst any failure on the line of communication would demobilize an entire fleet. This is not a risk that ought to be run, and to avoid the mere chance of its happening more armed vessels are required. Another instance of a costly and unnecessary experiment was the installation of electric turrets in the *Invincible*. Apart from the serious loss of money, this experiment is to be deplored on the ground that for a considerable fraction of her working life the country has been deprived of the use of a valuable unit whose services can ill be spared. At the same time, there is a vast difference between criticism of isolated incidents of policy and general loose charges of extravagance.

As we go to press, Sir Edward Grey's speech at Manchester has come to hand ; in it is to be found the most dignified, the soundest and sanest exposition of national

policy and necessities with regard to armaments which has been uttered for many years. Sir Edward, though regretting, as all sensible men must, the necessity for England to be armed, fully recognizes that necessity; he threatens no one, cringes to no one, and does not implore Heaven to deliver the nation from the burdens imposed on it as the result of its own riches. If it were possible in a democratic country for policy aided by the best technical advice to be guided on such lines, that poisonous hardy annual, the "Discussion on the Naval Estimates," would no longer germinate in January, bud in February, flower in March, and seed in April; the voices of the "naval expert," the "reductionist," and the "flag-wagger," could be used to serve other causes, and there would be no call for articles such as this.

LINES FROM THE HUNGARIAN OF PETÖFI.

ALEXANDER PETÖFI, the great Hungarian lyric poet (from whose writings we print the following translations), fell fighting in the cause of Hungarian liberty in the year 1849.

Like the Russian poet Lermantof, Petöfi seems to have had a vision or premonition of the manner of his own death, and he died precisely the death he desired to die, as described in the following poem. (He was trampled to death in a victorious charge under the red flag.)

"TWERE TERRIBLE.

FOR me 'twere terrible to die
 Pillowed in cushioned luxury,
 To fade as slowly fades the flower
 Whose heart a canker doth devour,
 Or waste away like taper slim
 Burning in rustic chapel dim.
 Such death may God ne'er let me die
 God! save me from such death, I cry.
 Rather would I, like wind-tossed oak,
 By cruel blasts of storm be broke—
 Or like some cliff-side rent asunder,
 Be hurled into the deep with thunder.
 But should the peoples, long enthralled,
 Rebel, and, to the red flag called,
 Send echoing down the line the cry,
 For Liberty!
 Down Tyranny!
 And fight with heat the glorious fight
 In bloody battle for the right,
 There be my death! and there my heart
 With its last life-drop gladly part!
 Mingle my shout in battle fray,
 With roar of musketry and trumpet's bray,
 And charge of cavalry in fierce career,
 Chasing the flying foe with cheer on cheer!

And o'er my prostrate body let them charge
 To tell the victory to the world at large !
 And when the day of burial comes, may they
 In the same grave with me the red flag lay,
 Covering, while songs in praise of death are sung,
 The bones of those who fought and gladly flung
 Their life away, fighting World-tyranny,
 And in thy sacred cause, World-liberty !

IN BATTLE.

(CSATÁBAN.)

WRATH on the Earth below !
 Wrath in the Heaven aglow !
 The midday sunbeams shine
 On the red streamlet's flow ;
 The evening rays decline
 In Ocean's purple glow.

On, warriors ! onward ho !
 Hungarian, forward go !

'Thro' the black clouds aghast
 Looks forth the sunlight pale ;
 'Thro' battle smoke amassed
 Gleam arms and coats of mail ;
 Darkly the war-clouds spread
 O'er living and o'er dead.

Ho, warriors ! forward ho !
 Hungarian, onward go !

Rattle the rifles there,
 Death-dealing far and wide :
 'Thunders the cannon's roar,
 Shaking the mountain's side.
 The Earth and sky withal
 In ruin on ruin fall.

On, warriors ! onward go !
 Hungarian, forward ho !

The savage battle-lust
 Hath set my heart on fire ;
 Mad drunk, I feel I must
 The bloody fumes inspire !
 On death, on death, I rush
 Where thickest is the crush !

On, warriors ! onward ye !
 Hungarian, follow me !

J. POLLEN.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

MONEY POWER FOR INDIA.

DEAR SIR,

I am glad to have the opportunity of making a few remarks on Mr. Frewen's paper and the discussion which followed, as the time available did not allow of me speaking.

A very instructive feature of the discussion, which should be carefully noted, was the way in which the experts who advocate "metallic currency" each see dangers ahead in the proposals of the others, and, as I think, quite rightly.

Mr. Frewen wishes the East to return to silver, so that the drain on gold-supplies may be lessened, and because he realizes the danger of international gold money when extended to the countries of the East, as they are poorer than ourselves, and the purchasing power of the money (gold) is greater with them than with us. What he, strangely enough, fails to see is that there is the same danger for this country (although in a lesser degree) when our currency (gold) is adopted as the currency of our poorer Western neighbours. Cobden did not foresee that they would do so when he advocated Free Trade, and it is extraordinary that no one at the present time seems to pay the least attention to the change in international commercial relations which the adoption of international gold money may have—I would say *must* have effected.

The change is that international trade, instead of being perforce the *exchange* of goods for goods, can now be the *sale* of goods by the poor country to the wealthy country for money. Where the poor country will spend the international money (gold) will depend on where goods can be bought cheapest for money.

As I understand Mr. Webb, he is only in favour of "metallic money" because he does not see how the ideal of a "valueless currency" is to be carried out. He sees the dangers which are beginning to be felt, which arise from an over-supply of gold, upon which our huge credit system is built up, and so he welcomes the extension of the gold currency to the East as a sort of safety-valve.

This alarms Mr. Frewen, because a drain upon gold threatens the stability of our whole gigantic credit system, which he rightly sees is on a very dangerous foundation. What he fails to see is that, with increased supplies of gold retained here, the tendency would be to further increase our credit money, which would add to the danger, even although our banks might increase their reserves somewhat.

Then comes Lord Reay, who asks very rightly what guarantee we have that the output of gold will keep pace with the demand. Should it not, what would Mr. Frewen suggest should be done?

He talks in horror of fiat money, without, it seems, giving a thought to the fact that at the present time there is no control over the issue of either metallic or credit money. Such issues depend on the chance supplies of metal that are put on the market, with the result that the purchasing power of money fluctuates constantly.

Mr. Frewen has yet to show that such a haphazard system is any more secure than one of the issue of fiat money by a Government which is ignorant of the laws which should regulate the issues of money would be.

For my own part, I am satisfied, by my study of the late Major Phipson's writings, that there are well-defined laws which lay down exactly what the issues of money must be *to meet the economic needs of the nation*.

I gather that Mr. Webb has in view the regulation of currency in some way, guided by Government index-numbers of prices. If this is so, he is already not far from the truth; and as I understand he is not acquainted with Phipson's views, I believe, when he learns them, he will find they supply just what he requires to enable him to put forward a thoroughly practicable solution of the currency difficulties of both this country and India. It rests with Mr. Frewen to show in what respect Phipson was wrong. Unless this can be done, the question for us as a sane and practical civilized nation is to ask ourselves why we cannot adopt a system under which our Government would *consciously* regulate the issues of money so that they would conform to the economic needs of the nation.

To continue to leave the issue of money to be regulated by the hazards of gold-mining, the *desires* of the people for more money, and the *desires* of bankers to issue as much credit money as possible in order that they may secure increased profits, could only be due to blind ignorance or to mad folly. I believe that if Mr. Frewen and Mr. Webb, or either of them, would master Phipson's theories, they would be the means of saving the nation from such a disaster.

MARK B. F. MAJOR.

TUDOR COTTAGE,
DUFFAS HILL TERRACE,
CROYDON.
December 16, 1913.

MONEY POWER FOR INDIA.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Pennington has very kindly allowed me to see your interesting letter to him of the 16th instant on the subject of metallic money and its defects. He has also sent to me a pamphlet containing several of your "Redemption of Labour Leaflets," which I have read with great interest.

I expect you are familiar with Mr. Kitson's theories (of Kitson Lamp fame), and also with Mr. Farrow's ideas (of Farrow's Bank, Ltd.) on this same subject. If not, I think you would be interested in their views and publications. Have you studied Theodor Hertzka's "*Freeland*"?—a wonderfully fascinating book, wherein the money problem is most cleverly treated.

I understand that the late Mr. Phipson's idea, and yours, is an inconvertible State paper currency, regulated according to the index numbers of food prices, and secured by the ability, honesty, power, and permanence, of Government. I believe you advocate this type of money because its purchasing powers could perhaps be kept steadier than those of gold and silver, and the injustices to the multitude of a privately-managed currency, based largely on the uncertainties of the mining industry, could perhaps be lessened.

As a *theory*, pure and simple, I believe this conception of money to be admirable, and in a way unanswerable. As a practicable measure suitable for present-day adoption, however, I believe it to be impossible. And for these reasons: Man, taken in large numbers, is often stupid, erratic, emotional, unreasoning, and—unless constantly watched and kept under control—dishonest, savage, and ultra-brutal. Centuries of cultivation have only succeeded in raising a comparatively small number of men and women to comparative honesty, and to a comparatively rational and comparatively altruistic condition of development. Only by constant pressure are these comparatively advanced conditions maintained; and we see constant back-sliding even amongst those whom we are accustomed to regard as highly cultivated and civilized people.

Now, I would ask: How can you *ever* expect—looking at man's history from the earliest times—to establish a monetary system based on *pure reason*, and maintained only on the assumption that both Government officials and the public are *permanently rational, honest, and altruistic, in the highest degree*? Frankly, I regard such an expectation as fanciful and unattainable within many generations, probably never attainable. Therefore, whilst recognizing, I think, completely the ideals at which you are aiming, I consider it expedient, looking at the present condition of the world, to put those ideals far away in the background, and to attempt a *step-by-step improvement of our present monetary conditions*.

The first thing, in my opinion, is to educate the public regarding the vital importance of State index numbers of prices. As soon as these are widely understood, people will begin to see that a monetary measure which shrinks or expands is as cruel an injustice to the public as a pint measure or a yard stick that changed its dimensions from year to year.

When the people understand this, then they will ask themselves—How can we prevent our monetary tools fluctuating in purchasing power? Obviously, mines and banks are the present sources of money, so these will come under some kind of control. In short, *mints* will be closed and credit-spinning by private institutions checked by heavy taxation when prices are *rising* rapidly; and such taxation will be removed, State paper money will be created, and mints opened (perhaps to silver as well as gold if prices *shrink* very rapidly).

These are the first steps—a Government issue and control of paper money, and a Government closing and opening of mints according as the State index numbers show serious movements—up or down—of the general level of prices.

Mr. Moreton Frewen, by advocating huge coinages of silver *now*—when prices are moving upwards—seems to me to be altogether blind to the meaning of index numbers of prices, and to the very grave injustices which the present rise in prices has inflicted on all small-wage earners, and receivers of fixed incomes from fixed interest-bearing securities, in this and other gold-using countries. He is merely repeating the arguments of the Bimetallic League of twenty-five years ago. These arguments were sound *then*, because prices in gold-using countries were everywhere falling. But now, when gold prices are *rising*, those arguments are out-of-date and meaningless. The closing of the Indian mints was indefensible *at the time*. But the gold production of recent years has neutralized the Government of India's currency policy of twenty years ago; and now India is really more prosperous than at any previous period of her history.

To return to the question of a State paper currency, of which I entirely approve, because of the inherent and ineradicable defects of man, I would not dream of advocating the issue of State paper currency resting merely on the *honesty*, *morality*, and *permanence*, of the Government, but I would urge its issue as soon as prices begin to fall on the security of public works of a *material* and *permanent* character. In this way REAL SECURITY for the State money would exist—or as near real security as we can at present devise.

I have written sufficient now, I think, to make my position clear. Man, being imperfect, will continue to use gold and silver in different parts of the world, whether you issue State paper currency or not. Pp. 21-24 of my "Money Power for India" herewith show you what I now advocate for India. I am moving in the direction of the IDEAL which you advocate, but with no hope or expectation of ever getting there. Still, we may get much "forrader" than we are at present. The limit of man's intelligence will, I believe, prevent us of this generation getting beyond—

1. An *Imperial* State paper currency based on public works within the Empire, and *current and legal tender throughout the Empire*.
2. State index numbers of prices throughout the Empire by which to regulate this issue of the above State paper currency.

This, to me, seems "practical politics," and this is what I am aiming at.

Yours sincerely,

M. DE P. WEBB.

SIR ALEX TAYLOR AND THE HERO OF DELHI.

DEAR SIR,

I notice that the reviewer of Sir Alex Taylor's biography describes it as controversial in character, and again he writes lower down that, "with regard to the Delhi controversy, space does not permit of its examination here."

In view of the very definite claim made by the writer of this biography

that Sir Alex was the hero of Delhi, it may not be amiss to recall to the notice of readers of the *Asiatic Review* Colonel Vibart's book entitled "Richard Baird-Smith, the Hero of Delhi," which was generally considered at the time to prove the authenticity of the latter's claim up to the hilt, and settle the matter for good. It may be added that the author had access to Baird-Smith's private papers, which was not, I presume, an advantage shared by Miss Taylor. She has, in fact, stirred once more the embers of a great Anglo-Indian controversy, without, I think, bringing much evidence to bear on her side of the case. The present writer is not qualified to arbitrate, nor if he were would he be disposed so to do. In this instance he would content himself by drawing attention to the voluminous character of the correspondence which has been carried on over the question, and point more especially to the article which appeared in the *Saturday Review* in May, 1858, and is really the *locus classicus* on the controversy, and also one appearing in the *Speaker* in 1902. But these are only two periodicals out of over forty in which the matter has been thrashed out.

Yours faithfully,
J. B. P.

THE PLEA FOR THE TURKS.

SIR,

You have been good enough to ask me to express an opinion on the *Asiatic Review*, and I am glad of the opportunity of doing so. All who are interested in the Near East must welcome the *Asiatic Review*, which is ready to voice sufferings that might otherwise not be heard of, and to ventilate grievances that, unfortunately, are so little known in England. Not least amongst the many cruel and undeserved calamities which have befallen Turkey in recent years has been the fact that from various causes the Turkish case has been neither stated nor understood in this country. Most of the Balkan peoples claim our sympathy on what I believe to be the fraudulent ground that they are Christians, and press this advantage to the uttermost in British newspapers. Nearly all these stories of Turkish outrages have been accepted without evidence, while it is held to be almost indecent to suggest that the Balkan Allies have proved themselves unworthy of the name of Christians, have waged a war of brigandage and not of freedom, and have violated their pledged word to each other.

There are many other reasons why the success of the *Asiatic Review* is a matter of great satisfaction to those of us who have many friends in the Near East, but I venture to think that one of its most important functions will be to put an end to that conspiracy of silence which has so seriously wounded the Ottoman Empire and the feelings of Moslems in all parts of the world.

I am,
Your obedient servant,
AUBREY HERBERT.

PIXTON PARK,
DULVERTON,
January 28, 1914.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE RECENT CURRENCY EXPERIMENTS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

BY MORETON FREWEN.

At the invitation of this Association I have prepared a brief paper on the recent currency experiments of the Government of India for the purpose of initiating a discussion. Members are aware that a Royal Commission is now sitting, and we are likely to have its Report in the early days of the New Year. I hope that anyone who does me the honour to criticize the manner and matter of my paper will be, if I may say so, even brutally frank. That will permit me to rejoin in the same spirit. What is important is that we should from all sides handle the recent experiments of the Government of India with our gloves off.

What are the experiments? They date back just twenty years. India, in all the years before 1893, had been encouraged to draw her trade balances in silver, that metal being admitted, just as gold is here, to unlimited free coinage at her mints. The result had been that the thrift of a vast community had for centuries taken the form of investment in silver bullion. A fairly reliable estimate, made some years since by Mr. F. C. Harrison, for the silver hoards of India was some 2,000 million ounces, or one-fifth of all the known silver in the world. It is now

much larger. Let me put it in another way. This mass of bullion, with mints open, was an endowment fund of some Rs. 26 per capita for every man, woman, and child in India. Now Rs. 26 is about the annual per capita income of British India, and compares with some sixty sovereigns per capita of gross income here. The closing of the mints in 1893 confiscated this endowment fund; it annihilated this mass of universally distributed wealth, which in times of stress was the first line of defence equally against the visitations of famine, of the local usurer, and of the Government tax-collector. I say annihilated. The word is perhaps extreme, for silver bullion is still worth something to purchase rupees, or to use as collateral for loans; but it is safe to say that in the event of a really widespread famine the Rs. 26 available to buy food would now dwindle to not more than Rs. 6, and this vast measure of confiscation is wholly the result of legislation. I am not, I think, over-stating the 1893 experiment of the Government of India if I say that the history of civilization affords no parallel at all for it. We know that the headman of a certain village near Allahabad, in the famine of 1897, brought all his villagers' ornaments, in weight 2,000 tolas, expecting to sell them, as always before, for some Rs. 2,000, and instead of Rs. 2,000 he returned to his stricken folk with only Rs. 600. But you will say there are possibly worse things than an empty stomach, that famines are, after all, local; but the activities of the money sharks in India are constant and instant and everywhere at a maximum, and the closing of the mints had this effect—it turned over the masses of the cultivators, saturated as they are with hereditary mortgages, to be fleeced by their usurers. I was in India just a few years before the closing of the mints, and the economics of India and the unrest of its peoples seemed to me even then to turn so very largely on the relations of myriads of small debtors to a handful of comparatively wealthy and educated creditors—bunnias, shroffs, and sowkars, that I in-

vestigated that great fiscal problem wherever my travels extended. It is enough to say that the usual village finance in India was conducted on a basis of borrowing at the rate of 1 per cent. per month, the security being silver ornaments, or bullion in some form. I have no doubt loans were made on personal security even then at much higher rates, but the universal security, as you would suppose, was silver, and you will admit that, given open mints, any tola of silver was a perfect "gilt-edged" banker's security for one rupee, just as any ounce of gold is here a perfect banker's security for slightly less than four sovereigns. At a stroke of the pen in 1893 all this vast mass of liquid security went by the board, and ever since silver bangles and silver bullion are but a sort of inferior chattel mortgage. Witness after witness from India called before this Royal Commission has come forward to declare that usury rates in India are now from 3 to 8 per cent. per month. I may say of one body of testimony—that of Mr. Sundaram Iyer, who was delegated by the Government of Madras—that when this gentleman's testimony and all that it involves has broken upon the public mind, it will really open a new chapter in the economics of silver.

The proposal to restrict coinage of rupees was first advanced by the Government of India in 1879. It was forthwith submitted to a very eminent Commission of experts and was unanimously condemned. Thereupon, in forwarding the Report of the Commission, the Lords of the Treasury had this to say about the proposal to close the Mints:

"It appears, too, that the Government of India, in making the proposal, lay themselves open to the same criticisms as are made upon Governments which have depreciated their currencies. In general, the object of such Governments has been to diminish the amount they have to pay their creditors. In the present case the object of the Indian Government appears to be to

increase the amount they have to receive from their tax-payers. My lords fail to see any real difference in the character of the two transactions. . . . The Government scheme may relieve the Indian Government and others who desire to remit money to England, but this relief will be given at the expense of the Indian tax-payer and with the effect of increasing every debt due by ryots to money-lenders."

This was the reply of "my lords" when permission was asked by Simla to tamper with the Indian currency and thus disrupt every contract in India. Nor would anyone dispute the very high authority of the late Sir Robert Giffen in this special field of economics. Sir Robert concluded a letter to the *Times* with these most prophetic words. He wrote :

"The highest political issues are also involved. One of the most dangerous things for a Government to do is to tamper with the people's money. Is it certain that the Indian Government can go on long with its present ideas regarding money without producing the gravest complications in the government of India?"

Enough to say that India before 1893 had an admirable, sound, convertible, metallic currency which, as a "yard-stick" to measure prices and values, was the admiration of mankind. While in all the countries of the West, Commissions and Select Committees were everywhere considering what was called "The Appreciation of Gold"—that is to say, the great fall of prices which had nearly doubled the burden of every national debt and every mortgage; yet during all that time the "Index Numbers" of the Government of India showed that the rupee was neither appreciating nor depreciating, that there had been during the thirty years before 1893 in India (and the same was true of China) a very slight fall of silver prices; not a rise of

prices, but actually a fall of about 5 per cent. when expressed in the Indian standard coin—her rupee.

The trouble never was in the Indian currency. That currency was perfect. You had a beautiful metal : a steady measure of values, lending itself equally to the habits of the masses, and to the convenience of the Government. By the constant melting down of countless millions of rupees, the Indian currency was automatically contracted, so that prices were regulated and corrected. And again the habit of melting coin and shackling it on the person made thefts impossible and encouraged sobriety. The man who had a rupee might take it to the grog-shop ; not so the man who had bangled that rupee. All this most beneficent mechanism was scrap-heaped when the mints closed and a handful of retiring merchants were permitted to bring home ten pence at the artificial rate of sixteen pence.

It may be said : " Well, other nations have changed their standard ; did they all in doing so plunder their people ? " But the reply is, Nothing of the kind perpetrated in India was ever attempted elsewhere. Take, for example, Germany's change of standard from silver to gold in 1873. Germany, it is true, changed her standard and altered every contract, but she called in her currency and bought it from her citizens, paying them gold at par. No German was left with all the savings of several generations in a metal which was demonetized, and the food-purchasing power of which was almost annihilated. No community enjoying any form of representative Government would permit such an act of wholesale confiscation for the sole benefit of a handful of usurers and strangers.

THE BIMETALLIC SYSTEM.

I desire now to say a very few words as to the system of exchange which was favoured, it is safe to say, by the large majority of those here present—the system labelled " Bimetallic " by splendid old Henri Cernuschi. It was that

label, and also, I frankly admit, the excessive internationalism of its advocates, which led the business world to regard it as Utopian. I greatly prefer the description given by De Laveleye, to what, for the sake of clearness, let us call the French system. Professor de Laveleye always referred to that system as the "Joint Standard."

I shall not detain you with the causes that led to France, in 1873, closing her mints to silver: these are history, and interesting history; but I am only concerned to-day with the splendid work France had done for trade during the century before 1873. During that time France had been the world's money-changer. The mint at Paris had been equally open to coin silver, whether for the merchant of London or the merchant of Lyons. As long as the French mints were open every British merchant knew that he could take $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver to Paris and there exchange it for an ounce of gold. The system worked with really a clockwork regularity, and this in the face of unprecedented fluctuations in the yield of the two metals from the mines. Silver, according to the varying demand of the Orient—that great "sink of silver"—was always within twopence an ounce of the French mint ratio. And thus it was that, seeing France always able and willing to give gold for silver to all-comers, we bimetallicists thought that France, and France alone, maintained the exchange. This was our very grievous error—an error we did not detect until too late. France—the French mint law—was only one blade, as it were, of a pair of scissors; the other blade of the exchange mechanism was the free gold market of London, and the handle loops were the open mints of British India. People—very intelligent people—said, "Why, it was impossible that France could continue to give gold for silver on demand—she would soon lose all her gold." And this was true. It was because by way of Bombay she could always draw gold from the Bank of England that

France was at all times able to maintain exchange. Had we bimetallists told ourselves first, and then told all foreign nations, that it was not Paris, but London, Paris, and Bombay, Bombay being the very base and foundation of the triangle that fixed exchange, we could have settled the silver question at any one of the various conferences. Great Britain, as I now see it, should never have been asked to do more than maintain a free gold market in London, and free coinage for rupees in India. Instead of which we bimetallists alarmed conservative finance here by proposing to invent a new full legal tender silver coin, and admit silver to free mintage in London. It was France until 1873 who was the world's money-changer. France, as I say, gave on demand equally to the London and the Lyons merchant an ounce of gold for $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver. But France did not necessarily give her own gold, and this because she had at all times, through the bill market, access to the gold reserve of the Bank of England. Any $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of French silver currency melted and exported to Bombay, and there exchanged against wheat or rice or indigo sold to London, was a sight draft on the Bank of England for one ounce of gold, so long as, and only so long as, the Indian mints remained open.

It is easy now, forty years after, to watch the lovely automatic action of the French Exchange system at work, and to admit that Great Britain did all, and even more, than her share in keeping fixed exchange. But strange it is that of all the brilliant men we sent to the various Monetary Conferences, no one ever saw this exchange problem as a whole, and, in a very few sentences, put it on record that Great Britain, gold monometallist in the West, silver monometallist in the Orient, and by reason of these two unconnected monetary systems, had rendered the French bimetallic system impregnable. Through a tardy and a belated recognition of what the British Empire really did, we shall yet recover our lost ground, and with it recover

free automatic exchange through open mints in place of these disreputable and artificial "gold exchange standards" with closed mints which violate every principle of economics and have reduced the world's exchanges to monetary anarchy.

CHINA AND SILVER.

This paper only aspires to elicit frank discussion whereby we may arrive at fresh facts. The great experiment in currency was the closing of the Indian mints. But ever since 1893 we have witnessed with the advent of each fresh Finance Member sent out from home further experiments generally, and perhaps fortunately, destructive of the entire currency policy of each predecessor in that high office. One finance member is for contraction, is for a wholesale melting down of rupees; next comes an ardent soul who keeps the pretty white disks pouring out of the mints by night and day. Then there would follow a "wait-and-see" policy. The culminating catastrophe was in the latest régime, when a high duty on all silver bullion has sought to divorce the affections of the Indian peoples from the metal they love. This brings me to a point of supreme importance. When the Government of India, as in 1907, purchases prodigious quantities of silver bullion for coinage, they inevitably raise the price of the metal by leaps and bounds, and themselves secure within the charmed circle of their fancy exchange system, they ruin with some complacency the export trades of China. A rise of, say, 33 per cent. in the price of silver involves a fall of one-third in all prices—tea, rice, silk, a thousand things which China sells for gold in London or New York. And while killing China's export trades it also for the time being immensely stimulates our exports to China. Thus having ruined China's export trades and traders, the Government of India, as in the years 1908, 1909, 1910, stays clean out of the silver market; silver thereupon drops so calamitously

that now the boot is on the other foot ; it is now Chinese exporters who have it all their own way, and it is the importing firms who are ruined. The fall of about a shilling an ounce in silver in 1907-8 had this inevitable and foreseen result. China, unable to purchase our steel rails and iron, started her own blast furnaces and steel-rolling mills, and is to-day exporting whole cargoes of the highest class pig-iron at a price, 16 taels a ton, which no white labour can touch. Sixteen taels at the old rate of exchange would have been over five sovereigns to the buyer ; it is now about two sovereigns. It is safe to say that unless the exchanges greatly advance, next, with the opening of the Panama Canal, we shall see the control of the world's iron and steel industries transferred, thanks to cheap silver, to this Mongolian ant-heap. I may say that Mr. Watson was sent by the United States Steel Corporation to report on the operations of the first steel-rolling mill at Hankau, and his statement to his directors was that the rate of wages at Hankau is one-fifteenth the rate paid in Pittsburgh, and that the output of the yellow operative is 90 per cent. of that of the white worker in Pennsylvania.

The question will naturally be asked, Why, if these various currency experiments have been so unfair to the masses of India, should such experiments be persisted in and why does Mr. Webb now urge that Government to undertake a fresh series of experiments more drastic still—namely, fiat money, gold mintage, and all those other gaudy trappings of the "Karachi idea?" The reply is, that Indian trade, since the gold standard of 1898, has shown a considerable expansion, and thus India's merchants have come to regard all this currency-mongering as beneficial. But my rejoinder is that the whole world of trade has, since 1898, enjoyed a veritable sunburst of prosperity, India's share in which has been probably less than the average, and certainly not more. I append the following short table, comparative of the exports of what Professor Austin, of the

Washington Bureau of Statistics, calls "the leading commercial nations of the world," with the exports of India, as quoted by Mr. Newmarch of the India Office.

INDIA'S EXPORTS AND WORLD'S EXPORTS IN MILLIONS
STERLING.

	India.	World's.
1893	71	1,170
1903	102	1,605
1912	165	2,720

But these figures do not tell the whole tale by any means. The figures of the exports show the values, and not the volume, of exports. Now prices in India have advanced in the last six years at least 40 per cent., so that if you reduce the 165 millions sterling of India's exports in 1912 by 40 per cent., you will find that her export trades, as compared with 1902, show no expansion whatever.

BREAKERS AHEAD.

It remains to say a word as to breakers ahead. The Indian exchange standard is, of course, absolutely at the mercy of India's future balance of trade. That balance of trade which has always been so large will at once go against India if rupee prices should for any reason rise in India while gold prices fall in Europe, or even, as is now the case, rise faster in India than gold prices rise here. And this price condition is, I believe, inevitable if the Indian currency is, as in the past few years, to be inflated with prodigious additions both of silver and silver certificates, and if at the same time India is to leech away to her myriad hoards that gold which is the foundation of our prices here, sucking down our sovereigns and throwing up vast masses of rupees. In these two conditions—namely, inflation in India and a

contraction here which has involved the substitution for gold of enormous masses of paper credits to stave off a panic—in these two conditions you have the key to the present alarming price movement and the increasing cost of living in India and in England.

IS GOLD REDUNDANT?

I shall only refer to the gold problem very briefly. Since the disinheritance of silver, gold has become the sole money of international exchange. Is the gold supply at all keeping step with the expansion of foreign trade? We know that at present it is not. The foreign commerce of the leading nations is increasing at the rate of more than 7 per cent. per annum, while the supply of gold from the mines is increasing by less than 3 per cent. I present the following short table :

THE WORLD'S GOLD CURRENCY AND THE EXPORTS OF THE CHIEF COMMERCIAL NATIONS IN THOUSANDS OF MILLION DOLLARS.

			World's Gold Currency.	Exports Chief Com- mercial Nations.	Gold per Hundred.
1894	...	...	4,213,139	5,214,300	80
1902	...	...	5,373,927	7,843,000	68
1912	...	...	7,661,469	13,597,700	56

Because of the huge drain from our gold reserves to India which has been set in motion by the currency experiments at Simla, I anticipate with confidence a financial panic during the next two or three years. For twelve months now we have been in a state of veiled panic; everywhere is to be heard the mutterings of the storm. The result of a panic will be a great fall in gold prices here in the West, with no corresponding fall in silver prices in India. India had a foretaste of such exchange conditions in 1908, but I believe, with such prodigious amounts of paper credits

as are now doing money work here, the next panic and its contraction of all credit will be infinitely more serious than in 1908, and that panic the world will attribute, and rightly attribute, to the suicidal currency experiments at Simla.

THE REMEDY.

If only two or three of the leading nations will be rational, the remedy for all this financial anarchy is at last in full sight. The remedy is to work upwards, step by step, to what I have called the French or "Joint Standard" system of currency. We need, as to day, gold monometallism, that is to say, a "free gold market" in London; we need silver monometallism for Asia through the free coinage of silver in Asia, and we need an open mint for both the metals, either in Paris or New York, or both. Isolated currency action is ruinous. Before 1893 the United States had in operation for fifteen years a "Bland Act"—namely, a gold standard with large additions of full legal-tender silver. In 1893 that nation, vehemently urged in that direction by the whole Press of England, suspended their silver purchases and all further mintage of silver. At once India, undeterred by the failure of this American experiment, imported the Bland Act bodily to Simla, and India is to-day operating that Bland Act in its every mood and tense. The continuance of isolated Blandism by India will inevitably meet with disaster, whereas under careful scientific safeguards the adoption by an important group of nations of a Bland Act such as was urged by Mr. Alfred Rothschild at the last Monetary Conference of the nations at Brussels would save the situation. The one qualification I suggest of Mr. Rothschild's international silver-purchase proposal is that the silver purchased, instead of being coined and issued as full legal-tender money, should be represented by small paper notes, the legal tender of which (as with the shilling) should be limited to forty shillings. That England single-handed should employ silver in this way was urged by the

late Lord Goschen when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was also unanimously recommended by the Gold and Silver Commission which reported in 1888. If, then, a group of nations—say, Great Britain, France, the United States, and Germany—would jointly adopt this proposal, the great problem of silver would be at once solved. At present our circulation of token-silver coins is only thirteen shillings *per capita*; that is, as much silver in the sum of coin as our people will carry in their pockets and tills. Thirteen shillings, then, is what Mr. Goschen called “the saturation point” for silver; but Mr. Goschen estimated that by the withdrawal of the half-sovereign and the issue of ten-shilling notes secured by silver bullion lying in the vaults of the Mint some twenty shillings more *per capita* of silver could be got into active circulation, to the great convenience of the public. By this method, as the Royal Commission of 1888 declared, an immense and preponderant demand for silver bullion would be created.

THE SILVER MARKET.

The position of the silver market during the last few years has undergone a radical transformation because of the increased absorption by the silversmiths. In 1905 the silversmiths absorbed only 30 per cent. of the silver produced by the mines; in 1909 their consumption had risen to 50 per cent; while in 1911, the last year for which I have the completed record, their consumption was no less than 143 million ounces, or 64 per cent. of the entire yield. For the last two years the silver surplus available for currency has been only 164 million ounces, and we are able to show that over 195 million ounces have been converted into coin. If, then, a buyer for the three or four leading commercial nations would purchase for their joint account some eight million ounces a month, and advance the price paid, say twopence per ounce each year, we should, step by step, and in a very few years, raise the bullion value of the rupee to its old rating—eleven rupees to the sovereign; and what

may probably prove more important to white mankind, lift the Chinese exchange, now about eight taels to the sovereign, to its old rate of three taels to the sovereign.

And it is well to note that of the ninety-five million ounces I propose to buy for this united monetary union, Great Britain even now purchases on the average of each year for the home, the African, and the Indian currencies, at least forty-five million ounces.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, December 15, 1913, a paper was read by Moreton Frewen, Esq., entitled "The Recent Currency Experiments of the Indian Government." The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I., and Lady Wilson, Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Miss Hearn, Mr. William Tunnicliffe, Mr. M. C. Sen, Mr. H. R. Cook, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mr. George Owen William Dunn, Lieutenant-Colonel Burke, Mrs. White, Mr. Reginald Murray, Mr. K. D. Wacha, Mr. Henry C. Ide, Miss Lethbridge, Miss Ford, Mr. C. J. Weir, Mr. Wolfe Murray, Miss Pollen, Mr. J. H. Munro, Mr. Kennedy, Mrs. Barrow, Miss Stewart, Mr. M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., and Mrs. Webb, Mr. D. Ritter, Mr. A. W. Duffet, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Mark B. F. Major, Miss Wade, Mr. Sundara Raja, Mr. Sundaram Iyer, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mrs. Couchman, Mr. F. Grubb, Miss Frewen, Mr. Browne, Miss Massey, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to make any observations in anticipation of what the lecturer, my old friend Mr. Moreton Frewen, has got to say to us this afternoon. I will proceed immediately to business, and call upon the lecturer to be good enough to read the paper which he has prepared on the "Recent Currency Experiments of the Indian Government."

The paper was then read, and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, I am sure I may begin by saying that we have listened, with the greatest possible pleasure, to what has fallen from the lecturer on the subject-matter of his address. It is one which baffles the most cunning of experts, and may well daunt the spirit of an amateur like myself. Therefore I will ask you to extend your sympathy to me in the diffidence which I feel in making a few observations on the very knotty problems which are brought forward for

discussion. I have always known the lecturer as an optimistic person, and black, indeed, must be the prospect when he threatens us with "financial anarchy, panic, and disaster" as our inevitable doom. Now, having at his bidding taken off our gloves, we might almost wish that the next process might be to wash our hands of the whole nefarious business. We are asked to declare that the closing of the mints to the coinage of silver in 1893, followed by the recognition of the sovereign as legal tender and the creation of a gold standard reserve built up by the profits made on the coinage of the rupee, has been a disastrous failure. Well, I venture to say that I find myself unable to join in that declaration (Hear, hear), and I feel that that is the more courageous on my part, inasmuch as I said just now, that I am only a humble amateur in these matters, and also as I suppose I shall be the first to meet the full brunt of the lecturer's spirited reply which he has promised us. It seems to me that the currency policy adopted by the Government of India affects (1) India herself, and (2) the rest of the world; and I venture to think that my friend here has regarded the question of how it affects the rest of the world as being of far greater importance than how it affects India's material prosperity. I would venture to urge that this latter question of whether India has gained or lost in material prosperity is really that which demands the main consideration at our hands. (Hear, hear.) We hear a great deal of the absorption of gold by India. I suppose that in the abstract India has as much right to a share in the gold production of the world as any other country, and yet the fact that India should withdraw a good deal of gold is spoken of as a novelty, as a thing almost unknown before 1893, and sometimes almost as a crime. Mr. Frewen, I think, has committed himself to the statement that in two years India carried off and swallowed no less than 73 millions of our good English sovereigns. I have endeavoured to find out in which years India took most gold from this country. Those were the years 1911 and 1912, and during those years she took 36 millions of sovereigns. In passing it might interest you to know that in the first ten months of this year the imports of merchandise into India have considerably increased, while there has been a decrease in her imports of sovereigns compared with the same period in 1912 of no less than $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. I think there is liable to be some over-statement in dealing with this question, and from these over-statements various deductions are made. India very often is credited with the responsibility for an enhanced bank rate, for depreciated consols, and the banishment of all hope from business circles. No doubt one great cause for the low price of consols has been the insufficiency of gold to deal with Trade, which has shown remarkable activity in recent years, and no doubt the demand of India for gold has increased that insufficiency and has increased the stringency of the markets, but Germany and France and other countries have been hoarding their gold, and their demands have been on a greater scale than those of India. That is a fact which is sometimes forgotten, and the effects of India's withdrawal of gold are very often enormously exaggerated.

Then we are told that the thrift of the community which resulted in a mass of evenly distributed wealth has been entirely "annihilated," and to prove this statement the case has been brought forward of a villager in the Allahabad district who, during the famine of 1897, received less by a considerable sum than he should have received in exchange for the silver which he had to offer for sale. I have not examined how far the loss which this man sustained was due to the fact that he fell among thieves; but taking the prices which are given elsewhere of silver in that particular year, it would seem to me that he certainly was unfortunate. Even had that not been so, it is to be remembered that it was only in 1893 that this change was made, and in 1897 it is not unreasonable to imagine that the village community had not as yet adapted their monetary system to the new order of things. (Hear, hear.) I venture to think that now that villagers have taken to hoarding in gold, a repetition of the story told to us by Mr. Frewen is problematical indeed. In any case, I would deprecate any insinuation to the effect that questions of famine are of anything but the most momentous concern to the Government of India, and equally I would repudiate the suggestion that we are not more able to prevent the recurrence of famine or mitigate its horrors than we were twenty years ago. Thanks very largely to the sagacity and the industry and the great sympathy of Lord Curzon, we have now in India a machinery so flexible, and so powerful and efficient, that we are in a position to fight famine to-day as we could never have fought it before. (Applause.)

As to cultivators being turned over to the mercies of the sowkars, I know that an extraordinary rate of interest demanded by the usurers of the East is no new thing. I believe it is notorious that for centuries the ryot of India has, moth-like, singed his wings in the golden flame of usury which is so carefully tended by the local Bunnia. I was in India over thirty years ago, and I believe that the rates of interest demanded by usurers then was no less notorious than the rates which are quoted by Mr. Sundaram Iyer in his evidence before the Royal Commission.

It seems to me that if we are to gauge Indian conditions to-day it must be by the ordinary tests of material prosperity, and not by casual sporadic cases of the inability of a peasant to get full value for his tola, or by vague reports of extortion by usurers. I am not altogether ignorant of the very gloomy vaticinations and prophecies which were indulged in before 1893 by the Lords of the Treasury and others. I know that the great economic pundits of that day shook their heads ponderously over what they regarded as a hazardous enterprise on the part of India's advisers, but I venture to say that India's advisers were right, for after a year or two of doubt, the stability of the rupee has been successfully maintained since 1900, except for a very short time in 1907 when the Great American crisis shook the world's credit system to its base, and when India was suffering from troubles of her own. I venture to say that the advice given to India in 1893 has proved itself abundantly justified. The fixity of exchange, as ample testimony will show, has proved itself advantageous and a benefit to export trade. It was said that the exports of India were bound to be adversely affected by this change of system, but that has not proved to

be the case; on the contrary, her exports have increased very largely in volume and, I venture to think, in value also. That statement is challenged by the lecturer, who points out the rise of prices in India, but I would venture to suggest that the value of exports is regulated, not by prices in India, but by prices in the markets of the world. (Hear, hear.) We must, in considering this question, bear in mind that between the years 1886 and 1896 there has been additional taxation imposed in India to the tune of over 5 crores of rupees on account of the "Home Charges," and had a fall in the value of the rupee gone on, there is no doubt that there would have had to be additional taxation to an indefinite amount, whereas as a matter of fact, since 1896 there have been remissions of Taxation to the tune of $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, quite apart from the great loss of revenue which India has had to face from the loss of her opium revenue, which amounts to two millions sterling. I am not quite sure whether my friend advocates a cheap rupee for India. I gather from what he says that he considers a depreciated currency to be beneficial for a country's export trade, and if it is good for China it ought to be equally good for India. Yet at the same time he goes on to advocate that we should join other nations in a system which will certainly raise the rupee to its old rate of 11 rupees to the sovereign. In speaking of China and the trade relations between India and China, you will find since 1893 there has been a very large increase in the volume of exports from India to China and a considerable decrease in the imports to India from that country. Quite apart from trade, there are two other indices which I think point to the material prosperity or otherwise of the country. They are the amount of the savings-bank deposits and the amount of income tax accruing to the Government. Under both those heads there has been a constant and substantial increase. I know myself that when I was in Madras a few years ago, it was a matter of general acceptance that the standard of living among the native population was being steadily raised and that India was enjoying a condition of great material prosperity, certainly in the south. Therefore, for reasons which I have endeavoured to put before you in this cursory fashion, I find that my estimate of the financial system of the Government of India is not quite reconcilable with the estimate which has been formed by my friend, Mr. Frewen. I think, if I may say so, that he has misinterpreted the spirit with which that system was adopted, and I feel sure that he has misjudged its results. I allow that in its initial stages it may have imposed certain disabilities on some members of the community until the new order was thoroughly established, but so far from regarding it as having been disastrous, I consider that it has worked for the betterment of India, and I refuse to be depressed by the gloomy prognostications with which Mr. Frewen contemplates the continuation of the system which is now in vogue.

A number of other speakers, I am glad to say, have expressed their readiness to address us this afternoon, and I shall be obliged if they will endeavour to confine their remarks to a space of ten minutes. (Applause.)

The Hon. Secretary read the following letter from Sir Guilford Molesworth :

Dumbar 12, 1913.

SIR,

I regret that illness prevents my attendance and my joining in the discussion of Mr. Moreton Frewen's valuable paper. May I ask you to accept the following contribution to the discussion from me.

I am entirely in agreement with the views expressed in the paper, and I think its author is doing valuable service in exposing the dangers of the Indian gold peril—the drain of gold which menaces every bourse in Christendom, and the cruelty and injustice inflicted on millions in India by the change in the value of their monetary standard.

I think, however, that some allowance ought to be made for the Government of India, which has to a great extent been forced into this measure by the refusal of Great Britain to join the other Powers in an International agreement for the re-establishment of the joint standard, which was broken in 1873 by the closing of the French mints to silver.

The following extract from a speech I made as delegate for the Government of India, at the Brussels Monetary Conference, will explain the position :

"So long as there is any hope of arriving at any reasonable solution of this difficulty, I am convinced that my Government would shrink from the necessity of changing its standard; but of late the hope of such a solution has appeared more and more remote. Should this Conference break up without arriving at any definite result, then India must take immediate measures for her protection. Whether these steps will end in the stoppage of silver coinage, and the adoption of a gold coinage in some form or other, I cannot say. I cannot disguise from myself that such a step is fraught with immense difficulties, the result of which it is impossible to foresee. . . . I must express my opinion that the only satisfactory solution of the difficulty is to be found in an International agreement on a bimetallic basis, in which my Government would join the Latin Union and the United States. Such a combination would be amply strong to preserve any ratio that might be fixed. . . . So long as Europe, as a whole, remained practically bimetallic, England in all her vagaries was kept tolerably straight by the double standard of France, which preserved the ratio of gold and silver throughout the world, until the link was broken in 1873.

"I regret the hasty and premature action of Sir Rivers Wilson (Delegate of Great Britain), in his declaration of uncompromising hostility to the double standard, as in a measure prejudging the whole case before an opportunity could be allowed for its fair discussion in full conference. . . . The quasi-official declaration of the honourable Delegate's views not only precludes any advance by the other Powers towards the solution of the difficulty, but places Great Britain in the invidious position of being the principal, if not the sole, obstacle to a satisfactory solution of the difficulties under which we labour."

The Delegates of most of the Powers were strongly in favour of re-establishing the joint standard, but they declined to enter into an agree-

ment in which England would not join. The Conference therefore broke up without arriving at any definite result, and to Great Britain belongs the indelible disgrace of having hindered a movement which would have saved the whole of the civilized world from the evils which have been so well described in the paper.

In 1893, the year in which India changed her monetary standard, I was invited by the American Academy of Political Science to contribute a paper on Indian Currency, in which I predicted the Indian gold peril in the following terms :

"There will be a large demand for imported gold to replace the silver hoards, which have no longer any fixed value as measured by the new standard of currency, and are consequently not available as a safe medium for hoarding ; so that, although it is improbable that the change in Indian currency will *directly* increase the already too heavy demands for gold, it will do so *indirectly* through the medium of the hoards. It remains to be seen how the action of the Government of India will influence the United States in taking measures which may intensify the scramble for gold, which has already told so disastrously on the industrial interests of England. . . . It was not with a light heart that India adopted this policy. The Viceroy, in introducing the Bill, said : 'We have borne long enough with the state of things which is becoming more intolerable with every year that passes, and which, in all human probability, would have become more intolerable every year. . . . We are, however, too well aware of the intricacy of the problem, and the risks attending such an experiment as that we are about to try, to take this momentous step with a light heart.'

"The Government of India can scarcely be blamed, even if their selection has been wrong. It has been narrowed down to a choice of two evils of great magnitude : the *policy of uncertain drift* or the *policy of despair*. The bolt has fallen, and he would be a rash man who would venture to predict the results of this measure. . . . The 'bunias' (the money-lending and banking population) have a very keen appreciation of any monetary changes, and will not be slow to turn them to their own advantage, and to the disadvantage of the masses in India. The currency of India is now in a condition which is a complete violation of all sound principles of currency. It consists of a huge inconvertible token coinage—practically a gold standard, without a gold currency or even a gold reserve. The rupee circulates at a value much above its intrinsic value as bullion. It is no longer International money. The change in the value of the rupee inflicts a cruel injury on an enormous class in India—namely, on those who have hoarded silver ornaments (a practice almost universal). . . . The double standard is in perfect accord with sound economic laws, but the artificial raising of the value of the rupee is opposed to them, and, being a violation of all monetary laws, must sooner or later end in disaster. It is that forced elevation of the

value of money which Bentham, in his 'Principles of the Civil Code,' denounced as a 'fraudulent bankruptcy' and a 'foolish fraud.' "

As pertinent to this question, I enclose copy of diagrams which I submitted to the Brussels Monetary Conference, showing how the double standard of France maintained the parity of gold and silver at the relative ratio.

During the first seventy-three years of the nineteenth century the conditions tending to disturb the ratio were enormous ; yet France, almost single-handed, not only maintained the ratio, but produced the wonderful effect (shown in the diagrams) of steadying the relative price of the two metals in mono-metallic countries, notwithstanding the enormous variations in the production of the two metals. There was no serious divergence from the ratio of 1 to 15½, so long as the Bi-metallic Law of France was in force ; but immediately the mintage of silver was restricted in France, a divergence resulted, which was altogether unparalleled in the history of the civilized world.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH.

MR. REGINALD MURRAY said that he had not come prepared to take any part in the debate. He was inclined to think that the figures given in the paper did not express exactly what they were intended to do, and he thought the results drawn from those figures were inaccurate. He thought that one statement of the lecturer was somewhat exaggerated. The lecturer said : "It remains to say a word as to breakers ahead. The Indian exchange standard is, of course, absolutely at the mercy of India's future balance of trade." That was exactly what the system inaugurated in 1893 and completed in 1899 made provision against. He did not think the lecturer was justified in saying that the Indian exchange standard was absolutely at the mercy of India's future balance of trade. It was shown in 1903 that by the use of that very much defamed exchange standard the Government were perfectly able to maintain the rate of exchange. As to inflation, there was not a single rupee of currency in India which was issued for other than value received, therefore it was only a supply to meet the demand. He did not think there could be any inflation of currency under those circumstances ; they might say that more rupees had been coined than were actually wanted for trade purposes, but the surplus had gone back to the Indian Treasury or into hoards. He certainly thought that between 1893 and 1898 some of the members of the Government took unnecessary fright as to the condition of the inflation of rupees ; but their proposal to melt down rupees as a means of contraction met with unanimous opposition from the trading community of India. Mr. Frewen had imposed upon Simla a heavy responsibility—a responsibility for all the credit that had been issued in London. No doubt credit had been issued very largely, perhaps too largely ; but how could he say that the Simla Government were responsible for the issue of credit in London ? It seemed to him that that was taking a very exaggerated view.

MR. SUNDARAM IYER thought they had had too much discussion about currency in India and in England, and also from the East India Association, and said if the discussion had been postponed for some time till the Report of the Commission was published they would perhaps have had something to quarrel about. It seemed to him the question was one which neither the Commission nor the Government of India could ever solve. The position in India was due to a state of affairs which arose after 1893. The problem was simple, and he would put it to them and leave it for them to decide. If gold was to be minted in India to satisfy a small section of the trading community, then a large class of the population wanted a free mint for silver—it would not be fair to offer bread to one and stone to the other. In that case they were reduced to bimetallism, and how they were going to work the thing out was what they had to solve. If they continued the present system for any length of time, there were, he foresaw, dangers ahead. Mr. Reginald Murray had said it would not affect the balance of trade. He was afraid that in time to come, considering the prospects of opium, cotton, sugar, and indigo, there would be very little to export, and if the balance of trade was against them there would be large sums in gold to be paid. That was likely to be a real danger. In his opinion, if the mints were thrown open to gold they should also be thrown open to silver.

MR. WEBB said there were few subjects of greater importance than currency; it closely affected everybody, and if anything that Mr. Frewen had said or done had promoted consideration of that most important subject, they ought to be grateful to Mr. Frewen. (Applause.) After hearing the paper, however, he confessed to a feeling of great disappointment. The lecturer had stated that his object was to arouse discussion and bring forth new facts. Apparently he had been compelled—no doubt owing to the limited time at his disposal—to abbreviate his history, and, what was still more to be deplored, he had not himself contributed one single new fact to the discussion! He would like to recall one or two historical facts that Mr. Frewen had omitted. A century ago all the leading nations of the world were freely using both gold and silver as money; but the inconvenience of exchanging these metals internationally was so great that an effort was made to overcome those difficulties, and Great Britain was the first country to discover the way, by demonetizing silver and adopting a gold standard pure and simple. That was in 1816. Others nations soon followed. At the end of the Franco-Prussian War, Germany, partly in the hope of establishing a first-class currency on the English model and partly in the hope of crippling France, also demonetized silver and adopted gold. By now, practically every leading nation in the world had gone over to gold, and India was but following in the world's footsteps. Why Mr. Frewen should ignore what the rest of the world had done, and single out India's passage to gold as an "experiment," he could not imagine. There was no novelty about India's action. In consequence of the Western world's demonetizing silver and adopting gold as their chief metallic monetary tool, a very curious movement was set up, which no one at the time foresaw, and which was that the tremendous demand for gold

steadily increased its value. Prices of commodities commenced to fall. Several Royal Commissions were appointed to inquire into the matter. The price of silver fell just as other prices fell, and created a great deal of inconvenience to silver-using countries. The great problem that presented itself to the world at that time was the fact that prices of commodities were everywhere continuously falling. Far-seeing men said that the only way out of that difficulty was to start freely using silver again as money. In this way the supplies of metallic money would be increased. That was the policy advocated by the Bi-metallic League, and it appeared to him at the time to be sound and sensible. In those days the Government of India had to decide how to meet their increased expenditure, arising from the fact that each sovereign of their annual £16,000,000 of debt cost them over 16 rupees instead of 10 rupees as formerly. In his opinion they took the wrong course of trying to screw up the value of the rupee artificially, instead of increasing their revenues locally and leaving the Indian mints open to the free coinage of silver. Since those days great changes in the world's monetary conditions had occurred. In the last twenty-five years there had been a great development in banking, especially in the manufacture and use of paper-money. This addition to the world's supplies of money was a fact which should be kept carefully in mind. Another fact was the important discovery of the cyanide process of gold extraction, by means of which much gold that had previously been considered unobtainable was now available. The third most important new fact was the discovery of the Rand Mines. The output of gold from South Africa alone had eclipsed the whole world's output of gold in the days of the Californian and Australian discoveries. He had personally visited South Africa and Australia in order to see and study the gold situation. He had asked himself—What was going to be the result of that phenomenal output of gold? He foresaw and predicted that the value of money must depreciate—that with such a vast output of gold the pendulum must surely swing round, and gold prices all the world over must rise. This would mean a great stimulus to company-promoting, and enormous demands for capital largely in excess of all previous records. The depreciation of gold—*i.e.*, the rise in prices—would spell considerable labour unrest; there would be strikes and industrial anarchy. That was the inevitable outcome of the world-wide fall in the value of gold. All those things he had often written about. All those things had occurred. Prices were going up, and a sovereign now bought only what fifteen shillings bought a few years ago. In short, the general situation was now exactly the reverse of what it was twenty-five years ago, when the general fall in prices forced him to advocate the free manufacture of more silver money. What was to be done now to correct the injustices to all fixed wage-earners arising from the present rise in prices? What was to be done now to allay the labour unrest, the excessive company-promoting and credit-spinning? It seemed to him that what was wanted now was to drain off from Europe some of the excessive supplies of gold-money, and that India, which had been the saviour of the world half a century ago, when prices were rising owing to the Californian and Australian gold discoveries, would be the saviour of the world again

in the present crisis. And so, for his part, he urged India to take advantage of the situation and establish for herself a gold currency.

Other countries had imported large quantities of gold, but Mr. Frewen had not said of them that they were ruining London's stockbrokers and money-dealers. Mr. Frewen pointed to India as though India were committing a crime in taking in gold the money justly due to her. Surely such an argument was ridiculous! At that moment India was, in fact, preventing the very crisis which Mr. Frewen said he could foresee on the horizon. If Mr. Frewen's crisis did come, it would be because India had not checked the mania of excessive credit-spinning and company-promoting by withdrawing sufficient gold! Mr. Frewen had concluded by saying that if only other nations would be "sensible," and commence coining hundreds of millions of ounces of silver, we should all be saved! Mr. Webb thought the leading nations of the world might be relied upon to act quite sensibly in this matter. They were not, in his opinion, in the least likely, by heavy coinages of silver, to encourage a further fall in the value of money, further rises in the prices of commodities, which would mean further grave labour troubles, further excessive company-promoting, and further falls in all gilt-edged, fixed-interest-bearing securities, with the inevitable financial crisis that would arise from a general overdoing of the financial stimulus. He was quite content to leave this further-silver-coining idea to the discretion of the leading nations of Europe, including thereamongst the peoples and bankers of the United Kingdom.

LORD REAY: Ladies and gentlemen, Lord Rosebery in a recent speech said that as he grew older he was less inclined to speak. I am bound to say I entirely agree with him, and if ever there was an occasion on which I should have liked to remain silent, it is on this occasion; but the matter is so important, and it would be very discourteous to my friend Mr. Moreton Frewen if I abstained from saying something, that you will allow me, although by no means an expert, to give you a very few observations. I am very sorry that I have not, as the last speaker evidently had, the prophetic vision, which enabled him, years ago, to foresee what the situation would be at the present moment. It seems to me that what the past has to teach us is to be extremely cautious and moderate in approaching a very complex problem. No one could have foreseen twenty years ago, and I do not think anyone did foresee, that there would be such an abundance of gold production; that instead of prices going down, as they were then going, now prices in gold are going up—that is to say, the value of gold has been diminished. Who can guarantee that that situation will be permanent? Who can guarantee that the mines in South Africa, and other mines, will continue to give us the quantity of gold which we are getting at this moment, and that the cost of production will not be increased? I am not prepared to say that silver must be absolutely discarded. I think it is as well to realize that nature has obviously provided us with the two metals in order that, when either the one becomes rare or the other is too abundant, we should redress the balance.

I think it is very much to be deplored that the situation which originally existed—gold for the West and silver for the East—has been set aside. I

think if we could have kept the mints in Europe open to a free supply of gold, and kept the mints of the East open to a free supply of silver (Hear, hear), a certain relation between the two metals would have been maintained without the makeshift, which is always open to certain risks of the Government adjusting the situation by closing the mints. (Hear, hear.) That undoubtedly, to anyone who is a free-trader, is a situation which one must regret. At the present moment it must be admitted that the object which the Government had in view has been attained. It is undoubtedly a fact that stability in the rate of exchange has been attained, and therefore it would be unfair not to pay our tribute of respect to those who contemplated that being the result. But the question is, Whether the only object as regards the currency is to have a fixed rate of exchange? I think there are other considerations which cannot be overlooked. There are, as has been pointed out, the interests of the natives of India with regard to their silver hoards, their payments of land revenue, their debts, which cannot be ignored.

I regret that this paper has not been read after publication of the Report of the Commission instead of before. I suppose my friend Mr. Moreton Frewen intends this paper to be studied by the members of the Commission which is now sitting. I hope that we may have another paper read after the Report is issued. I should be glad again to hear Mr. Webb on the subject, and I hope that Mr. Moreton Frewen will then be the protagonist on the other side. I regret that I do not see—I wish I could see—any prospect of an understanding being arrived at between the various Powers, as this matter can only be satisfactorily settled by an international agreement. Our Government certainly—that we may depend upon—will not give up the gold standard, and Germany will certainly not give it up. As regards the Latin Union, under the present circumstances I do not think that you can get them to open their mints to silver; but undoubtedly the fact that the Latin Union still has an immense amount of silver available is a point that we must not lose sight of. Under present circumstances of the money market, and in view of the fact that in the past many opinions and many prophecies that have been entertained had to be set aside, it will be as well, as I have said, to be extremely careful in handling so delicate and intricate a problem. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR JAMES WILSON said: At this late hour I shall not trouble you with all the calculations I have made. I think it would be a good thing to check some of the speaker's figures, but at the moment I will be content with giving my conclusions, as I have stated them here. At the outset of his interesting paper, Mr. Moreton Frewen invites his critics to be "brutally frank." I hope I shall not be "brutal" in my remarks, but he will pardon me if, for the sake of brevity and clearness, I am somewhat curt.

The main burden of his paper is that by closing the mints in 1893 to the unrestricted coinage of silver, the Indian Government inflicted enormous loss on the people of India, and I propose to examine the reasons he gives for this conclusion, with the sole object of arriving at the truth.

He quotes Mr. Harrison's estimate that some years ago the silver hoards of India amounted to 2,000 million ounces, or one-fifth of all the known

silver in the world. I accept this estimate, provided it is taken to mean all the silver in India at the time, including rupee coins used in currency. Now an ounce of silver weighs 480 grains, while a rupee weighs 180 grains, so that if the whole of that 2,000 million ounces had been turned into rupees, they would have made 5,300 million rupees, and if you divide that amount by 300 million as the then population of India, you find it gives 18 rupees per head instead of the 26 rupees per head estimated by Mr. Frewen, as the average amount in rupees of the value of the silver in India per head of population when the mints were open.

He says the closing of the mints annihilated this mass of wealth and that in a bad famine its value would dwindle to 6 rupees per head. Now the statistics of import and export show that in the last seventy years India has absorbed well over 2,000 million ounces of silver, and as silver is not a perishable commodity and there must have been a large quantity of silver in the country before that, it seems safe to estimate that there is, at the present moment in India, at least 2,500 million ounces of silver (about one-fifth of all the silver in the world). The statistics of coinage show that there must now be in India 2,500 million coined rupees, weighing over 900 million ounces, and each of them, of course, still of the value of a rupee each. This leaves 1,600 million ounces in uncoined bullion and ornaments. The present price of silver in London is about 27d. per ounce = about 10d. per rupee weight, and the present price of silver in Bombay is about 68 rupees per 100 tolas (*i.e.*, rupee-weights), or about 11 annas per rupee. So that the 1,600 million ounces of uncoined silver in India is at its present market-price worth 2,800 million rupees. Adding to that the 2,500 million coined rupees, we find that the stock of silver now in India is at present prices worth 5,300 million rupees or about 17 rupees per head of the present population of 315 millions, instead of the 6 rupees mentioned by Mr. Frewen.

The reason why the value per head of the silver in India comes out almost exactly the same as before the closing of the mints is that since that date—*i.e.*, in the last twenty years, India has gone on absorbing silver at even a faster rate than before, and during that period actually absorbed 1,000 million ounces (or one-third of the world's total production of silver during these twenty years), of this amount about 300 million ounces were imported by the Government for purposes of coinage, but about 700 million ounces were imported for private purposes. This must have cost the people the equivalent of about 90 million pounds sterling, and surely, if they had found that the value of their existing hoards of silver had been "annihilated," they would not have gone on spending this enormous sum on more silver, to be added to those hoards, instead of using it to buy gold or goods or anything else they wanted.

Mr. Frewen says the price of uncoined silver in India would fall in time of famine. But that price is determined in India, as elsewhere, by the world-price of silver and is very slightly affected by a local or even wide-spread famine. As for his case of the headman in Allahabad who, in 1897, took away from his stricken folk silver ornaments weighing 2,000 tolas (*i.e.*, rupee-weights) and brought them back only 600 rupees—in that year,

the London price of silver was much what it is now, and the price in India generally was about 10 annas per tola, so that the headman should have got at least 1,200 rupees for his 2,000 tolas and somebody must have cleared 600 rupees profit out of the transaction.

Mr. Frewen's remarks give the impression that he thinks the rate of interest charged by moneylenders on loans to peasants has been raised by the closing of the mints from something like 1 per cent. per month to from 3 to 8 per cent. per month. That is not the case. In most parts of India anyone can still borrow on a deposit of silver ornaments at 1 per cent. per month or less, though, of course, he will not be able to borrow about their weight in rupees as he did before, because, owing to the appreciation of the rupee in value, a tola of silver is now only worth 10 annas instead of a rupee as before. The rate of interest charged by moneylenders varies greatly in different parts of India from about 1 per cent. to about 3 per cent. a month (unless in exceptional cases), and perhaps average about 2 per cent. per month, or, say, 20 per cent. per annum for the whole of India. There is no reason to suppose that the rate of interest has risen generally since the closing of the mints or that it could be affected to any appreciable extent by that action. It depends upon the relation between the demand for and the supply of capital of all kinds available for loan.

Time will not allow me to correct all Mr. Frewen's mistakes in figures and in history, but I may point out that while he gives the impression that the fall in the exchange value of silver is due mainly to the closing of the Indian mints, the fact is that in 1892, *before* the mints were closed, the price of silver in London had gone down from its old traditional rate of about 60d. per ounce to 40d., and the exchange-value of the rupee, which was then equal to the value of the silver in it, had consequently gone down from 24d. to 15d. The fall in the value of silver which has taken place since the mints were closed is only to a small extent, if at all, due to that action, and is mainly due to the supply of available silver having increased faster than the effective demand. The fall would have taken place almost as rapidly had the mints remained open, and the rupee would now have been worth less than 1s., and the rupee prices of all commodities in India would have been at least 30 per cent. higher than they are.

He says prices in India have advanced in the last six years at least 40 per cent.; but, so far as my knowledge goes, that is not even approximately true, as will no doubt be seen from the Report on Prices in India, shortly, I understand, to be published. The truth is that, measured not in rupees, but in gold, the value of India's export trade has increased from £71,000,000 in 1893 to about £160,000,000 last year—that is, it has more than doubled—a satisfactory fact in itself, even although the world's trade may have shown a similar increase.

In comparing the increase in the production of gold with the increase in the value of the exports of the chief commercial nations, he forgets that, unlike most commodities, gold is not a perishable article, and all new gold produced is added to the existing world's stock, and makes a permanent addition to the world's supply of gold.

He complains that since 1893 successive finance in India members have adopted changing policies. But the truth is that the main object of the currency policy in India in closing the mints, and ever since has been, to maintain the value of the rupee as a token coin at 16d., or one-fifteenth of the gold in a sovereign, and that policy has been eminently successful. The exchange value of the rupee has remained almost exactly at that figure for the last fifteen years, and there is very little danger that it will ever fall appreciably below that rate even in times of severe financial crisis, especially if the Government of India will strengthen the position by refusing to coin any more rupees for the next ten years.

There is one point on which I am glad to find I can agree with Mr. Frewen, and that is the effect of India's currency transactions on the trade and population of China, where prices are still fixed in silver. After India ceased coining rupees in 1893, the price per ounce of silver in London went down to 24d. in 1902. It then rose to 31d. in 1906 and 30d. in 1907, no doubt largely due to the fact that the Government of India made large purchases of silver in those years. It then suddenly fell to about 24d. in 1908-10, when the Government of India ceased buying silver, and rose again the other day when it began to buy again. These fluctuations must have been very embarrassing to all engaged in trade with China and in China, and must have had a seriously unsettling effect on the prosperity of the masses in China, where, as in the rest of the world, local prices of most commodities of export and import are determined largely by the world's gold prices. If the Government of India thinks it must continue to buy at times more silver for purposes of coinage, it should, out of consideration for the traders and the poorer classes in China, look ahead and endeavour to spread its demand for silver equally over a number of years, so as to avoid helping to cause such violent fluctuations in the gold price of silver.

With regard to the incident of the Allahabad headman who had got 2,000 tolas weight of silver ornaments, and who only succeeded in getting 600 rupees on the price of the silver at that time, he should have brought back 1,200 rupees. I think if I had been there at the time I should have asked that headman to explain what had become of the other 600 rupees he ought to have got for them!

For the reasons given in the paper on "Indian Currency Policy," which you will find in the *Journal* of this Association for July, 1911, I think that the closing of the mints in India was one of the boldest, most statesman-like, and most beneficent steps ever taken by a responsible Government, and that it conferred enormous benefits on the people of India, and especially on the wage-earning and salaried classes, with very little injury to any class. Mr. Frewen thinks otherwise. But what is his remedy for the disastrous state of things he pictures. It is that three or four commercial nations should purchase for their joint account some 8 million ounces a month, and advance the price paid, say, 2d. per ounce each year, until the bullion value of the rupee rises to 11 rupees to the sovereign—i.e., artificially raise the price of silver in London, which is about 27d. per ounce, to 58d., more than double. Now, even at its present price,

the purchase of 8 million ounces of silver a month would mean an expenditure of nearly £11,000,000 per annum. Who is going to find this large sum annually, and what are the purchasing nations going to do with the silver when they have bought it? It would, for the most part, accumulate uselessly in their treasury vaults, as it did in America under the operation of a somewhat similar arrangement. Then these buyers are to raise the price they offer by 2d. per ounce each year, which would mean, on the present annual production of silver (about 180 million ounces), an excess price of £1,500,000 the first year, £3,000,000 the second year, and so on. All this extra profit above their present cost of production would go to the owners of the silver mines in the world, and would enormously swell their dividends and the value of their shares. It would also, of course, greatly stimulate the production of silver, and add to the embarrassment of dealing with the accumulations of silver not required by the law of demand and supply. There does not, however, seem much likelihood of finding any of the leading commercial nations ready to adopt Mr. Frewen's proposal, and we need not rush to put our money into silver mines, nor need we have any fear for the future of the rupee or for the prosperity of the people of India.

The CHAIRMAN: Time now runs on, and I must call upon Mr. Frewen to reply.

The LECTURER: Ladies and gentlemen, I should very much have liked to reply fully to my critics, but you will remember that practically the criticisms have opened up the entire wide horizon of the currency question; therefore I must be very brief. The last speaker has remarked that it is very unlikely that the Governments of the West will adopt the suggestion as to raising the exchange I have advanced to-night. Unfortunately my paper was not in the hands of the audience, and thus the proposal is not properly understood. The proposal does not originate with me, but was the unanimous recommendation of the distinguished Gold and Silver Commission of 1888—namely, that if silver was purchased to replace the half-sovereign in our currencies and small notes were issued, based on silver bullion in reserve, the new demand for silver that would be created would stop the fall in the price of silver, and bring about a rise. Again, Mr. Alfred Rothschild—and no doubt Sir James Wilson will recognize him as an authority—advanced this proposal—namely, large international purchases of silver at the Brussels Monetary Conference in 1893, and it was extremely well received by the delegates present. Thus I am advancing nothing new. Sir James said, further, that if the price of silver were advanced twopence an ounce each year, it would add to the profits, and thus stimulate silver mining. Seeing that silver is very largely a bye-product of copper and lead mines, the production of copper and lead might be so stimulated that the price of both those metals would be likely to fall, possibly even more than the amount of the profit derived from the silver. These are important economic points, which cannot be discussed in five minutes.

There have been some objections to my figures. The chairman, to my surprise, remarked that the absorption of gold by India for two years had been only 36 millions. I must say I err in good company, for the

official figures differ enormously from Sir Arthur Lawley's statement. Messrs. Samuel Montague, in their Trade Circular this year, remarked that whereas the production of gold from South Africa was 33 to 34 millions, the absorption by India was well over 30 millions sterling last year. There is a great deal of gold that the Government of India has bought but not exported, and which is lying to her account at this moment in London, and which is a part of her absorption just as much as if she had moved it to Calcutta. I am sorry that the argument I advanced about the great injury to the peoples of India by closing the mints has not been replied to by anyone on the facts advanced. If, after all, by closing the mints we do starve our people wholesale, such a matter goes to the root of our rule over subject peoples, and an incident like that at Allahabad will not be disposed of by a mere remark that possibly the headman of the two villages fell amongst thieves. I was sitting in the Senate gallery at Washington when a letter was read out from a reputable Calcutta merchant, Mr. Forbes Mitchell, in which he declared that he knew that, during the famine of 1897, this headman had been sent to Allahabad with all the bangles and ornaments of his two villages, weighing 2,000 tolas. The man had been on the same errand before, and had always got a rupee for a tola as long as the mints were open; but on this occasion he found no buyers for silver, the mints being closed, and the only offer he got was for 600 rupees for his 2,000 tolas weight. This he was forced to accept. I am told now the world's price of silver was twice that at that time. I readily admit this. But there is the whole gravamen of this charge against the Government of India. The market price of silver was indeed much higher, but the men who go with their bangles to purchase food have to go to the nearest little local town and sell for whatever they can get. In the old days, any local bank would purchase silver at its par value—a rupee for a tola. One speaker has remarked that we can very easily guess what happened to the balance of money he, the headman, ought to have got, the insinuation being that this poor messenger had walked off with the other 600. That is exactly what these poor villagers would suspect, and that is where I think the awful peril is: the seeds of distrust and unfair suspicion sown in every village community.

I claim that the Government of India knew at the time that the first line of defence in famine times was the bringing of bangles to the mints to be coined into rupees. If you look at the Mint reports during the great Bombay famine of 1877, you will find the progress of this famine was marked by the pressure of the ornaments of the natives upon the mints, and the reports state that four crores of rupees were coined into rupees during the progress of that famine at the Bombay mint alone. It is the most remarkable feature in connection with these radical currency experiments that responsible people refuse to consider this argument at all, though the facts stare them in the face. As long as a rupee was given free coinage at the mint, any tola was practically a rupee, and the security of the silver was just as good in India as gold is to-day here. Yet in that period of awful stress, when this headman had to exchange ornaments for rupees, he was only able to get 600 rupees for his 2,000 tolas.

People are talking about a bank for India. What security have the banks to loan on, if it is not the silver which the people have accumulated. That and that alone is the security available. These poor fellows so soon as they got rupees melted them down and shackled them on their limbs for safe keeping, having the promise of the Government that at any time through free coinage they could reconvert a tola into a rupee.

When I remarked that 26 rupees *per capita* was the endowment of India, and that in the event of a widespread famine this would no longer realize 6 rupees, I meant that if over a large famine area silver was brought in for a forced sale, the tola of silver instead of fetching a rupee might not fetch even an anna. Silver under such conditions could not be sold at all. These are the points we have to consider. Our own premier security here is consols. The premier and indeed the only security of 300 millions of the people of India was their silver bullion which was always before reconvertible into rupees. That security we have absolutely shattered, and over its ruin people come here and talk of a gold standard and a gold currency for India. What is the currency of a country for, if it is not for the people of a country? Mr. Sundaram Iyer, who comes here from the Government of Madras to give evidence before the Commission, brings the statement of the banks, and that statement shows that of 100 rupees worth of business done by a bank, 70 per cent. is done in silver certificates, 25 per cent. in rupees, and the other 5 per cent. in sovereigns, which are handed over to local shroffs to melt up for jewellery. And that is called a gold standard and currency.

I have read Mr. Webb's evidence before the Commission, and I have read the evidence of the other witnesses. Mr. Webb is entirely alone in his view. Mr. Webb has an interesting point that these sovereigns which we need here so urgently to reduce our own bank rate to something reasonable, are set doing excellent work in the Punjab. There is no evidence whatever that this is so. I myself gave evidence before the Commission, and my reply is, if you are throwing tens of millions of sovereigns into India, someone no doubt sees these sovereigns before they get to the native hoarder. As these sovereigns get out there, no doubt they are in great demand for hoarding to replace the discredited rupee. As to the rates of interest which are charged, when I was in India last, I found that the general lending rate on silver bullion, silver being the basis of credit, was 1 per cent. per month. Witness after witness of the highest credit has come before the Commission to declare that usury rates are to-day from 3 to 8 per cent. per month. The point is that silver used to be a perfect banking security, because the shroff could send it to the nearest mint for free coinage, and that very fact kept down the rate of interest. But to-day silver is a very inferior chattel-mortgage-security, where previously it wanted nothing but the stamp of the mint to convert it into money. Mr. Webb has said we are all grumbling that India is drawing great masses of gold, and he says why do not we grumble at the United States drawing our gold. Mr. Webb knows what the reply is to this perfectly well. We say that gold, considering its great value in exchange in the case of nations with a highly organized system of exchanges, comes and goes between countries, and there is no reason why it should not

come and go freely. If 10 millions or 20 millions of gold leaves London for New York, what happens? Does anyone imagine there is going to be a panic in consequence? No; the effect is to raise the general level of prices in America, and if prices rise there that stimulates our exports of merchandise to the United States. Thus our trade balance improves, the exchanges turn in our favour, and the gold comes back to us. It comes and goes just as blood in the arteries of the human body, but not so the gold which goes to India. That never comes back. Consider what we have paid for this money (I include, for instance, in the case of the Africa gold the cost of the South African War). The cost of producing gold is immense, and the idea, as Mr. Samuel Montague says, of taking gold out of one hole in South Africa and pitching it into a thousand holes in India is a scandal.

Whether the Chinaman can buy our goods to-day depends on whether he can buy our gold exchange. He has to buy a bill on New York or London before he can buy our goods. He has got now to give near 8 taels for a sovereign where he formerly gave 3 taels, and meantime wages in his country have not risen considerably, if even at all. Every fall in the price of silver therefore enables China to export things which she could not export before. The great fall of silver in 1908, 1909, and 1910, enabled China to export every sort of thing—"pigs, pig-tails, and pig-iron." The pig-iron trade across the Pacific is now handed over to Hankau as a result of that great fall in exchange. Is it any wonder that China has now constructed great steel rolling-mills at Hankau. These are not problems to be dismissed in a light and airy fashion by telling us that wisdom will die with the Indian Finance Minister. I am amazed that my friend should, when in India, have walked over this great mine of human interest, and have come back with the conviction that India has benefited by this miserable tampering with her currency. The trade expansion during all these years of the other commercial nations has been far greater than is the case in India. Everything points to the fact that we have done a most deplorable deed in demonetizing the silver in which 300 millions of people have accumulated their thrift and for hundreds of years.

I admit the enormous disadvantage one is suffering under when discussing these questions. The points which appear to be truisms to me, and to every economic student of these questions, when one advances these before an audience such as this, well-intentioned and intelligent, are regarded as novel and impossible. As in the case of Sir James Wilson just now, Sir James turns a suggestion of mine almost into ridicule, which after all is not mine but dates back to the unanimous recommendation of a Royal Commission in 1888. No one will give any real consideration to this problem, and thus it is that an issue of universal concern—our money laws—is absolutely running loose.

On the proposition of Sir Manchcrjee Bhownaggee a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Lecturer and to the Chairman, and carried with acclamation.

The Chairman suitably replied on behalf of himself and the Lecturer, and the proceedings terminated.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

— — —
TWO MONUMENTAL WORKS ON CHINA.

1. MISSION D'OILLONE: 1906-1909. ÉCRITURES DES PEUPLES NON CHINOIS DE LA CHINE. Quatre Dictionnaires Lolo et Miao-tseu. Paris: Ernest Leroux. Price 15 francs.

The very first word in this book is an acknowledgment of the generous subvention granted by the French *Parlement*, without the aid of which the lavish reproduction of these magnificent specimens of strange script would have been well-nigh impossible. Thus it is that France is once more found in the van of literary enterprise: however heavy her taxation and her responsibilities, she can always find the time to consider and the money to encourage all reasonable literary claims made upon the public chest by her illustrious sons. Even the Indian Government can find time and money to send out Dr. Stein on successive expeditions. The British Government in this literary race is still amongst the "also ran," but never "placed": everything is left to individual enterprise or specialist societies. Meanwhile a Prince of the Lolos—a nation covering the full area extent of France—has got so far as to own a printing-press, and possibly a judicious circulation of M. d'Ollone's vocabularies amongst that Prince's congeners may yet further promote the good cause, and definitely establish the Lolo language. Père Crabouillet of the *Missions Étrangères* was, according to our author, the first to discover the existence of Lolo writing in 1873; on p. 128 of his "Travels and Researches" (1882), the late Mr. E. C. Baber recounts how he obtained "from the French missionaries" (*i.e.*, in 1877 from Père Crabouillet) a considerable fragment of this Lolo writing, which he reproduces, with comments, in his "Travels." Since then a score or more of Lolo volumes have been deposited in various European museums and national libraries, France, of course, having the lion's share. Very little has been so far done to decipher these precious manuscripts on a sustained and wholesale scale, nor are the results particularly encouraging to *dilettanti*, for the majority of Lolo documents seem to be mere genealogies, prayers, and ceremonial forms, though according to our author there are known to be in hiding important works on "The Flood, and Dispersion of

Races," "Natural History," "Geography," etc. Père Vial, who is still at work in Yün Nan amongst the Lolos, published in 1898 a most interesting study of their manners and customs, language, literature, etc., so far as he then knew these subjects. Then there is Mr. Augustine Henry, late of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, and now holding some botanical appointment at one of our older Universities: he was, and presumably still is, the happy possessor of a most valuable mass of material, personally gathered, and closely connected with the Lolos. On successive occasions during the past ten years the present reviewer has endeavoured to induce him to disgorge this for the benefit of the public, or allow others to do so for him; but so far in vain: possibly our Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved by the present appeal, will see fit to arrange with one or more of his colleagues to devote a wee trifle, out of the sturdy millions he is wringing from us, to Lolo research in general, and to Mr. Augustine Henry's documents in particular. Lastly, the obscure individual who now pens these lines has from the very beginning had his own private interest in Lolo, and is only waiting for a Champollion to deliver the necessary oracle in the shape of a key in order to translate the two considerable Lolo volumes in his own possession. He had the honour to succeed the late Mr. Baber in Sz Ch'wan thirty-four years ago: he had also the pleasure of living with Père Crabouillet at the summer retreat of Sha-p'ing Pa for a week or two in January-February, 1881, and there reading over the original draft of Baber's "Travels and Researches." Baber's old writer and servants were also at his disposal for a whole year, and one of the Lolo Princes, evidently mistaking him for the more worthy Baber, at some time during this year sent him a present of a beautiful Lolo volume in silk (now deposited in one of our museums or libraries), of which, however, before its despatch to London a copy was first taken. In June, 1895, the (Indian) *Antiquary* published an article setting forth the above facts, and suggesting certain points in possible explanation of the Lolo system of writing: but these suggestions in any case did not carry very far; in fact, after all his vast labours, M. d'Ollone himself now confesses that, even now, *l'étude de l'écriture lolo ne peut conduire au déchiffrement certain de tous les documents, NI MÊME PEUT-ÊTRE D'UN SEUL*. So that we are not much "forrarder" than we were, though M. d'Ollone's splendid volume has given us a very valuable fillip, and he now for the first time at least sets us on the right track with definite business-like indications. There are, it seems, two sorts of Lolos, the Independent and the Mediatized; the former (apparently influenced by their Tibetan and Thai [Siamese] neighbours) write horizontally from right to left, whilst the latter (apparently influenced by their Chinese suzerains) write vertically from left to right. Thus exactly the same page can serve for both, except that the one binds his book at the top and turns up the leaves, whilst the other binds the book to the left and turns over from the right; as a rule only one side of the paper is used in each case. But the strange thing is that, though the words (*all* syllabic) are sometimes exactly the same in each case, the writer alters the "axis" of his writing, and can write the syllabic signs sideways as well as read them sideways or at any angle. Moreover, as there are various Lolo dialects,

the same syllables (even if pronounced in the same way) do not necessarily spell out the same idea. Besides, many syllables are apt to be written irregularly from homophones. Finally (possibly, it is now suggested, for jealous purposes of secrecy) many syllables (of which M. d'Ollone gives twenty-four specimens) *may* be deliberately written in twenty-four different ways *each*. One or two important, but short, stone inscriptions have, however, been discovered quite recently, in which the Chinese inscription appears side by side with the Lolo; but the Lolos are so jealous of these stone treasures that, even supposing a European know where they are, it is only at the risk of immediate assassination that an attempt can be made by either native or alien to copy them. It is to be noted that nothing is said of Lolo tones, which, however, probably exist, as in all Indo-Chinese tongues.

As to the Miao-tsz script which M. d'Ollone (not, however, without some confessed misgivings) thinks he has discovered for the first time, we are enabled to state most positively that it is largely in one degree or another almost purely running-hand Chinese, with a few barbarous curtailments and (possibly) importations from Lolo sources superadded. The distinguished author frankly tells us that he does not speak Chinese—a *fortiori*, of course, he does not write it—still less does he write or read the Chinese cursive forms. The present writer has from time to time published both Miao-tsz and Thai vocabularies, always taken down from natives on the spot concerned, and he has found that both peoples are by nature extremely intelligent; many Miao-tsz, indeed, have taken Chinese literary degrees. The celebrated Viceroy Ts'ên Yuh-ying was commonly reported to have been a pure Miao-tsz (the place-name and surname Ts'ên, though ancient, is almost unknown in modern China); and if that be so, his son, the cannibal ex-Viceroy "Shum" (Ts'ên Ch'un-huan), now enjoying asylum in Singapore as a political fugitive, must of course be more or less Miao-tsz too. Ts'ên is a Miao surname in the Sz-chou Fu part of Kwei Chou. Another point: it is evident that the intelligent Miao-tsz who wrote down M. d'Ollone's vocabulary for him under his own eyes wrote it with a steel pen, and not with a Chinese brush; hence the construction of the characters is stilted and lacking in flow. There are about 400 supposed Miao-tsz characters given in all. Anyone possessing an average knowledge of the Chinese script can see that Nos. 25, 26, 30, 106, 183, 184, 214-217, 224, 287, are purely Chinese characters fitted to native Miao tsz sounds, just as in old Japanese—and to a certain extent in modern—they were and are fitted to pure Japanese sounds. The numerals at the end (with the exception of *nen kao*, "twenty," which requires further explanation) are plainly the commercial Chinese numerals very slightly modified. The colours, Nos. 364-369, are running-hand forms of the corresponding Chinese characters; but it will be noted that the Miao-tsz, here and elsewhere, often seem to place a circle, or a curved line, or some other small mark, above, below, or at the side. This is possibly, as in Japanese and Korean, in order to mark a native termination, affix, or suffix; for instance, "black," No. 365, may be compared with "ink," No. 269. There are some cases where a Chinese character is used purely syllabically (instead of a character

bearing the sense) to express a Miao-tsz word. This also was a peculiarity of ancient written Japanese; for instance, the Miao-tsz syllable *ko* appears to mean "gold" (No. 32), "duck" (No. 226), "deaf" (No. 350), "prayer" (No. 370), and "good" (No. 371). In all these cases one or the other of the well-known shorthand forms of the Chinese character *kwo*, "to pass over," is used phonetically; and it is to be noted that in Hankow, Sz Ch'wan, and Kwei Chou, the Chinese themselves often, if not usually, pronounce it *ko* too. Quite a large number of the supposed Miao-tsz characters are purely "grass-hand" Chinese, only recognizable, however, by those who are in the habit of writing, or at least reading, the running hand. M. d'Ollone's Chinese friends, who either could not make these characters out at all, or who went far afield to ancient forms of 2,000 or 3,000 years ago for their contractions (thus betraying our author into wild historical speculation), could not have been very up-to-date scholars; or, again, the Chinese "radical" is either omitted or mutilated; or a purely Chinese sound is used (apart from the character); or there are other indications that either Chinese characters or Chinese sounds were in the unsophisticated Miao-tsz mind. Without going into a detailed justification for each individual case, the writer may call specific attention to Nos. 33, 35, 41, 42, 43, 48, 51, 72, 73, 88, 89, 95, 96, 98, 106, 108, 110, 112, 118, 120, 130, 137, 153, 158, 163, 164, 169, 171, 174, 181, 186, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 200, 205-208, 214, 220, 224, 225, 228, 238, 247, 248, 288, 290, 294-296 (*tang-nien*, *kin-nien*, *ming-nien*), 298 (*ts'ien-jih*), 308, 311, 320, 324, 325, 331, 333 (*ch'ih-nai*=drink milk), 335, 336, 337 (compare 171, *shên*=body), 341 (*puh-hao*=not well), 347 (*o-shi*=to void dung), 344 (*o-niao*=void urine), 347 (purely Chinese both in sound and in contracted writing), 350, 356 (=drink wine together), 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, etc. This large number most evidently, after a mere five minutes' cursory glance, are found to "savour" of pure Chinese in one way or the other. It is highly probable that a patient student would produce similar results with 95 per cent. of the rest. As to such conventional curtailments as a mere perpendicular stroke for the "radical" meaning "tree," even in Chinese a conventional curtailment for the complicated character *í*, "idea," is likewise a mere perpendicular stroke slightly hooked at each end, but on different sides.

In thus pointing out once for all how M. d'Ollone has got on to a false trail in the matter of Miao-tsz writing, we must not omit to congratulate him most heartily on having more than redeemed his error in the matter of Lolo.—E. H. PARKER.

2. *LANGUES DES PEUPLES NON CHINOIS DE LA CHINE.* By le Commandant d'Ollone, assisted by Captains De Fleurette and Lepage, and Lieutenant de Boyve. Price 15 francs.

This appears to be No. vi. of the *Mission* series, coming before the volume above reviewed, which is No. vii., though neither is marked as such on the cover, and both are in continuation of the first volume on *Mussulmans Chinois* noticed by the present critic in the *English Historical Review* of October, 1912, and also in the *Anglo-Russian Society's Journal* for 1912. As to vols. ii. to vi., they appear to be still in process of

preparation; we hope to see them before long. The volume now under notice gives tabulated lists of 328 important words, Miao-tsz, Lolo, Sifan, Mongol, etc.; forty-nine vocabularies in all, with a map showing the area of China covered within which these vocabularies have been collected. The whole of them are tabulated and arranged in such a way that specialists can make their comparison without inconvenient references from one page to the other. About thirty-two years ago the writer (*China Review*, 1881) took down a vocabulary of about 250 words from the mouths of certain intelligent Miao-tsz of Sung-k'an in Kwei Chou province; although this place is hundreds of miles distant from M. d'Ollone's preserve, it will be evident, to anyone who cares to compare the two, that nearly the whole of the words collected in 1881 can be matched with those collected in 1906; in many cases, even, the exact spelling has been closely followed by the two collectors, as, for instance, in *ndho-kou*, *ndo-k'ou*, "the back," and *plou-hou*, *plö-fou*, "hair." As in the case of the Lolo dialect, M. d'Ollone throughout omits all mention of the important tones, of which in Miao-tsz there are six, as was explained in 1881.

The Rev. E. C. Bridgman published a list of the Miao-tsz tribes in the *Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1859, and Mr. G. M. H. Playfair in the *China Review* followed in the same line quite independently in 1876; but, as M. d'Ollone states, the Chinese (from whose published books these two earlier authors also drew their inspiration) have always mixed up the Thai, Sifan, and other cognate tribes with the Chung-kia-tsz, Min-kia, and other Miao-tsz proper. In 1870 the Rev. J. Edkins in the *Chinese Recorder* published several articles upon and vocabularies of the Miao-tsz; but here, again, there was no clear distinction drawn between Miao-tsz proper and Lolos, etc. Mr. G. W. Clarke has some useful remarks, subject to the same qualification, in the *Chinese Recorder* for 1884. Mr. S. R. Clarke gives us some Miao-tsz folklore in the *Chinese Recorder* for 1899. In the *Chinese Recorder* for 1908 Mr. S. Pollard first made a clear distinction between the Nosu (Lolos) and the Miao-tsz, laying stress upon the fact that the latter had *no writing* of their own at all. In vol. xxxiii. of the *Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal*, Mr. George Edgar Betts gives us a very excellent account of social life amongst the Miao tsz, and shows that, if they ever had any records at all, Chinese characters were probably used to represent Miao-tsz sounds, which we have shown above to be the fact. In vol. xli. of the *Chinese Recorder* the Rev. W. C. Dodd gives an interesting account of the Thai tribes, as distinct from the Miao-tsz and Lolos, including also the *Tchawng* or *Tchwang*, as to whose identity M. d'Ollone seems in serious doubt. On p. 672 of vol. xl. of the *Chinese Recorder*, a specimen page for a new Miao alphabet was given, which would scarcely have been needed if the Hwa Miao tribe concerned had possessed a script of their own. Finally, in 1911, after prolonged residence among the Miao tribes, Mr. S. R. Clarke published an excellent little book called *Among the Tribes in South-West China*. He agrees with M. d'Ollone that the tongue of the Chung-kia-tsz at least shows them to be Thai rather than Miao provenance, and accordingly Ts'en

Yüeh-ying, who was, he says, a Chung-kia-tsz by origin, must have been more Siamese than Miao. However, specialists now have before them in the above references ample material for a feast of comparison and a flow of theory; it may be added that the present writer, the Rev. F. P. Gilman, and Rev. Carl Jeremiassen, contributed several papers to vols. xix. and xx. of the *China Review* upon the Muong languages and those of the so-called Loi tribes of Hainan, together with their supposed linguistical relation to the tongues of the Thai tribes of Annam, Siam, and South-West China. One list was sent to Mr. Hertz of Bhamo, now Deputy Commissioner at Myitkina, with a request that he would jot down the local Shan equivalents, the result being to establish a clear linguistical relationship between the Shans of Burma and the Loi of Hainan. M. d'Ollone's painstaking collections are a distinct step in advance: with French precision and logic he has clarified the true issues, and it now only remains for those whose tastes lie in this direction to go ahead and secure a decisive victory over ethnological and philological confusion.—E. H. PARKER.

3. ADHANDLUNGEN DES HAMBURGISCHEN KOLONIALINSTITUTS KÉNG-TSCHU-T'U. ACKERBAU UND SEIDENGEWINNUNG IN CHINA. By O. Franke, Dr. Phil., Professor of East Asian Languages and History. With 102 plates and 57 other illustrations.

The inexorable limitations imposed by an unyielding editor prevent the devotion to this handsome volume of space commensurate with its artistic merits. It is a work of the highest academic order, philosophically and historically, as well as artistically. It discusses the bond which, from ancient times till now, has indissolubly connected religion and agriculture in the Chinese mind; explains the ancient worship of the gods of grain and cultivation, with special reference to the theories developed in a recent publication of M. Ed. Chavannes, dealing with the worship of the Emperors at T'ai Shan; shows how the two ablest of the Manchu monarchs have done their full share in keeping up these noble traditions; and, in fine, furnishes us with a series of magnificent reproductions in the shape of imperial prefaces to agricultural works; specimens of calligraphy lavished upon works appertaining to the cultivation of the soil; interesting models of agricultural implements, with full instructions as to their manipulation and use; and, finally, copies of magnificent porcelain art specimens, conceived for and devoted to the contemplative illustration of agricultural duties. As everyone knows, in China agriculture has always ranked, socially, immediately after literature and the imperial civil commission, but before mere art, manufactures, commerce, industry, inventions, militarism and even before religion (*i.e.*, apart from its solemnity in state functions). To be an agriculturist is to be a freeman, and the equal "under heaven" of any man. Even the Emperors themselves have always gone through the form of ploughing a "lonely furrow" once a year, whilst the Empress has performed corresponding duties connected with looms and silkworms. The very mandarins, representing the Emperor, have had to perform analogous functions annually in their own districts

The plates and calligraphical reproductions are amongst the very finest ever published in a foreign volume; the price of the book is not marked, but it would be cheap at a guinea to a person combining art enthusiasm with a fair knowledge of the Chinese language and history. It is only of recent years that the Germans, who are usually the first in "intensive" study, have risen to their European reputation in Chinese affairs. With the exception of the Bavarian, Dr. Friedrich Hirth, who for a generation back has had almost a monopoly of sound German knowledge of Chinese (and who for some strange reason seems to have been correspondingly ignored by Berlin), there have been no shining lights at all to compare with the Chavannes and the Pelliot of up-to-date France. But of recent years Forke, Laufer, Sperlein, and now Franke, have forged gallantly to the front, and it may be said that Chavannes himself has achieved nothing better than the present *magnum opus* of Franke.—E. H. PARKER.

INDIA

4. SĀDHANĀ: THE REALIZATION OF LIFE. By Rabindranath Tagore.

We welcome another volume from the pen of Mr. Rabindranath Tagore. Mr. Tagore effectually silences his would-be critics by explaining in his preface "that the subject-matter of the papers published in this book has not been philosophically treated, nor has it been approached from the scholar's point of view." To us the chief value of "Sāadhanā" lies in its exposition of the attitude of mind of the forest-dwelling sages of ancient India—in the glimpses it affords of the poet-soul of the author of "Gitānjali." It is full of beautiful thoughts, expressed in the true poetical style of Rabi. But it attempts to do more than this. Mr. Tagore sets himself no less a task than to harmonize in the pages of "Sāadhanā" the Sankhya and the Vedānta Schools of Indian philosophy. He tells us in beautiful but not quite convincing language that the Dvaita and Advaita philosophies of India are but the two faces of the same coin, that Gyan Yoga, Karma Yoga, and Bhakti Yoga, each lead to the acquisition of this same golden sovereign, and differ only in expressing its face value in terms of gold, silver, or copper. No book of the scope and size of "Sāadhanā" can be expected to illumine the minds of ordinary mortals—mortals bred in "civilizations that have their cradles in brick and mortar"—on such subtle points of the great philosophies of the East. We are prepared to take much on trust from so high an authority as Mr. Tagore, and we willingly take our hats off to the ancient Rishis of India who evolved the lofty philosophy of "Aham Brhma Asmi" (I am God). But even Mr. Tagore's testimony is not enough to convince us that this spirit is manifested in the India of to-day. However, if "Sāadhanā," with the fame and reputation of its author behind it, succeeds in creating some interest among the English-speaking people in the study of the much-neglected philosophies of Ancient India, it will not have been published in vain—if it will correct, even to some extent, the present-day Hindu's "partiality for the internal world," and convince him that "true spirituality is calmly balanced in strength in the correlation of the within and the without," it will certainly have achieved no mean measure of success.

5. GLIMPSES OF INDIAN BIRDS. (London: *John Lane*.)

Anything Mr. Dewar writes on birds is interesting, and this book does not fail to be so. In it he, as usual, pleads for an ounce of observation pure and simple being worth a pound or two of Darwinism, Wallaceism, or any other "ism" which has become stiffened into inelastic zoological theories. He gives a very readable account of Indian birds from the Indian robin and the shikra to the vulture and the flamingo, and he writes with a zeal that shows a pure zoological interest. He tilts at the "protective colour" theories, and has some reason on his side, at least in the case of butterflies; and he is extremely observant of the curious habits of the hornbill and hoopoe, and of the numerous species of cuckoo which are so specially favoured by Nature.—A. F. S.

6. INDIAN NATIONALISM. By Edwyn Bevan. (*Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*)

This essay, which the author calls in his subtitle "an independent estimate," is a genuine attempt to read aright the signs of the times regarding Indian national aspirations, and incidentally Indian unrest. The writer admits that no one is responsible for the present state of things. "We English and Indians have to deal with a situation created by our fathers." He points out the conquest "by the sword," the introduction of the Western ideals, such as "patriotism" and "rebellion," to achieve "independence" (always applauded in the nations of the West), which have come with them. His "case for the Empire" gives a fair view of the good intentions of the governing body, but we think he forgets the moral depression into which most of the Indian peoples have been forced by long centuries of contest, and (in most cases) by foreign despotism. He views the nationalist as regarding Britain as putting his country in a "frame," and directing it as a surgeon does a paralyzed man. The antagonisms of Anglo-Indians and natives—even the educated ones—are touched upon, the difference between the moderate and extreme nationalists pointed out, and the author, while hoping for a better understanding between the rulers and ruled in the future, shows that, contrary to what some nationalists say, the possible withdrawal of British rule might only mean that India would fall into the hands of one or other European countries.—A. F. S.

7. DEW AND MILDEW: SEMI-DETACHED STORIES FROM KARABAD, INDIA.

By Percival Christopher Wren. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*) (Such of these stories as are not strictly true are founded on fact.)

Thus ingenuously runs the title-page of this remarkable book, of which we can safely say that it escapes that colourlessness which alone makes a book not worth reading; its good passages are delightful, and where it did not please us we found it very trying. We do not know whether it is a collection of short stories, or a novel, or a pretext for discussing sundry social and educational problems of India. From the title-page it would appear that the author wishes it to be regarded as a series of short stories. But the same set of *dramatis personæ* runs throughout the book, and the stories are strung together on a rudimentary plot, which is to the effect that there

was a haunted house at Karabad, and disaster overtook all who lived or had lived in it. On the other hand, each chapter is capable of standing by itself as a short story and a good one, and they are not printed as chapters, but as separate stories. On the whole, we think it is a novel in which the author has saved himself the trouble of writing connecting links to his episodes by printing them as separate stories. He thus justifies the slightness of the plot, and, moreover, gives himself the right to go off into political and similar questions, and point the moral by involving his characters in debates and difficulties connected with such questions, and not at all with the plot. There is no subtlety of character-drawing in the book; each character tends to being only an embodied virtue or vice, and they might quite well be given names after the manner of "The Pilgrim's Progress"; nevertheless they talk well, and the author succeeds in making them human, and we take an interest in them and their fortunes. Education and its problems are clearly the author's hobby, and there is much able writing in the book on this subject, largely in the form of conversations and speeches put into the mouths of the characters; nor does he disdain to mingle humorous passages with the serious ones, in spite of his evidently strong feeling on the subject. There is much variety in the different stories: some are gruesome, dealing with the haunted house, "Sudden-Death Lodge," above-mentioned; the daily life and amusements of an Anglo-Indian family give material for several stories which may be described as "pretty," in which the two children (to one of whom the book is dedicated) play the leading rôles; there is a riot scene, and a tiger-hunt, and an assassination or two. Several stories are occupied with the adventures of a low-caste demagogue from England, the villain of the piece, who comes to India on a visit to put it to rights; and others with the story of the life and work of Horatio Hamilton Hanis, schoolmaster, an heroic character. Faults of education in England and India are pilloried in Peter Perk and Hari De. We have some debonair subalterns, an insanely haughty and hard-working deputy commissioner, a bigoted chaplain, a fatuous volunteer officer, and a host of minor characters. The characters crop up in each other's stories in Arabian Nights fashion. The stories abound in random digressions, various foibles are pilloried in chance sentences, and one finds a laugh at every turn, blending curiously with the crusading spirit and gruesome groundwork of the book.—J. M. P.

8. A PEPYS OF MOGUL INDIA: 1653-1708. Translated by William Irvine. (*John Murray.*)

The above forms an exhaustive and very informing description of India in the times of the Moguls, an age which was contemporaneous with our own Cromwell. Nicolò Manucci, the author of these memoirs, was a Venetian, who ran away from home as a lad. He entered the train of an English nobleman, Lord Bellomont, and followed his protector in his journeys through Persia and India.

The descriptions of the countries and persons of those times are perhaps at times a little tedious, but they are full of information. The visit of the

hero of the narrative to the Shah, and the description of the meeting of Lord Bellomont with the Shah's chief Minister are excellent.

The efforts of the Englishman to extract from the Vizier money owed by the Shah to England are quite comical. The diplomatic tortuosity of the Oriental is amusingly illustrated, and its veracity will appeal to those that know the wily evasiveness of the Oriental.

Manucci followed his patron to India, and there found employment as an artilleryman. Knowing something of medicine, he is able to make a little money by practising the healer's art.

The descriptions of the Court of the Moghuls are very vivid and interesting. The Italian temperament of the author notices artistic details which the duller Saxon might pass over. Manucci experiences many entertaining and exciting adventures in the course of his wanderings. His descriptions of the English merchants of those days are interesting as affording a sidelight on the life of those times. He winds up in quite approved fashion by marrying a pious and virtuous English widow.

The Anglo-Indian will find this a delightful work, and the ordinary less favoured mortal cannot fail to find in it much curious and interesting information. On the whole, it is a book well worth reading.—H. O. W. M.

THE NAVY

The Changeless Sea

9. NAVAL WARFARE. By J. R. Thursfield, M.A. (*Cambridge University Press.*) Price 1s. net.

Under the above title Mr. Thursfield sets forth with great success, simplicity and brevity, the main lessons of history as touching upon sea-power and naval warfare. Utilizing many examples, the author demonstrates the unchanging characteristics of sound strategy, in spite of the constant changes in ships, weapons, means of propulsion, and the changes of tactics dependent thereon. Clear expositions are given of the true meanings of "sea-power," "command of the sea," "a fleet in being," and kindred expressions so often loosely and incorrectly used. To a great extent a clear understanding of the true meaning of these phrases elucidates the why and wherefore of the present dispositions of our fleets, their proper functions in war, the necessity for their present strength, and how it is that although some particular place, colony, or trade-route, may have no protecting ships within thousands of miles, yet it will be perfectly safe if the strategy is sound, and the protecting force of sufficient strength rightly placed.

As the author uses them, the terms "blockade" and "blockading" seem a little misleading; under modern conditions, the "blockade" of any locality sheltering a fleet, with its proper quota of torpedo craft and submarines, is quite impracticable; the best that can be done is to "watch," "mark," or "contain": probably the last of these words most nearly expresses the process.

The subject of invasion is carefully and soundly dealt with; the author, however, does not quite seem to appreciate the great change which increase

in size of the modern liner has wrought in carrying capacity, and the correspondingly lesser number of vessels necessary for transporting an invading force. This diminution in the number of transports will be most marked in the case of short voyages up to, say, thirty-six hours. The chances and prospects of success for a "bolt from the blue" invasion are somewhat lightly dismissed; but under modern conditions the chances do not appear to us so poor as the author seems to think. In any case, if recent examples are any guide, international morality is a weak reed to lean upon in this matter, and to your reviewer it appears as if the amount of morality extant at any moment varies inversely with the product of the magnitude, the temptation, and the stake to be gained—at least, that is the impression produced by reading a good many letters written and speeches made on the subject of "Welt-Politik" by various high authorities.

As the author most truly points out, the gales which have apparently frustrated attempted invasions of England are most unfortunate incidents, in that persons who have not studied the histories of these attempts carefully are apt to give the praise to the gales, and not to the strategy and correct dispositions of force, which in all human probability would have done the work equally well, if not better.

The appearance of this little book, now that certain sections of the Press and leading politicians—not statesmen—are loudly demanding reductions of naval strength, is most opportune; and it is greatly to be hoped that the low price will induce many to read the book who ordinarily are apt to think that the subject does not concern them. It *does*, and that very closely.—H. P.

The Basis of Sea-Power.

10. THE LOWER DECK, THE NAVY, AND THE NATION. By Stephen Reynolds. (*J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.*) Price 1s. net.

Under the above rather unattractive, and to many incomprehensible, title, Mr. Reynolds introduces us into a most enthralling and slightly startling atmosphere—the atmosphere in which the men live "on whom does this Realm of England, under the good Providence of God, principally depend."

The author has evidently opportunities of getting first-hand and intimate knowledge of his subject; this knowledge he expresses in vigorous and terse language, often accompanied by close transcripts of actual conversations. As a study in the vernacular of about 150,000 of the nation's servants, and that of their wives, families, and friends, this little book is probably quite unique.

Many problems are discussed from an entirely novel point of view, more especially those connected with ships of modern construction and their bearings on the health of their populations, insurance and its effects, and, most distressing of all, invaliding. With regard to the latter, it is interesting, as bearing on the accuracy of the few figures Mr. Reynolds gives, to note that Sidmouth, where the book was written, has an average of 1·5 men returned to it annually from the navy invalided with consumption, the

quota furnished averaging 250—that is, 6 per 1,000. From this it appears that the remark, “a sea-life is not the breezy, healthy affair it is usually considered,” is well founded. It is difficult to see any practicable remedy for this state of affairs, for as long as fighting ships are wanted they must be armoured; and if armoured the ventilation must be “potted”—*i.e.*, driven by artificial means. It is well the nation should understand these things, so that, when self-constituted naval experts and politicians dilate on the magnificence of the navy and the splendid qualities of the men, their listeners may know somewhat of how these men live—and what they think about it. In any case these chapters cause the reader to realize vividly that the cost of sea-power in life and health is high during peace, and that it might be well to take a little interest in the spending of the millions voted annually for his own safety.

Discipline and naval expenditure generally receive much shrewd and racy comment, and your reviewer is tempted to quote, but refrains, as to do so would require quotations of inordinate length—or mutilation. The discussion of these subjects is, however, well worth careful reading and consideration by all who are interested in the nation's welfare.

On laying the book down, the feeling is that of having had a fairly deep, most interesting, and thought-compelling insight into an almost unknown world, peopled by little-understood men, and into lives lived under abnormal conditions.—H. P.

X 11. THE AGE OF FOLLY. By Charles J. Rolleston. (London: *John Milne*.)

This book is an attempt at a complete indictment of England and her Empire as managed at the present time. The author touches on every political and economic subject, and draws conclusions, which are far from optimistic, from cases in history. The author sees nothing but portents of bad omen in the many-sided expression of the spirit of the age. State aid is socialism, private charity is swindling. The law of entail produces no good result; better adopt the French system, with its antidote, the *conseil de famille*. If the author knew as much as I do of the working of that institution, which is only praised in countries that do not have it, he would realize that the safeguard against extravagance is too often turned into an instrument of tyranny over children who, having inherited a fortune, show a tendency towards independence. Is there anything more monstrous than to see men of even mature age being placed, as it were, under tutelage simply because they have married without consulting the wishes of sometimes distant relatives, or because they start a business instead of living an idle life on their income? I have known men being placed under a *conseil judiciaire* simply because they had spent in one year a few hundred pounds over their income, the step being taken by their relatives in order to bring pressure upon them for other purposes.

Mr. Rolleston seeks comparisons in history for what he calls the decadence of Great Britain. The “lessons of Rome, of Spain, of the Netherlands,” do not apply to the present day, the condition of life being utterly different.

Even where the author's contention is right, we all know that Cassandras have little chance of being heeded.—B. S.

PHILOSOPHY

12. CHRISTIANITY: THE SOURCES OF ITS TEACHING AND SYMBOLISM.

By J. B. Hannay, F.R.S.E. (London: *Griffiths*.) Price 16s. net.

In his preface Mr. Hannay outlines the scheme of his elaborate study of comparative religions, and claims to have done for human faiths what Frazer has done in his monumental "*Golden Bough*" in relation to the habits, customs, and folk-lore, of primitive people. Possibly the author found the plan too ambitious and comprehensive in its scope, and certainly a treatise on the origin of human belief demands a large canvas. At all events, he has for the most part confined himself to tracing the development of the Phallic cult and the Solar cult throughout all races and through all the ages, for the author does not hesitate to lay it down as an axiom that Phallism is at the root of all human faiths. He seems, indeed, obsessed by the Phallic cult. He interprets Phallic symbols, not only in the Egyptian pyramids and obelisks, the *nuraghis* of Sardinia, the *talayats* of the Balearic Islands, the cromlechs of Brittany and Ireland, etc.; but, according to him, the deadly cobra of India and the innocent maypole of English village greens are also manifestations of this sexual cult.

Mr. Hannay's style is occasionally obscure and his diction involved. The new terminology which he has adopted is also apt to exasperate the reader—"mirophily" for love of the marvellous, "miradoxes" to describe the tenets of this primitive instinct, and so forth.

In his criticism of Christianity, Mr. Hannay starts with the assumption that the Bible is the history of the evolution of spiritual religion from a naturalistic paganism—in other words, that the universal Solar cult of Eastern races is the cradle of the Christian faith.

In the last chapters he gives a forecast of a socialistic Utopia after the style of Mr. H. G. Wells, and urges the elimination of religious sentiments in order to attain national and individual freedom. The author preaches, in short, a new Gospel of Humanitarianism, and sees the salvation of the world in a kind of national altruism.

Not the least remarkable feature of this remarkable book is the singularly full, if unscientifically arranged, index, which fills no less than one-tenth of the whole book.

13. THE SYSTEM OF THE VEDANTA. By P. Deussen. Translated by C. Johnston. (*Luzac and Co.*)

This work, evidently the fruit of years of labour, is by a scholar, for specialists in the branch of learning of which it treats. Its scope is wide, since it is a compendium of the dogmatics of Brahmanism, based firstly on the System of the Vedanta according to Badarayana's *Brahma-Sutras*, and secondly on Shankara's Commentary thereon.

The Introduction points out that the author or authors of the *Brahma*

Sutra seem to have purposely made their work treating of the secret doctrine of the Veda inaccessible without the aid of a teacher. Later, Shankara's interpretation of Badarayana's teaching was written, and as we cannot at present separate the teaching from the interpretation, the exposition in Deussen's work is one of the Vedanta System from the standpoint of Shankara only. The Introduction contains chapters on the Aim of the Vedanta, on the Qualifications of those called to its Study, the Source of the Vedanta, and on Esoteric and Exoteric Vedanta Doctrine. To the general reader and theologian the sections on the Relation of the System to Justification by Works, and on Liberation (Salvation) through the "Grace" of Knowledge, will be of especial interest. "When a creature thinks on and strives towards the highest God, just as the faculty of sight in one who has become blind, after the darkness is shaken off by the power of remedies, in him, in whom the *grace of God* perfects it, does it become manifest, but not *naturally* in any being whatsoever." "When God is known, all fetters fall away."

In reading the work, one has constantly to bear in mind that the metaphysic of the Vedanta has two forms—a *theological* (*exoteric*) and a *philosophical* (*esoteric*) form; both are present in the work we analyze, running parallel and being present in all the five provinces of the Vedanta teaching—namely, the theology, cosmology, psychology, the doctrine of transmigration and that of liberation. The apparent exoteric lower doctrine is penetrated in every province by the higher esoteric doctrine, and they stand in contradiction to one another.

The body of the work contains five sections, dealing with the five divisions of teaching we have mentioned. The student would do well, before attempting this, to read the first section of the Appendix, entitled "A Short Survey of the Vedanta System." This section we recommend should be enlarged and published as a separate manual; it is clearly written, and is a key to the whole work.

The book ends with a necessary and adequate list of terms of the Vedanta.—J. W. B.

14. THE BULLETIN OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE. January, 1914.

This publication contains in a digestible form reliable, thorough, and authoritative information on "Tropical Agriculture and Industries, and the Commercial Utilization of the Natural Resources of the Colonies and India." The valuable compendium offers special articles describing the work of the Canadian Department of Agriculture, and the possibilities of Hausaland, in Northern Nigeria. It ought to do much in its present improved form towards reawakening the interest of all Englishmen in their Empire, which is the one condition of their greatness.

15. LA REVUE POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE. No. 1. Paris.

The appearance of this review is an outward and visible sign of the greater interest aroused by general as opposed to purely internal politics, and it is for this reason, if for no other, that it has our best wishes. There

is much valuable and interesting material contained in this periodica. edited by M. Félix Valyi, and all points of view are well represented. If we were to offer any criticism, we would suggest that the article "La Démocratie" is a little out of touch with the essentially practical character of the paper. We wish the venture every success, and we wish it with confidence.

SOME RECENT FRENCH BOOKS ON FOREIGN POLICY.

16. LA MALHEUREUSE ÉPIRE. By René Puaux. (Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1914.)

"L'Europe va laisser commettre un crime" is the thesis of this new work by M. René Puaux, of the *Temps*. The "crime" consists in handing over to the shadowy and possibly hypothetical sway of the new King of Albania a tract of country whose population is peopled by Greeks. He compares the fate of these unhappy Epirotes with that of the Alsations and Lorrainers—French in sympathy, German in fact.

The writer's pronounced philhellenic sympathies naturally assured him a warm welcome in Epirus, and his journey seems to have been a triumphal progress. He gives an admirable account of the enthusiastic reception of Prince George of Greece on his official visit to Epirus as representative of the King.

The author states his case admirably, and in narrative form. Even apart from its political standpoint, the book would of itself provide admirable reading.

17. LA FRANCE EN DANGER. By Paul Vergnet. (Paris: Ed. Mignot. 1914.)

The volume of "panic" literature produced in France during the last few years tends to blind the impartial observer to the reality of the feeling of alarm prevalent in that country. M. Vergnet sets out to prove what are to him undoubted facts—the power of the Pan-German movement, and its far-reaching designs. As in many similar books, there is much which to the English mind seems far-fetched and absurd, as, for instance, the suggestion that Germany would, in the event of successful war, present Holland with the Flemish provinces of Belgium, and compensate Belgium by handing over to her the north-eastern departments of France. That there is much to be said for the main thesis of the book is, however, a proposition to which the majority of unprejudiced readers must give at least a qualified assent.—P. S. C.

18. HELLAS AND THE BALKAN WARS. By D. J. Cassavetti. (*Fisher Unwin*.) Price 10s. 6d.

We venture to say that, whereas the books that have appeared so far on the Balkan War have been premature and immature, Mr. Cassavetti's volume bears every trace of careful thought and deliberate judgment. He traces the Near Eastern Question back to the defeat of the Turks under the walls of Vienna in 1699. That was the high-water mark of Muhammadan-

ism, and the turning-point of Turkish supremacy in Eastern Europe. An especial chapter is devoted to M. Venizeloz, and there follows a detailed description of the Greek army and navy. As in 1897 so in 1912, the war against the Turks can be divided into the Macedonian and the Epirus campaign. The configuration of the territory makes that imperative. Two excellent chapters by "Lascaris" describe Athens during the war, and the work of the Greek women. The most controversial portion of the work is undoubtedly that devoted to the second war. Mr. Cassavetti starts ominously "*Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.*" We publish in the present number the Bulgarian point of view, which is naturally rather different. We foresee here the beginnings of a long schism between subsequent generations of ardent historians. The author wisely spares us a lengthy account of atrocities; the points he has to make he makes clearly and well.

Mr. Cassavetti must be congratulated. He has set himself the task of turning out an authoritative and comprehensive volume on a war now scarcely a year old. He has succeeded.

19. THE UKRAINE. By Bedwin Sands. (London: *Francis Griffiths.*)

The above is a reprint of a lecture delivered on Ukrainian history and present-day problems. He points out in the foreword that "there is an utter lack of information in the English language on the history of a nation of 35,000,000 souls, many of whom are British subjects. He explains that "the Ukraine is a very vast, very fertile, and very beautiful country which does not exist! It is a geographical expression." To be more precise, it stretches from the neighbourhood of Warsaw to the Crimea, and from the Carpathians to midway between Moscow and the Caspian. Judging from the evidence collected by Mr. Sands, the Ukrainian problem will in the near future attain European significance. It is the thorn in the side of Russia.

20. THE MAKING OF AN ENGLISHMAN. By W. L. George. (*Constable and Co.*) Price 6s.

This book is a biography—for none of the other characters really matter—of a young Frenchman in England fresh from the Bordelais, but determined to become English and marry an Englishwoman. Denationalization is a process that goes on in every street in London (and Paris and Berlin, for that matter, but especially in London). It is a subject which has been neglected in literature. But of late writers have woken up to the possibilities of the Jingo-international theme. In the French language there is "*Les Frontières de la Cœur*," in German "*Seine Englische Frau*," and now "*The Making of an Englishman*." This trilogy would well repay study, especially for those who prefer to grope beyond the narrow sphere of their own selfish environment of material non-national welfare. The Germans need no such *pabulum*, and the French have their national feelings kept alive by Alsatian novels and the achievements of Oberlés and Wetterlés. We have looked in vain for any such movement in English literature for some time past. We are glad to note that Mr. George is ready to supply it.

21. *JOAN'S GREEN YEAR*, by E. L. Doon (*Macmillan and Co.*, 6s.), with the subtitle "Letters from the Manor Farm to her Brother in India," is from the first to the last page of the tender hue of young meadow grass, which the very title conveys to the reader's mind. No striking episodes nor psychological studies. It is the charm of the English countryside "discovered" through English eyes. A pleasant book for quiet reading.—E. AURRY.

22. *ANNUAL REPORT ON REFORMS AND PROGRESS IN CHOSEN (KOREA)*. Compiled by the Government-General of Chosen.

This publication contains an excellent map of the district dealt with in its pages, and 272 pages of carefully compiled matter on the administration, finance, justice, banking, commerce, and agriculture. The introduction states that "the ill-feeling of Koreans towards Japanese and the maltreatment of Koreans by Japanese, formerly in evidence, have gradually become a thing of the past." The total amount of trade appears to increase by 13,000,000 yen annually.

23. *TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA*. With a Preface by Lord Ampthill and an Introduction by J. Pollen and J. B. Pennington.

This little book, which has been issued under the title "Truths about India," ought to find a place in the library of every high school there. For students of Indian history, I know no better compendium of information on the various points taken up. Each part has been written by a competent authority, and the facts are taken from sources which are well known to be absolutely trustworthy.—E. MARSDEN.

Among the books recently published on subjects within the scope of the Review, or announced to appear, are :

Coco-nuts: The Consols of the East. Tropical Life Publishing Department. 12s. 6d. net.

The Ways of the South Sea Savage, by R. M. Williamson, M.Sc. Seeley, Service. 16s. net.

Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum, vol. i. British Museum.

Athens and its Monuments, by C. H. Weller. Macmillan. 17s. net.

Pennell of the Afghan Frontier, by Miss M. Pennell. Seeley, Service. 10s. 6d. net.

Who's Who in India. Lucknow: Newul Kishore Press.

List of English Clubs in all Parts of the World for 1914. Spottiswoode. 5s.

Malay Grammar, by R. O. Winstedt. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.

Cavalry Tactical Schemes, by Colonel Monsenergue. Hugh Rees. 6s. net.

Abu'l Ala: The Syrian, by H. Baerlein. Murray. 2s. net.

Egypt in Transition, by Sidney Low, with an Introduction by the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B. Smith, Elder. 7s. 6d. net.

With the Russians in Mongolia, by H. G. C. Perry-Ayscough and Captain R. B. Otter-Barry. Lane. 16s. net.

We are informed that Saint Nihal Singh, the well-known Indian journalist, is publishing, with Charles H. Kelly, on February 20, "Japan's Modernization" and "Progressive British India," two additions to the "Manuals for Christian Thinkers" Series. The book on Japan is of topical importance, as it discusses the immigration question from the point of view of an Oriental; while the book on India is especially opportune, as it shows that despite the anarchical outrages in Hindustan, the friction between Indians and Britons is yielding place to mutual understanding and hearty co-operation between the Indian leaders and British officials.

THE VEILED PRINCESS.

ONE OF INDIA'S MOST INTERESTING QUEENS AND
AUTHORESSES, HER HIGHNESS THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL.
(A FEW HISTORICAL NOTES UPON HER STATE AND
PERSONALITY.)

By FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

THAT which is veiled has always a strange fascination for us all, and if at the mere suggestion of a veiled Princess of the mysterious East, the imagination quickens, how much more delightful it is to find that the baffling screen (while satisfying the modesty of the noble Muhammadan lady) hides, not the timid Maharanee of tradition, but a very brave and strong-minded woman, whose personality is as charming as striking. Such is Her Highness Sultan Jehan Begum, the Princess-Regnant of Bhopal, who was an honoured guest in England for the crowning of her Emperor and feudal Overlord, and some facts from the history of her wonderful, sunlit little realm in gorgeous, warlike Rajputana may be welcomed by those who behold her richly-robed, closely-veiled figure driving through our capital, or have read her new book of memoirs.

Behind that gauzy mask is indeed a royal spirit, and it is impossible in this short note to convey any adequate idea of her rare gifts and accomplishments, nor of the many reforms which, since her accession to the masnad, or throne, of her mother in 1901, she has carried out with as firm a hand as any mere masculine Prince of the Empire.

Her Highness personally conducts the administration of her State assisted by her eldest son, Nawab Muhammad Nasr-ullah Khan, and some notion of her high personal courage and readiness in emergencies may be formed from the fact that, when in 1904 she made the pilgrimage to Mecca,

her caravan was attacked in the desert by Bedouin robbers, but she took so valiant a part in charging the enemy, at the head of her people, that they fled, and left her mistress of the situation.

She is a great traveller and a splendid musician, while her status as a patroness of learning is known from Peshwar to Cape Comorin.

It was owing to her help, both direct and indirect, that Aligarh College was saved from decay, and now again, when the dream of this college becoming a University seems likely to be realized in the near future, it will be mainly through the support of this generous and enlightened Princess. Her own State is dotted all over with schools for boys and girls, and a high school, medical school, and even an art school and public library, have been opened in the Benazir Palace in her city.

Bhopal is one of the principal States of the Central India Agency, and is, next to Hyderabad, the most important Muhammadan State in the Peninsula. Its name is derived from Bhojpal, or Bhoja's Dam, the great dam which holds up the Bhopal City Lakes, which is supposed to have been built by a Minister of Raja Bhoja, the Paramar ruler of Dhar.

The romantic little queendom has an area of 6,902 square miles—that is to say, rather larger than Yorkshire—and lies on the eastern confines of "Malwa's fields of sleep," with their poppyed acres, and to the east lies Bundelkhand, and northwards warlike Gwalior of the rocks, Basoda Korwai Narsingharh Maksudangarh, and on the south the Narbada River separates it from the Central Province district of Hosangarhbad.

The greater part of the country lies on the Malwa plateau, and this high tableland, with its rolling downs of yellow grass, is richly interspread with fields of black cotton soil, wheat, maize, rice, and poppies; while the feet of the wilder hills beyond are clothed with fertile earth to a considerable altitude, and shaded with forests, in which lurk all the game of a shikhari's longings, from the beautiful wild-peacock to the royal tiger. It is the land which in the wild old days (days which seem not so very far away in the unchanging East) bred those fiery Rajput knights who offered their Afghan conquerors so fierce a resistance, and whose descendants still pride themselves upon their skill with sword and lance, and do homage to their liege lady in her splendid white and crimson city, with its high houses and picturesque carven wooden balconies and far-projecting windows, in whose streets colour is rife, and from whose minarets the muezzin calls musically as the sun drops down, and which she has adorned with so many educational facilities.

But Her Highness's many good qualities are not to be wondered at if heredity counts for aught, as a peep into the past shows the superb parts played by her ancestors in the history of their land. Although there is a popular idea that all the rulers of Bhopal have been women, and that the masnad, or throne, passes from mother to daughter instead of from father to son, it is a mistake. The early rulers of Bhopal were all Princes, and the change to government by Princesses only took place in the time of Sikander Begum, in 1844-1860, and its cause is practically unknown, and seems to have been merely the lack of a strong, capable male member of the family, or else the popularity of the above lady.

Bhopal's history dates from the eighteenth century, when Dost Muhammad Khan and Afghan of the Mirzai Khel, of the Warakzais of Tirah, obtained the Pargana of Berasia in Malwa. Dost Muhammad Khan arrived in India in 1696, the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Aurangzebe, that magnificent old Moghul Emperor. After encountering certain difficulties, he at last succeeded in purchasing the lease of an imperial district, and thus rose by the power of his sword to be reckoned the founder of a line of independent Princes. Feeling himself secure, he sent a strong force against the Governor of Bhilsa. A fierce fight took place, the Bhilsa army was routed, and this victory made him the master of the country, and several places, like Doraka and Gyaraspur, Sehore, etc., acknowledged him also. In 1722 Dost Muhammad assumed the title of Nawab, and, being attracted by the surroundings of Bhopal, decided to build his chief town on the spot. Such was the foundation of this small but important kingdom. However, Muhammad, after thirty years of strenuous exertions, died in 1726, aged sixty-six. After his death five of his male relations ruled jointly, but the whole period of their reign was clouded with internal dissensions, intrigues, and misery. This darkness, however, was now and again lighted by the good actions of the first Princess, Marmola Bibi, who rose from it like a veritable star of hope.

We can almost call this lady, Marmola Bibi, the widow of Yar Muhammad, the son of Dost Muhammad, the first woman ruler of Bhopal, who, though she never actually occupied the masnad, by her wonderful capacity of administration and diplomacy set an example for the coming generation. Malcolm refers to her in his History thus :

"This extraordinary Princess, who lived to the advanced age of eighty, and who for more than half a century greatly influenced, if she did not control, the councils of Bhopal, is very wonderful. She was beloved and respected by all, Hindus and Muhammadans. It is consoling to see in the example of her life that, even amid scenes of crime and violence, goodness and virtue, when combined with spirit and sense, maintain that superiority which belongs alone to the higher qualities of our nature."

Now we pass to Sikander Begum, the only daughter of Nasr Muhammad, and who was the first woman who actually mounted the masnad of Bhopal. Since her death in 1868 all the rulers have been Princesses.

An interesting view of this Begum is given by Major Charters Macpherson, the Political Agent, who, writing in 1845, notes that all three Begums were out of purdah, Kudsia, Sikander, and Shah Jehan, the last of whom was then sixteen :

"The Kudsia Begum and Sikander Begum ride, spear and shoot grandly, or have been used to do so. Sikander Begum is a wonderful woman in the way of government. She shows a fine Elizabethan taste in the choice of officers of State. In 1861 Sikander Begum visited the Viceroy, and in an open Durbar was presented with a sanad conferring on her the Berasia Pargana of Dost Muhammad's kingdom. In November of the same year, Sikander Begum was invested with the G.C.S.I. for the great services she rendered us during the horrors of the Mutiny, to her everlasting honour.

"She was a great traveller for those days, and had seen all parts of India, besides going in 1864 to Mecca, accompanied by her mother, Kudsia Begum, and was the first Muhammadan ruler to visit the Holy Shrine. She died in 1868. Nawab Shah Jehan Begum, her daughter, was invested as ruler of Bhopal on November 16, 1868, and her daughter, Sultan Jahan, her present Highness, was declared heir-apparent.

"Shah Jahan at once proceeded to follow the noble example of her mother, and continued the reforms in the administration which the latter had begun. On the death of her husband she came out of purdah, which immensely facilitated her conduct of affairs, and in December, 1869, she visited Calcutta, and was introduced to H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. In 1872 she was made G.C.S.I., and in 1877 she attended the Imperial Assemblage held at Delhi, and received a banner and medal. She died on June 16 (it is curious how ominous a number sixteen seems to the family), 1901, and was succeeded by her daughter, Sultan Jehan Begum, the heroine of these notes.

"In 1905 she was presented to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales at Indore, and received the G.C.I.E. from the Prince's hands, and she came to behold their first crowning in their own land before she saw their second investiture as her Emperor and his consort in ancient Delhi, where once the conquering hordes swept down and laid the foundations of another mighty empire."

THE DRAMA

THREE NOTABLE LONDON PLAYS.

"The Attack," from the French of Henry Bernstein, at the St. James's Theatre, London.

This play, according to one critic, gives Sir George Alexander a part which "suits him to a millimetre." It certainly all turns on Alexandre Méritat. In the first act this well-known politician realizes that there comes a time in the life of every successful man when those around him say, "This man has gone too far now; let us smash him." Every man, according to the playwright, has some dark spot in his life, so dark that it has been kept secret from the world. His enemies—that is to say, his political friends (Antonin Frépeau and Co.)—will seize on that, and cut short the thread of his career. But we were not given to understand at once that such was the case with Méritat. We do not believe that such a pattern of frankness and honesty can have any flaw. It must all be merely libel. Yet everyone turns against him, or at best pleads maladies or pressing engagements as an excuse for not coming to his aid. On the eve of the trial of his denouncers for libel he meets the "*fons et origo malorum*," Frépeau. And now comes M. Bernstein's patent remedy for such difficulties: "Find out the dark spot in your enemy's life, and turn the tables on him." Yes, what about that canal scandal—here are the proofs. No; you may see, you may read, but you may not touch. Frépeau yields, and agrees to "pay off" the professional denouncer. Méritat's trial will be a farce; he is free, but he must confess to his bride Renée before he leaves for the courts. While the case is heard she must must make up her mind—and of course she forgives.

It is a French play, and totally out of touch with English life; at least, we hope so. But the atmosphere of unreality was more than compensated by the excellent interpretations of Sir George Alexander and Mr. Holman Clark, who made the best of a play which consisted of a series of strong situations which made first rate acting a *sine qua non*. In a sense, it was an excellent example of Bernstein's technical art, only his canvas was in this case much too small.

"The Fortune-Hunter" (Queen's Theatre, London).

It would be impossible to speak too highly of the manner in which Winchell Smith's "Fortune-Hunter" has been staged and acted by Mr. Hale Hamilton and company at the Queen's Theatre, and it ought certainly

to have drawn fuller houses. Mr. Hale Hamilton himself is the life and soul of the piece, and in every scene he kept the audience rippling with laughter; and the thunderstorm, with its downpour of rain in which the play terminates, is perhaps one of the most original effects ever produced upon the stage in our time. The storm was a truly American one, and after the curtain fell the rain continued to pour, but the storms of applause overcame the roll of the thunder. As "Nat Duncan," the fortune-hunter, Hale Hamilton vindicated his character as a superb actor. The play abounds in Americanisms; but he was not too American, and he never failed to make all his points with genuine British feeling. As the unsuccessful man who could never make his mark when working for his own hand alone, he finds real happiness and success in working for the welfare of one simple girl, and proves that there is no real happiness in life except in giving oneself up for the good of others. The play must be seen to be appreciated, and it is strange that it has not proved more popular with the London public; but once its merits have been made more widely known, it is certain to have a long and successful run.

"The Death of Tintagiles" (Savoy Theatre).

"Luckily, people," writes Mr. Conrad in his new novel "Chance," "are for the most part quite incapable of understanding what is happening to them." M. Maeterlinck shows us, however, the tragedy of those who "know, but do not understand."

Transcending that knowledge, which is power, there is a mystic knowledge which powerlessness brings—a knowledge which, frustrated from action, pierces instead the souls of its possessors. It is this knowledge, this mystic apprehension of the march of unseen terrors and that passionate love for the victim which is its fruit, that alone illumines the "Death of Tintagiles." All else is very black, a mass of gloomy shadows, a dark castle lying "deep down in the valley, too low even for the air to come," where, under fear of a terrible, unseen Queen who has a power that no one understands, Ygraine and her sister have lived ever since they were born, "not daring to understand the things that happened." But Ygraine *knows* the meaning of her little brother Tintagiles' arrival; *knows* that the frightful machinery of the Queen's hideous, unimaginable purpose is again in motion; *knows* that Tintagiles will be sent for by the Queen, and, like his brothers, be seen no more. The tragedy of the play lies in this knowledge and in Ygraine's determination, born of her great love, to protect the doomed child. For the most tragic element in tragedy is, as Mr. Conrad's words imply, the individual's consciousness of what is going to happen over and above immediate miseries; the heights, or the depths, of tragedy are reached when the senses, already swooning in immediate suffering, are forced to vibrate to the awful rhythm of impending doom.

M. Maeterlinck is so skilful in rhythmic emphasis, and the Savoy production of "The Death of Tintagiles" so finely interpretative of the movement of tragedy, that, if it were not for certain relieving passages of what one might call pure melodic beauty, the continuity of the strain upon the

nerve in the endeavour to reach through the shadowy symbolism to some objective reality that could be actively resisted, or at least supplicated with for respite, would be nearly intolerable. Such passages are where Ygraine tries to quiet the fears of Tintagiles by comforting words which the beating of her own fearful heart belies, and where, in the last fatal separation between brother and sister, Ygraine holds the terrible truth at bay for a few exquisitely tender moments just before the cruelly abrupt climax.

Miss McCarthy's acting was very fine throughout, but more especially in these single passages. Also we have rarely seen a more perfect example of the dramatic value of what we believe is known technically as "stichomythia"—the rendering of narrative in single lines by alternate speakers—than the dialogue between the Three Servants of the Queen.

"The Silver Box" (Savoy Theatre).

The stuff of "The Silver Box" is tragedy, but tragedy of a different order. It is the tragedy of lives enmeshed in a web of social forces. The gods who sport with the fate of Mrs. Jones are made of no finer substance than the clay of false social ideals and class distinctions, a clay whose cohesive properties seem almost ludicrously meretricious. We say "almost ludicrously," because in this particular production of the play, whether it was due to the slow and, we thought, dragging pace at which the whole play was given, or to our own familiarity with it, the individuals of the play themselves seemed to realize the points, the ironies of their parts, and particularly of their remarks; it was as if even the Bartletts themselves would, if the thing went on much longer, so to speak, "catch sight of" their own attitudes, and be unable to continue the farce of acting up to their principles. Throughout the acting there was, we thought, this fault of over-emphasis and over-characterization, even in the case of Miss Rooke.

OUR INDIAN MAIL

WE offer our hearty congratulations to Sir D. C. Bailie and the Hon. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., on their appointments to the Knighthood of the Star of India.

The two most important political organizations in India—the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League—held their annual sessions during the last week of 1913: one at Karachi, the other at Agra.

The Indian question in South Africa, the separation of judicial and executive functions, the modification of the Press Act of 1910, and the constitution of the India Council in London, formed the chief topics of discussion, and subjects for resolutions, in both the Congress and the League.

Some special features of Lord Hardinge's annual visit to Calcutta during Christmas week this year were—(1) the extraordinary police precautions for the safety of the Viceroy; (2) Lord Hardinge's contradiction of all rumours as to his early retirement from the Viceroyalty of India; (3) the marked contrast between the exuberant welcome and loyalty on the part of Indian public bodies, and the attitude of aloofness of the chief non-official European organizations; (4) His Excellency's tactful oblivion of the very name of Delhi.

The Winter Session of the Viceroy's Legislative Council opened at Delhi on January 6. Several unopposed Bills were referred to Select Committees. Two resolutions, one asking for the publication of papers with regard to the educational policy of the Government of India, and the other recommending modification of the Press Act of 1910, were moved by the Hon. Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji. On being put to the vote were lost.

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OBITUARY

SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, G.C.S.I.

SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER had a most distinguished career, practically the whole of which was devoted to the cause of the Indian Empire. He held many Revenue and political appointments in India, many of them of high importance and involving great responsibility, having been on a number of occasions selected for special duty, while there have been few Indian officials of recent years whose judgment was so highly valued as that of Sir William Lee-Warner. He entered the Bombay Civil Service in 1869, and after a short period in minor posts became Director of Public Instruction in Berar in 1872, while he was Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay in 1873-74, and Under-Secretary to the Government of Bombay in 1875. From December, 1876, till August, 1878, he served in Sind as Assistant Commissioner, etc.; was afterwards Assistant Collector and Acting Collector of Poona and Satara, and then Junior Under-Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. He served on special duty in the Hyderabad State as member of the Education Committee, and in connection with the acquisition of land for the Nira Canal. He was appointed Acting Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, in 1885, and in the following year was Political Agent in Kolhapur. Between 1887 and 1893 he was Secretary to the Government of Bombay in the Political, Judicial, and Educational Departments, and was an Additional Member of the Governor-General's Council in 1893-94 and in 1895. He was Resident in Mysore in 1895, retiring from the Civil Service on his appointment, in September, 1895, as Secretary in the Political and Secret Department of the India Office, an appointment which he held till 1902, and in which he followed Sir Edward Bradford.

The estimate which was formed of Sir William whilst he was in India was very forcibly set out in a lofty appreciation of his work and character which appeared in the *Times of India* on the announcement of this latter appointment:

"A career in which every intelligent observer of the public life of India must be interested," said the writer, "changes its venue with the departure

of Mr. Lee-Warner (as he then was) from these shores next week. By a good many of us, conscious that there is no over-abundance of strong and original minds in the service of India in these days, the change is regretted on public no less than personal grounds. The expectation that Mr. Lee-Warner would have gone on serving India in India has, however, been disappointed by a promotion which gives a sharp diversion to an already distinguished career. In the Political Secretaryship of the India Office, we doubt not, Mr. Lee-Warner will add to the credit which he has already earned in India, but it would have been a more natural continuation of his work if he had remained a little longer in a path which places great prizes within reach of those who have gone upon it as far as he has, and with such distinction. However, in going to the Political Secretary of the India Office he will be undertaking work which he has made peculiarly his own, and in which the opportunities of doing good service to the Empire are neither few nor small, though the work is for the most part unseen and unheard of. Whatever the future may have in store for him, Mr. Lee-Warner carries home with him a record which has put him in the front rank of his service. It covers just twenty-six years, and it embraces duty in many fields, and more of the special duty, the selection for which is one of the best tributes that Government can pay to its officers, than falls to the lot of most men.

"His most important work in the Legislative Council was in connection with the legislation for amending and extending the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, and he also took an active part in the work of the Cantonments Regulation Committee in Calcutta. His Secretariat work in Bombay was marked by strength and thoroughness, and on the political side by a keen appreciation of the need for bringing the Native States as nearly as may be in line with British territory in all that concerns honest and impartial government. His book on 'The Protected Princes of India' is recognized as the standard work upon British relations with the Native States, and his smaller work on 'The Citizen of India' is an epitome of all that a citizen should know about India.

"When he left India he did so with the reputation of a worker who owed the success that he had attained to meritorious work alone. There were aspects of his work which found critics within and without the service. But no criticism that was ever applied to him called in question his indefatigable industry, his clearness of vision, and the high-mindedness and devotion to duty which made his service a distinguished and his career an honourable one."

Sir William Lee-Warner's last official appointment was that of Member of the Council of India, which he held from November, 1902, till November, 1912. He was decorated with the C.S.I. as far back as 1892, and in 1898 was promoted to be Knight Commander of the same Order. He was made a Knight Grand Commander of the Order of the Star of India in 1911, and in the same year received the honorary LL.D. degree from Cambridge. He was also a J.P. for Surrey. In addition to the works mentioned above, Sir William published "The Native States of India," "Life of the Marquess of Dalhousie," and "Memoirs of Field-Marshal Sir

Henry Wylie Norman, G.C.B." He was also a contributor to the Cambridge Modern History, the "Imperial Gazetteer of India," and other publications.

Sir William was the youngest son of the late Canon James Lee-Warner, of Thorpland Hall, Norfolk, and Anne Astley, a descendant of Field-Marshal Sir Jacob Astley. He was educated at Rugby, where he gained an exhibition and foundation scholarship of St. John's College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. in 1869, and M.A. three years later, taking Honours in the Moral Science Tripos. He was a Fellow of the University of Bombay. In 1876 he married Ellen Paulina, eldest daughter of Major-General Holland, C.B. Whilst at Cambridge he was Vice-President of the Union, and he also represented the University in the racquet competition with Oxford in 1889.

It is interesting to note that Sir William was a lineal descendant of Bishop Warner, who built and endowed Bromley College. The estate on which the endowment is charged still belongs to the family, having been bequeathed by Bishop Warner to his nephew, Dr. John Lee, Archdeacon of Rochester, who, with his descendants, added the name of Warner to the Lee. The Bishop's tomb, and that of the earliest Lee-Warners, are in Rochester Cathedral.

Sir William always took a great interest in the Parish Church of St. George's, Bickley, of which he was a churchwarden for a number of years, and preaching on his death the Vicar said :

"Sir William Lee-Warner served this parish well, and we owe very much to him for all he did for it in the past years. He was a man who was without question intensely religious, a man who was a hard-working, conscientious servant of the State, and who put his talents absolutely at the service of the State ; a man who was capable of literary work of a distinctly high order, and also an Englishman with an ordinary Englishman's love of sport and out-of-door life. All these things were balanced in Sir William Lee-Warner in an extraordinary way, and produced that which we Englishmen still value—the well-balanced, all-round English gentleman. He came of a family with a high tradition of duty both to Church and State, and we are witnesses how faithfully that duty was fulfilled. He was of the type we want more of in a day when party loyalty threatens to overthrow loyalty to the State."

"It is perfectly true," writes "One who knew him," "that Sir William was all that the Vicar describes him. But even his best friends will admit that Lee-Warner would have been a better servant of India but for his lofty and 'self-involved' manner. He hardly paid sufficient attention to the good old rule 'Sacrifice to the Graces,' and it is to be feared he took but little pains to display consideration for the feelings of those with whom he came into *official* contact, or to conceal his innate sense of superiority from his brethren of the East. He was typically English ; and he had in his heart of hearts but little love for his Aryan brother, to whom he bent with an impatient tolerance and 'a half-allowing smile,' the significance of which the quick-witted Oriental was not slow to catch. This attitude, of course, did not make for true sympathy.

"As an administrator proper Lee-Warner had really very little chance of showing what he could do. He only served for a short time as a District Officer, and (except for the period during which he acted, in very early days, as Director of Public Instruction) he was never the Head of a Department, nor did he serve as a Commissioner of a Division or as a Member of the Executive Council. From the day when, as a civilian of a few years' standing, he was appointed Private Secretary to Sir Philip Wodehouse, Governor of Bombay, he became merged in the Secretariat, and 'a Secretariat man' he remained to the close of his career.

"Of his pre-eminence as a 'Writer' he gave early promise in his spirited attack on the system of the Civil Service Commissioners just before he went out to India, and the London Press then foretold his successful career. He always had the courage of his opinions, and could hold his own against great odds. On the whole he deserved well of the State, but it cannot be denied that he would have deserved better had it not been for his 'Aylmerism.'"

COMMERCIAL NOTES

THE AERIAL PROPULSION OF WATER-CRAFT.

EXPERIMENTS which are likely to be of great value if applied to traffic on the waterways in India have been carried out recently in London. The particulars have been forwarded to us, and the following extracts give a summary of the nature of the test :

" On the 17th, 18th, and 19th of December, 1913, trials of the aerial propulsion of barges were made on the Surrey Canal, London, and some conclusions of very practical value to those interested in canal or shallow water navigation have been drawn from them.

" The first demonstration of the new method of propulsion was fixed to take place on Wednesday, December 17, at 2 p.m. This first trial was, in a degree, marred by some troubles which, owing to lack of time for proper testing and tuning, developed in the second-hand engine employed for the experiment. In spite of this difficulty, however, it was found possible, on that afternoon, to clearly demonstrate that the principle of aerial propulsion could be applied to the working of heavy weights at low speeds of translation ; it was also established that the draught created in front of the rotating propeller working under the special conditions was very slight and hardly perceptible. The best position for an aerial screw for water-craft could thus be definitely determined.

" The speed of four miles per hour could be easily maintained on a very busy canal ; for the aerially-propelled barge occupied relatively to horse-towed barges the position of the motor-bus with regard to tramcars in street traffic. Not only could it overtake other barges moving in the

the direction, and which were bound always to keep by the side of the towing-path, but it could also, at any moment, use the whole available width of the waterway for its evolutions.

"The experiments have also dispelled the fears expressed in some quarters, that the use of aerial propellers would prove a great impediment and danger to canal navigation, and that, in the case of two aerially-propelled vessels passing each other, the action of the screw of one of the vessels on the surrounding air would prevent the screw of the other from acting properly. The trials made it evident that the latter fear is very trivial, and that the danger and impediment arising from the size of the propeller does not exist. As a matter of fact, the diameter of the propeller used in the trials was much less than half the width of the barge itself."

HEDGES

AND

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LTD.

WINE MERCHANTS

to H.M. The King.

LONDON: 155, REGENT STREET.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1914.

YESTERDAY

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

ARE these the streets that I used to know . . .
Was it yesterday or æons ago ?
Where are the armies that used to wait,
The pilgrims of love at your palace gate ?
The joyous anthems that thrilled the air,
The pageants that shone through your palace square,
And the minstrel music that used to ring,
Through your magic kingdom . . . when you were king ?

II

O heart that solaced a people's cry
With the sumptuous bounty of Hatim Tai !
O hands that succoured a sad world's need
With the splendour of Harun-al-Rasheed !
Where are the days that were winged and clad
In the fabulous glamour of old Baghdad,
And the bird of glory that used to sing
In your magic kingdom . . . when you were king ?

* * * * *

same direction, and which were bound always to keep by the side of the towing-path, but it could also, at any moment, use the whole available width of the waterway for its evolutions.

“The experiments have also dispelled the fears expressed in some quarters, that the use of aerial propellers would prove a great impediment and danger to canal navigation, and that, in the case of two aerially-propelled vessels passing each other, the action of the screw of one of the vessels on the surrounding air would prevent the screw of the other from acting properly. The trials made it evident that the latter fear is very trivial, and that the danger and impediment arising from the size of the propeller does not exist. As a matter of fact, the diameter of the propeller used in the trials was much less than half the width of the barge itself.”

HEDGES

AND

BUTLER

LTD.

WINE MERCHANTS

to H.M. The King.

LONDON: 155, REGENT STREET.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1914.

YESTERDAY

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

ARE these the streets that I used to know . . .
Was it yesterday or æons ago ?
Where are the armies that used to wait,
The pilgrims of love at your palace gate ?
The joyous anthems that thrilled the air,
The pageants that shone through your palace square,
And the minstrel music that used to ring,
Through your magic kingdom . . . when you were king ?

II

O heart that solaced a people's cry
With the sumptuous bounty of Hatim Tai !
O hands that succoured a sad world's need
With the splendour of Harun-al-Rasheed !
Where are the days that were winged and clad
In the fabulous glamour of old Baghdad,
And the bird of glory that used to sing
In your magic kingdom . . . when you were king ?

* * * * *

III

O Love! in your kingdom there is no change,
'Tis only my soul that hath grown so strange.
So faint with sorrow, it cannot hear
Aught save the chant at your rose-crowned bier.
O Love! my bosom hath grown too cold
To clasp the beauty it treasured of old,
The grace of life and the gifts of spring,
And the dreams I cherished . . . when you were king.

TURKEY AND THE SICILIAN VESPERS

BY THE HON. AUBREY HERBERT, M.P.

THERE is not one of the difficulties with which the Ottoman Empire is faced at the present moment that would not in itself afford materials for forming a library, and consequently in the space of one short article it is impossible to deal adequately with the situation. The outstanding points which strike those of us who are acquainted with the Near East are the spirit of burning resentment that extends through all Muhammadan countries at the physical and tangible injustices which have been perpetrated upon Turkey, and the obstacles which the Turks meet, not only when they attempt to obtain justice, but even when they try to make their case known.

Till very recently in the eyes of our own Press the Balkan States could do no wrong. The fact that they had massacred between three and five hundred thousand Moslems, with every conceivable circumstance of horror and savagery, has done something to shake the faith of Europe in their Christianity. The fact that they have repudiated their own treaties, and that their brotherhood has turned to an almost animal hate, has convinced the West that they are not the legitimate descendants of Richard Cœur de Lion. And lastly, the usurious haggling over the blood-stained spoils has confirmed the reputations of Servia and Montenegro for a passionate shortsighted cupidity.

The anger which is felt from and beyond India to Adrianople at the treatment meted out to the Turks is

very natural, for the Muhammadan, though he may often live in the waste places of the earth, even in the depth of the desert, is not ignorant of the tragedy that has befallen his spiritual kindred. To him the calamity of the Balkan War appears a conspiracy of Europe, as carefully considered and as well engineered as was the slaughter of the Sicilian Vespers. The Mussulman knows that Europe has declared that whatever might occur in the hostilities between Turkey and her enemies the *status quo* should not be altered, and that Turkey was advised by Christendom not to prepare for war. The Moslem is aware that the Balkan States received moral, financial and military help from Western Powers, and that the decisions of the Concert, which were declared to be irrevocable, changed with changing circumstances, being consistent only in being detrimental to Turkey, and he is inclined, (wrongly, I think,) to associate Great Britain in his mind with the other parties concerned in the ruin of Turkey.

The case against us is not so black as it is often painted. There have been, no doubt, foolish and injudicious speeches by Members of Parliament who are not confined to one party of the State, but the utterance which has caused the greatest sensation, and which has probably produced a greater effect than any other, was the speech of the Prime Minister with regard to Adrianople. It is my strong conviction that this speech was misinterpreted by the Moslems of the Empire. The occasion of its delivery was not happy, but those friends of Turkey who, like myself, read it with extreme care, were almost unanimous in looking upon that speech as a friend's warning and not as the menace of a critic.

In British policy, however, with reference to the Islands, Mussulman feeling has a real and an undeniable grievance. Let us face this situation honestly and without cant. I admit that the majority of the inhabitants of the Islands are Greeks and not Turks, Christians and not Muhammadans ; but in view of the present Balkan settlement this does not

constitute an argument for handing over these islands to Greece. We all know, for instance, that Salonika is very far from being Greek. I have not the figures by me, but I am inclined to think that the Moslems and the Israelites greatly outnumber the Hellenic population. Servia has annexed, has foully abused and is to keep territory that is purely Albanian ; while the Bulgarians are in possession of land that is inhabited almost entirely by Greeks and Turks.

Europe, therefore, has decided to discard the ethnological in favour of the geographical argument. Past settlements have been arrived at on a basis of propinquity. Why, then, make the one exception of the islands, especially as there is not any danger for the inhabitants of those islands whether or no they remain under Turkish Government ? In any case, it seems to me obvious that English policy should do no more than acquiesce reluctantly in any settlement of this particular problem that was unfavourable to Turkey. For we know the disadvantages which the surrender of the islands must entail. We have guaranteed to Turkey Imbros, Tenedos, and the Rabbit Islands, and the reasons for this action have been purely selfish. For these islands dominate the Dardanelles, and a great part of our food-supply passes through the Dardanelles. We recognize that the Greek possession of these islands might constitute a danger to us, and so firmly and quietly we eliminate that risk. On the other hand, where the danger exists only for Turkey, we not only acquiesce, but are even ready to take a part in initiating this new peril to the Ottoman Empire. For it is not denied that from Chios and Mytilene there will arise a new Hellenic propaganda whose purpose will be to create a second Macedonia in Asia.

The logic of circumstances may prevent Great Britain playing the rôle of saviour and adopting a policy which many of us believe to be desirable and practicable. The logic of circumstances may force upon us an austere neutrality ; but neither our position in Europe nor in the

Empire compel us to take up an anti-Turkish attitude upon this question of the islands. Surely in this instance statesmanship must urge what sentiment should prompt. England must desire to see a solution at least more than temporary of the present problem. Treat the islands with liberality and consideration. Let everything be done that can be done for the inhabitants short of giving them power to create chaos in Asia Minor. But the only guarantee of future quiet is their incorporation in the Ottoman Empire.

Europe is constantly reproached that the Great Powers were physicians who would not heal, and heirs that dared not inherit. And if the islands are divided upon the present basis indicated by European diplomacy, the truth of this adage will have been proved with rare cynicism. For there is not one argument which gives Tenedos and Imbros to Turkey which does not *à fortiori* give her also Chios and Mytilene.

All these islands are adjacent to the coast of Turkey. In all, or nearly all, of them the population is predominantly Greek. Some are to remain inherent parts of the Ottoman Empire because their cession to Greece might create a danger to the food-supply of the West; others, whose cession can only create a wound and a fresh menace to Turkey, are apparently for that very reason to be ceded to Greece.

THE DARKNESS OVER EGYPT

By H. M. H.

THE long-continued absence of practically all discussion or even mention of Egyptian internal affairs from the British Press is not indicative of a healthy condition either in Egypt itself or in the mentality of a people who profess to combine democracy with Imperialism.

In Egypt the superficial quiet is that of suppressed discontent—of a sullen, hopeless mistrust towards the Government of the Occupation. Certain recent happenings have strengthened in Egyptians the conviction that the Government is making preparations for the complete annexation of the country.

Foremost among these has been the transformation of the Awkaf (the administration of these religious trusts is now taken entirely out of the Khedive's hands) into a ministry, the Khedive merely retaining the privilege of nominating the Minister and the Secretary of State for that department. It is significant that Lord Kitchener demanded the dismissal of certain of the Khedive's intimate advisers who formed an opposition to prevent the arbitrary cession to the Occupation of the only real power in the affairs of the country remaining with the Khedive.

The point at issue was not that of expediency, but of principle. The mismanagement of the Khedive in the financial affairs of the Awkaf would probably not be denied and hardly defended by anyone. The budget of the de-

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The projected erection, at great cost, of a double line of
 military forts between Cairo and the Red Sea on the east,
 and separating Tripoli on the west, is viewed, not as a
 necessity for adequate defence, but as a stratagem to cut
 off Egypt from her natural allies should occasion arise; her
 isolation behind these ramparts making her subjugation
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Again, the new barracks at Heaouan have been built
 with Egyptian money; and to facilitate the conveyance of
 troops and military requirements a further large sum has
 been expended in making a new road from Cairo to
 Heaouan. This road and the Nile run side by side, and
 the former is quite an unnecessary expense, from their point
 of view, to the people of the country. It is a purely military
 convenience.

Another road, built from Sakkara to Cairo at a cost of
 £60,000 merely to convey the statue of Rameses II. from
 the desert to adorn the new square at Cairo station, repre-

sents, to the Egyptian mind, nothing but a wanton extravagance to foster an Imperial vanity not far removed from snobbery.

The large military expenditure is all the more the subject of adverse criticism in that the education of the people has not improved during the British occupation, and is admittedly in a very backward state, and that the urgent desire of Egyptians for a more adequate grant is refused on the plea that no more money is available.

There are many elementary schools; of secondary schools there are only three in Cairo, two in Alexandria, one in Tanta; and it is the universal complaint that the teaching in both grades is not only deficient but has not been adapted to the needs of the students. For example, no Muhammadan history of the Arabs or, indeed, of the country is taught. Of higher schools, there is one each of law, medicine, commerce, agriculture, and for training teachers—all in Cairo. With regard to these, the complaint is of superficiality; that the students cannot obtain a thorough knowledge of their subject, but are turned out fit only to take subordinate positions in the Government service.

Yet another cause of discontent among students is found in the Egyptian Educational Mission, endowed annually with £10,000 from Egyptian finances. It consists of six members; one Egyptian and one native for each of the countries England, France, and Switzerland. Its object is to look after the interests of the Egyptian student abroad, and to advise him in the matter of his training. Its methods have been the subject of severe public criticism in Switzerland, and in a lesser degree in France. It is complained that the advisers show no knowledge of schools and colleges, and that the advice given is frequently not merely erroneous, but injurious to the intending student. In some cases the students have been warned that they will not be admitted to the principal schools in this country, and have been recommended to inferior ones of no standing. Some

partment remains separate ; its high council retains its executive powers ; therefore it may reasonably be hoped that its administration will be greatly amended by the change. It is rather that the Egyptians believe that they see beneath the immediate reformation the first step in a design to ultimately wrest from them the control of this last native stronghold.

Another fertile grievance is the allocation of the national expenditure. It must be remembered that the National Assembly has no voice in military or financial affairs, and that its powers on all subjects are practically limited to a register of opinion. If it record an adverse vote on any proposed measure three times, the Government has the power to command its dissolution. Naturally then, since the Egyptian Budget is provided by Egyptian taxation while the Egyptian tax-payer has no official power over its expenditure, criticism is the more sensitive, the more suspicious, in that it has no recognized outlet, no means of redress.

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students have unfortunately acted on the advice given ; others, with greater wisdom, have applied to the principal schools in London and Edinburgh, and have been admitted without question or delay. The whole position of the Mission is a source of angry discussion among students in Europe, who allege that the amount of money allotted is altogether disproportionate to the very doubtful advantages accruing, and who do not hesitate to profess their belief that the scheme has no other intention than that of political surveillance.

We are not now concerned to question how far the motives attributed to the Government are true. The essential fact is that the Government of the Occupation has not yet succeeded in endearing, or even recommending, itself to the Egyptian people, but is, on the contrary, an object of suspicion, an occasion of enmity. Therefore we cannot justify to them the great military expenditure, the consequent parsimony in education, as a necessity for the protection of Egypt, for, unhappily, we are not warranted in supposing that either the fellahen or the educated Egyptian seriously prefer—if there must be a foreign occupation—British, to, let us say, French rule, or would make any willing sacrifice to keep us in possession. Neither can we appeal to them in defence of the Press Laws. Since, then, we have failed to win their confidence, let us not mistake servility for enthusiasm. In this connection Mr. Kyriakos Mikhail refers to the device of a native newspaper which wished to make some criticism on the Government. "It published a column of the most servile flattery of Lord Kitchener, and at the end of the article expressed in a few lines its real object. I cannot believe that such flattery is pleasant to Lord Kitchener, or that it influences him in the least. Such a state of affairs will naturally cause moral defects, and Egypt will soon have a race of journalists rivalling the courtiers of the ex-Sultan for sycophancy."*

* "The Freedom of the Press in Egypt," Kyriakos Mikhail.

Within the last three years eleven newspapers have been suppressed, of which seven were Nationalist. The *Shaab* is the only Nationalist paper remaining ; yet the results of the last elections proved how strong is the Nationalist feeling in Egypt to-day in spite of the determined attempts to stamp out all freedom of political opinion. As might be expected, this wholesale muzzling of the Press has not only reduced the Muhammadan majority to a condition of internal ferment, but has seriously alienated the hitherto loyal Copts. The position forms a significant parallel to that in India, where recent prosecutions of the Muhammadan Press have bitterly estranged the loyal Muslim minority.

It may be that the Government can discover no better means of recommending itself to the confidence and goodwill of the Egyptian people ; it may be that only by the instant repression of every outward sign of discontent can it feel secure in its Occupation ; but if such be the case, it is an admission of extreme weakness, of recognized insecurity of tenure, and it may be doubted whether such a policy of secrecy is altogether advantageous to the British public who are ultimately responsible for, and will certainly suffer from, any adverse consequences of a mistaken method.

Egypt, though a subject of profound indifference to the English voter, is being feverishly watched by the Indian Muhammadans, and by the whole of our West and Central African subjects—themselves strongly Muhammadan in sympathy, and at the present time jealously suspicious of the political activities of Christian Imperialism.

The failure of the Government is psychological ; its security depends on its power of rapid readjustment.

This is an age of material considerations, yet few will be hardy enough to deny that the only possibility of Empire in the future lies in the psychological harmony of the component parts with the Central Government.

PROGRESS OR REVERSE IN JAPAN

BY T. G. KOMAI OF TOKIO

IN the administration of State affairs Prince Katsura was the only man of resource available in Japan at his time, one ever ready to compromise with the strongest political opponents. He held the reins of the State for a comparatively long period, having formed a Cabinet of his own on three occasions, including the longest and the shortest that ever existed in Japan. During his eventful tenure of office, he succeeded in securing the highest honours, and attained a rank almost equal to that of Prince Ito himself. But there was a marked contrast in the career of the two men.

Prince Katsura had from the first been one of Fortune's greatest favourites, except during his last appearance on the public stage. He did his best to assimilate in his own conduct the better elements of the characters of three most distinguished "Genro," or Elder, Statesmen of the Chōshū Clan—viz., Prince Yamagata, Prince Ito, and Marquis Inouye.

Prince Yamagata was, as is well known, a great military organizer, Marquis Inouye proved a financial genius, and Prince Ito was admittedly an all-round statesman of a very high order, or (as they say in Japan) "brilliantly eight-sided." Now, Prince Katsura's ambition led him, a General and ex-Minister of War, to undertake concurrently with the Premiership, the portfolio of the Minister of Finance. In consequence of this over-weaning self-confidence, he received the nickname of "more than eight-sided," or, indeed, "delightfully sixteen-sided"! By thus combining the characteristics of all three statesmen, it is

evident that he wanted to become in his own person the Trinity of the Chōshū "Genrō"!

Prince Katsura was a fine soldier as well as an able statesman, but he was not fitted to play the part of an effective leader of Opposition, a rôle which he attempted after his fall from power early last year. He lacked the gift of eloquence, and was incapable of conducting an effective fight in Parliament against political opponents, yet he did his best to form a strong party under his own leadership and failed. Nobody in Japan could but sympathize with him in the last pitiful scene of his political life.

Apart from this final failure, his career had been one of the most splendid in the whole history of the country; for he was one of the most talented of the men of the Meiji Era. On the death of the late Emperor, he was appointed Grand Chamberlain and Lord of the Privy Seal, appointments which are usually looked upon in Japan as the conclusion of the political life of a statesman. The public having clamorously protested against his direct access to the Sovereign through these appointments owing to his reputed lack of straightforwardness, Prince Katsura, to appease the opposition, publicly declared that he had renounced all his political ambition, and would never again emerge from the remote recesses of the Imperial Household. Yet a little while after he completely ignored his promise, and resumed his usual political life, to the great indignation of the people. He never was a constitutional statesman. He was always ready to carry out his plans quite regardless of the means, however reprehensible. He elbowed all rivals aside, and ran down all opponents, while he upheld his own partisans through thick and thin. In a word, he firmly believed that the end justified the means. To any of the close students of political affairs in Japan, it is clear that Prince Katsura had been buried spiritually long before his sacred remains were interred on October 19 last, with the somewhat pompous rites of Buddhism, at the Zohjohji Temple, Tokio. Early last year the populace was stirred up by

the vociferous cries of "Protect the Constitution!" and "Abolish the Clan system!" It was indeed a great mistake on the part of Prince Katsura to try to form a strong political party of his own while leading the coalition and holding the position of Premier in his third Ministry. He was thoroughly misled by his advisers, or, rather, he was quite blind to the signs of the times, in contrast to the clear insight and straightforward conduct of Prince Ito in similar circumstances. Prince Katsura only realized the importance of recruiting partisans for himself, and never understood the real value of paying heed to the voice of the people! With autocratic hand he dissolved the House of Commons twice, and he on several occasions suspended the whole Diet. We still look back with inexpressible pleasure to his first Ministry, when we concluded the all-important Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and successfully fought Russia. These two events in our history helped to raise Prince Katsura to a place of exceptional prominence. During his second Ministry, Japan carried out the annexation of Korea, and renewed her treaties with the Powers. But to a fair-minded Japanese it seems that the Premier was only reaping what others had sown! Just as in private life he divorced three wives in succession for mere reasons of caprice, so in public life he kept on chopping and changing without apparent reasons until he confused the public conscience, and made hosts of political enemies.

It is extremely interesting to note that Admiral Count Yamamoto, who, while Navy Minister during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-05, was keen enough to appoint Admiral Togo the Commander-in-Chief of our Japanese Combined Squadron, immediately grasped the helm of State by accepting the succession of Prince Katsura, a representative of the Satsuma Clan thus following one of the Chōshū Clan. The Army, as represented by ex-Premier General Prince Katsura, was forced to transfer the reins of the State to the Navy, which was thus far adequately represented by Admiral Count Yamamoto. The latter has

most effectively compromised with the Constitutional party (Seiyūkwaï), or, rather, has coerced it into supporting him.

Ever since Admiral Yamamoto became the Prime Minister early last spring, he has most strenuously exerted himself in settling all-important domestic affairs. Although he belongs to the Satsuma Clan, he is generally regarded as one who is much less influenced by clan prejudices than the rest of his colleagues. As he successfully proved himself one of the most brilliant, serious, and determined men of action in the past, so he is now trying to show himself equal to his own past in his new statesmanship.

The adjustment of State expenditure, which has been one of the greatest problems in the Japanese political life since 1886, has been effectively carried through by the present Yamamoto Cabinet. Some 6,400 Government officials throughout the country have been dismissed, thus saving the State some 4,000,000 yen per year. Altogether 166 changes were made in the regulations affecting the State departments, including the abolition of several offices and bureaux, the total expense saved by this adjustment amounting to 58,087,300 yen per annum.

Our Budget for the year 1914 is characterized by a most happy innovation, one absolutely unprecedented in the long annals of our 2,574 years of written history. It shows a surplus of 123,500,000 yen, made up as follows: 76,000,000 yen, the amount brought forward from the balance of 1912, together with that saved up through the readjustments of 1913; 42,978,100 yen, the amount saved through the continuous readjustments of 1914; 4,572,900 yen, the natural increase of our revenue, after deducting 12,200,000 yen, due to the deduction of the national taxes.

Under the circumstances, Japan is enjoying the delightful atmosphere of a financial spring. There is some political agitation in the country in favour of the reduction or abolition of certain exceptionally burdensome taxes, such as, for instance, transit duty, duty on textiles, business tax. Some of the parties demand sweeping reductions, as, for

instance, 30,000,000 yen by the newly formed Katsura's party under Baron Kato; 50,000,000 yen by the Press, representing the general public; and 70,000,000 yen by the national Opposition under Mr. Inukai.

Japan is thus still enjoying a steady progress in prosperity and in the more widespread adoption of Western civilization, which seems to go on unchecked, and which is accompanied with a yearly increase of population of more than half a million to fill the newly acquired territories of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, and Saghalien. The two clans of Chōshū and Satsuma, which seemed to have monopolized the Japanese Army and Navy respectively, are no longer able to supply the ever-increasing number of officers needed. Whereas formerly Japan had only one General and six Lieutenant-Generals and Vice-Admirals in the Army and Navy in 1878, she now has twenty Generals and Admirals and sixty Lieutenant-Generals and Vice-Admirals. The Budget of 60,000,000 yen in the early part of the Meiji Era has now become 641,230,556 yen. With an army of nineteen divisions, besides those garrisoned in the four newly acquired territories, one leading clan can never furnish a sufficient number of men adequately to control the whole organization.

The recent failure of the late Prince Katsura was but the beginning of the end of the long prosperity of clanism in Japan! They have long since lost substantial power, and resemble an old hollowed tree, which seemed whole and sound. They have presented this aspect by their maintenance of official dignities of one kind and another; but now that they have been unveiled, their inward weakness and infirmity are exposed! This state recalls to me the eloquent words of Tennyson:

"Dust are our frames; and, gilded dust, our pride
Looks only for a moment whole and sound;
Like that long-buried body of the king,
Found lying with his urns and ornaments,
Which at a touch of light, an air of heaven,
Slipt into ashes, and was found no more."

The late Prince Ito, General Nogi, and Yoshida Shōin, their great moral teacher, rank side by side with Prince Field-Marshal Yamagata, the late Prince, General Katsura, and General Count Terauchi as distinguished representatives of the Chōshū men. Unquestionably the Chōshū Clan has produced many a brilliant and useful character, and has done much to bring into existence the Japan of the Meiji Era. But now that their work is done, and their energy apparently exhausted, it is pleasing to note that the Chōshū Clan system is steadily declining under the new régime of "great rectitude"—the Taishō Era!

RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND SOCIAL REFORM VIA EDUCATIONAL REFORM

BY CAPTAIN J. W. PETAVEL, R.E. (RETIRED)

IDEAS make their appearance in the world like lights in a town after sunset ; a new idea shines forth from a number of minds at once, and spreads over the world, starting from many centres. In some cases the reason for this is quite plain, for some ideas belong clearly to the time in which they appear, and that is the case with social reform via educational reform, the idea which is now raising great hopes in the breasts of reformers, both of the East and of the West.

Of all plans of social reform that have ever been put forward this one can claim to be the simplest. Industrial progress and progress in agricultural methods have rendered possible the employment of large numbers of quite unpractised workers, with just a few skilled leading-hands, and the result is that, doing things in a sufficiently large way, we are able to organize people of any trade, or of no trade, and even of no skill, with only a small proportion of skilled workers, to produce the main necessities of life for their own use and consumption. The Swiss have done this so successfully as to make their prisoners and social failures entirely self-supporting.

Now from this economic fact certain things follow which are of the greatest possible importance in connection with popular education. Educationalists are agreed about the

immense value of "training the mind through the hand and the eye." Wherever this method has been introduced the best results have followed. The report of Dr. Verschensteiner to the German Agricultural Society on his experiments in that direction in the schools of Munich is most striking. The following is a brief extract from it :

"What was the result of giving all boys without exception in their eighth year of school life a kind of instruction which took them by the heart, because it was in harmony not only with their nature, but, also, with their social or home life? Of about 2,200 boys who in the last school year left the highest class of our elementary schools, 2,150 went at once to hand-work or some other skilled occupation. The children had tasted the joy of solid, practical work, and the abandonment of skilled occupation was at an end. . . . *The first cause is undoubtedly the pleasure in the hand-work itself which the well-thought-out instruction given by artisans has created in the boys in the elementary schools. You can judge what an advantage, not only for our industries, but also for education as a whole, is thus obtained if you remember that it is only boys and girls who are interested in their work who can be educated. It is not only that serious and thorough work is in itself an important factor in education; the soul of the child under the influence of its joy in work becomes more receptive to our teaching—we win its heart through that joy, and at the same time we gain power to influence all its other likings.*"

The part we have italicized disposes of any contention that manual training is useful principally to those who are to be artisans. All alike benefit by "the training of the mind through the hand and the eye."

One great need, then, is to develop everywhere this system of training, and another need quite as urgent is to raise the school age. It is a physiological fact that youths up to the age of about eighteen are highly susceptible to influences, both moral and physical, alike for good and for bad. Great stress was laid on this in the report of

the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.

Hitherto the difficulty in the way, both of manual training and of raising the school-age, has been the cost and the sacrifices to parents, who often need their children's help at the earliest possible moment. Now, however, with the experience we have had of organizations producing things for the use of their own workers, we see that, if we introduced manual training into the schools, we might follow the period of schooling proper by one during which the boys would be employed, under the best and most instructive conditions, producing the main necessities of life for themselves, and for their parents when it was necessary to help them. This organization of youths would be able, besides, to produce food for the school-children's meals, and to do a variety of work for the educational department. There would be many things, of course, that it would not be able to produce for itself; but, on the other hand, it could render such services as those mentioned above to the public in exchange for what they received from it.

✓ There are different ways of looking at this plan of self-supporting, or partly self-supporting, popular education, and its advantages, both educational and economic, are the most clearly apparent when we consider that agriculture would be the principal work of the establishments in which the youths would be employed.

A man cannot be the best specialist unless he has first learnt to be versatile, and he can never be sure of a living unless he has a second string to his industrial bow. In these days of minute specialization, therefore, the most important function of a popular educational system should be to give boys a training in versatility and a second string to their bow.

Many countries have a period of military service to teach their young men to be versatile, and develop them physically. A period of agricultural work, including as many

industries as possible producing things for the use of the workers themselves, would be the best substitute in countries which have not conscription.

Agriculture on a large scale combines everything that is required to make it the ideal preparation for every working lad's vocational training. Involving as it does mechanical work and all kinds of craftsmanship, it is the best employment to give training in versatility ; agriculture, again, is the natural second string to everyone's industrial bow. Agriculture, finally, as the healthiest of all occupations, is that in which boys should be employed during their years of adolescence, when they are being formed for life.

In all probability an educational-industrial organization would be allowed to sell agricultural produce, as it could do so in most countries, and certainly in Great Britain, without harming private producers. If that could be allowed, the whole educational system could be made self-supporting, and agriculture revived by this system of education. So great is the economic advantage enjoyed by an organization which remunerates its workers with what it produces itself, that the Swiss colony organized on that principle is self-supporting, although it employs vagabonds and workshies.

But the thing that, more than any other, makes the advocates of self-supporting education hope for the greatest results from its adoption, is the moral education it would give.

Children should receive a thoroughly good education and training, and be stinted of nothing that is necessary to make them strong, healthy, and industrially efficient, and they would receive all that, for under this system there would be no need to stint them of anything, because when they were well trained their labour would soon pay for it all. In paying by their labour they would learn that there are duties as well as rights ; giving to their parents and to their country the first-fruits of the care and the training they had received.

In some way or other the trained members of the com-

munity must pay for the education of the children. This way of paying by labour has every advantage on its side.

Thus we are brought to the realization of the fact, of infinite importance and hopefulness, that, under modern conditions, a thoroughly good educational system, one suited in every way to develop the young people morally, intellectually, and physically, to train them to be industrious and fit them to earn their living, would be, not costly, but, on the contrary, absolutely cheap. It would be paid for by organized labour. The only sacrifice made by those who gave their labour would be that of receiving their remuneration in kind, instead of in cash. That, however, would be the best possible discipline for them at their age.

This, then, is the plan of social reform the Educational Colonies Association* has been founded to advocate.

In India educational and social reformers had been thinking along those lines, and the movement, although unorganized, was very extensive indeed. India is quite familiar with the idea of industrial-educational establishments, which have existed from the earliest times in the form of *Gurukulas*, and many reformers in that country entertained hopes of seeing the whole problem of popular education solved by the old system in a modernized form.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore united Eastern and Western reformers who are working for this great and hopeful cause, and under his auspices it was decided to take the first practical steps in India, where the writer of these lines is now engaged in the work.

Indian reformers have shown themselves particularly ready to appreciate the fact that this educational system would furnish a hopeful solution to the whole social question. The educational organization would be nothing more nor less than a great co-operative organization. So that it would not only give us workers who would be worth a good wage, but who would also be in a position to command the wage they were worth; for when the workers

* 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

have learnt what can be done by co-operation, they will insist on proper conditions of life and labour.

Another thing that India's great poet and educationalist saw correctly was that we must not wait for the Government to realize the great possibilities which modern progress has opened up.

Educational colonies should be started as a private enterprise meeting a very clear need, and which would therefore be put on a sound financial basis.

It would perhaps be difficult to make establishments of this kind industrially successful from the beginning, and on a small scale; but that would not be necessary at first, because there are numbers of parents who would gladly pay a little to have their boys employed for a few years after leaving school at the healthiest work—work that would build up their constitutions and open the widest possible horizon to them.

Thus, from the beginning, educational colonies could be made financially sound undertakings, and as they grew they would become more and more successful commercially, by virtue of the economic fact that the larger an industrial organization the more productive is the labour of every individual employed in it. The more educational colonies grew, therefore, the more boys they would attract to them by the favourable conditions of employment they would be able to offer, until the time came for the Government to take them over, just as it took elementary education over from those who organized it originally.

GREECE AND THE POSITION IN THE NEAR EAST

BY D. J. CASSAVETTI

THE second Balkan War, little as it was sought after by Greece, had the effect of saving that country from an almost total eclipse in the Balkan Peninsula : Greece, owing to the glory of her ancient monuments, could never be eclipsed entirely. Had those who guided the destinies of Bulgaria not become demoralized by success, and claimed the right to possess, besides Thrace, practically the whole of Macedonia, the terms which Greece had been willing to concede would have placed her in the dilemma of either continuously having to maintain at least 10,000 armed men on the Bulgarian frontier, or else of leaving Salonica at the mercy of a sudden attack by the army of the ambitious Ferdinand.

Savage passions were aroused in connection with the second war, which, to judge from Captain Ivanoff's article published in the February number of this Review, do not seem even now to have abated altogether. In the course of his article this Bulgarian officer tries to prove that the second war was begun, not by the Bulgars, but by the Greeks and Serbs ; and this in spite of the fact that Sofia politicians have been indulging in mutual recriminations over this very subject in their attempt to fix upon the individual among them, be it King Ferdinand, Dr. Danef, or General Savoff, at whose door must be laid this treacherous act. M. Chedo Mijatovitch, in his article published in the same

number of this Review, replies so fully and conclusively to the general political allegations of Captain Ivanoff that I have nothing to add to what he says. In the course of his article, however, this Bulgarian patriot devotes considerable space to "Greek Excesses during the Second War"; he quotes some extremely misleading statistics in support of his contention that the country over which the Græco-Bulgarian campaign was fought was almost exclusively inhabited by Bulgarians, and consequently the Bulgarian army could not have committed any excesses. The contention is not one which will carry weight; at its best, it rests on an unconvincing argument. Moreover, the purpose of King Constantine's complaints could not, as Captain Ivanoff suggests, have been to divert the attention of Europe from the atrocities of which the Greek troops had been guilty, for the reason that it has never been suggested that they had been guilty of any before then. Whatever disgraceful acts were committed by individual Greek soldiers later, if they exceeded the number which a well-disciplined army can be expected to commit in war, can be ascribed to their justifiable desire for retaliation. In connection with this I should like to say a word about the facsimiles of letters stated to have been found in the captured mail-bag of a Greek infantry regiment, which the Bulgarians have been distributing among all sections of society in this country who are in any way connected with or interested in the Balkans. I consider that it is my duty to warn the public that in several instances the letters in question have been incorrectly translated in such a way as to give the text a worse meaning than can really be extracted from it. Moreover, though they are difficult to prove, there are signs of falsification in some of the letters. However, the misleading translation of certain passages in these letters, which I shall be happy to show to anyone who cares to refer to me, are an indication of the way in which the evidence has been collected, upon which the attack against the conduct of the Greek army has been launched. It is,

however, pleasant to think that one result of the one month's sanguinary war has been to make the recurrence of Macedonian atrocities practically impossible. Macedonia, thanks to the Bulgarian and Servian armies and to the Greek army and navy, is no longer Turkish. Atrocities and atrocity campaigns flourished under the Turkish régime. Macedonia has now been partitioned, and it is almost as difficult to imagine atrocities being committed in Macedonia now as it was in free Greece, free Servia and free Bulgaria before the war.

The Treaty of Bucharest, which accomplished the partition, afforded a more or less satisfactory solution of the rival claims in Macedonia and Thrace. An absolutely strict ethnological partition of territory is never practicable, and was notoriously impossible as between Greece and Bulgaria, owing to the geographical position of Thrace, in which there is a large and important Greek element. The Treaty of Bucharest settled the Serbo-Greek, (subject to the agreement previously entered into between Servia and Greece), the Græco-Bulgarian and the Serbo-Bulgarian frontiers, leaving the Turco-Bulgarian frontier to be settled by the Treaty of Constantinople. There are, however, two other problems in the Near East, the solution of which was in no way furthered by the Treaty of Bucharest. Both of them may be said to owe their existence almost exclusively to Italian aspirations for power in the Eastern Mediterranean. Both these questions deeply affect the interests of Greece, whose misfortune it is that the ambitions of a Great Power tend to interfere with her just claims. The first is that of the southern frontier of the kingdom of Albania, and the second relates to the fate of the *Ægean Islands*. These two questions, which were both left to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors of the Great Powers, are *a priori* completely independent of each other. The first is strictly merely a matter between Greece and Albania, but is confused by the jealous insistence of Italy on claims which she has over the

Adriatic Sea. The second, which is primarily a matter between Greece and Turkey, is complicated by the fact that Italy occupied Rhodes and the Dodekanese during the Turco-Italian War. As, however, the Powers of the Triple Entente are anxious that Italy should evacuate the posts which she had occupied in the Eastern Mediterranean, but take less interest in the control of the Adriatic, the two questions were made interdependent. Support was promised to Mr. Venizelos over the question of the *Ægean* Islands, provided that Greece waived her claims to part of the district of Northern Epirus which remained in the occupation of her troops. In this connection it should be remembered that Greece had shown restraint in not occupying any territory beyond that which she had good ethnological grounds for claiming, thus indicating that her campaign in Epirus was one of liberation, and not of territorial aggrandizement.

After the failure of the International Commission to delimit the southern frontier of Albania in the central district, the eastern and western extremities having been settled by the Conference of Ambassadors, Sir Edward Grey arbitrarily proposed a frontier which, speaking roughly, followed the shortest line across the debated territory, a frontier which possessed neither geographical, strategic, nor economic merit. This frontier was accepted by the other Great Powers. Sir Edward Grey then proposed a settlement of the *Ægean* Islands question, which was that Greece should hold all the islands occupied by her except Imbros, Tenedos and the small islands which are marked on some maps as the Rabbit Islands, which lie close to the entrance to the Dardanelles, and Castellorizo, and that Italy should return the remaining islands to Turkey. The other Great Powers adopted this proposal also, Italy's acceptance being qualified by the proviso that her evacuation of the islands must remain subject to Turkey's complete retirement from Cyrenaica, as laid down in the Treaty of Lausanne, and later by a demand

for compensation, in the shape of concessions in Asia Minor, for her outlay in connection with the islands. The proposal, in deference to the representations of the Porte, contained the stipulation that Greece must not fortify the islands near to the coast of Asia Minor, notably Chios and Mytilene. Greece accepted the proposal, but Mr. Venizelos pointed out that, if certain islands were to remain undefended, their immunity from attack ought to be guaranteed by the Great Powers. The Triple Entente Powers seem to have admitted the reasonableness of this contention, but were not followed by the Triple Alliance Powers, who appear to have expressed the view that they would rather that Greece fortified these islands than that they themselves should undertake any obligations with regard to their immunity from attack. Such is the actual position with regard to the *Ægean Islands*.

North Epirus is now the chief centre of disturbance in the Balkans, but Mr. Casanges' article published in the last issue of this Review contains so complete and lucid an explanation of the factors in the situation, that all I can usefully add is that the Epirotes are doing just what Mr. Casanges said that they would do; and it will be surprising if they do not, as the result of their resolute attitude, obtain satisfactory terms, comprising a reasonable measure of autonomy. The Epirus question has practically passed out of the hands of the Hellenic Government which loyally carried out its promise to the Powers to evacuate the contested region.

Such is not the case with the question of the islands. Greece is still in occupation of the whole of those islands which she occupied during the war—namely, all the *Ægean Islands* which before the war had formed part of the Turkish dominions, except Rhodes and the Dodekanese, which Italy had already occupied. In the first place, as regards these islands, Greece is still in the position of *beata possidens*. In the second place, as regards the whole of the islands, Greece has the moral right of being able to claim

all except an insignificant minority of the inhabitants as Greeks. The exact figures are 458,355 Greeks, 26,938 Muhammadans, and 4,567 various; and of these Muhammadans the bulk are of Greek extraction, as shown by their dress and their customs. The following list shows the exact distribution of the population of the islands, those occupied by Italy being distinguished by an asterisk :

	Greeks.	Muhammadans.	Various.
Thasos ...	14,940	98	103
Samothrace ...	3,700	—	—
Imbros ...	8,007	—	—
Lemnos ...	20,434	—	—
Tenedos ...	4,200	1,300	—
Mytilene ...	125,755	14,476	320
Moschonissia	2,234	—	—
Chios ...	71,724	1,950	950
Psarra ...	565	—	—
Samos ...	50,277	300	340
*Icaria ...	14,760	—	—
*Patmos ...	3,700	—	—
*Leros ...	6,924	—	—
*Calymnos ...	19,855	—	—
*Cos ...	12,550	2,920	—
*Nissyros ...	6,599	—	—
*Astypalea ...	1,900	—	—
*Syme ...	18,639	—	—
*Telos ...	1,850	—	—
*Halke ...	3,740	—	—
*Rhodes ...	37,777	5,854	2,854
*Carpathos ...	9,527	—	—
*Cassos ...	6,700	—	—
Castellorizo ...	12,000	40	—
	458,355	26,938	4,567

Finally, the islands have enjoyed the right of self-government through several centuries of Turkish domination. Greece was the official language used in the courts, in Government offices, and even in correspondence with the Central Government. So far as the revenue was concerned, in most cases they only paid a form of tribute to the Porte, and could levy and expend their income for their own purposes according to their needs. During the last

fifty years the Turks have repeatedly encroached on the autonomous rights of these islands, under protest from Great Britain and other Powers friendly to Greece. Finally, the Young Turks, under the cloak of extending the political rights of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, succeeded in curtailing the privileges of the islands by bringing them more directly under the administrative organization of the Sublime Porte. They even went so far as to land troops on the island of Samos, which, under a treaty to which Great Britain, France and Russia were parties, enjoyed what was virtually complete autonomy.

The principle underlying Sir Edward Grey's proposal appears to have been that compensation for the loss of part of Epirus should be granted to Greece in connection with the *Ægean Islands*. How any compensation can be given to Greece out of territory which she actually holds (by every imaginable right, including the right of conquest) by Turkey, whose only title to it was that of conquest, and which she forfeited during the war, it is indeed difficult to imagine. Such compensation could only be given in connection with the islands now occupied by Italy. It need hardly be pointed out that Greece, having gained the supremacy at sea, would have occupied Rhodes and the Dodekanese, as well as the other islands, had not Italy seized them. It is monstrous that islands which enjoyed rights of self-government under treaty with the Sultans of Constantinople should have had such rights infringed by a belligerent Power at war with Turkey. At most, the Italian occupation should not have exceeded what was necessary to establish the claim of Italy to such rights of suzerainty as Turkey possessed, and it is sincerely to be hoped that when the Italians evacuate them—Heaven and Signor Giolitti, or his successor, only know when this may be—they will enjoy the full rights which they exercised before the era of "Young Turk" experiments in democracy.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I.

THE average Briton, with the exception of the few interested in missionary enterprise, regards the inhabitants of Asia Minor as mere savages, and holds, with charming impartiality, that Turks, Armenians, and Kurds are all equally at fault, except that the Armenians, being cowards, make the most noise when they are hurt. And the governing classes share this indifference without the justification of ignorance due to lack of leisure and information. No mistake could be more disastrous in its consequences to all concerned.

The Armenians are a civilized people. All through Armenia are found ruined palaces, fortresses, and monasteries, eloquent of vanished glories. They were among the first to adopt Christianity, and their churches date back to the first centuries of the Christian era. Professor Edgar Banks tells us that the new stone library at Etchmiadzin, in Russian Armenia, contains thousands of ancient Armenian manuscripts, and that there are cuneiform inscriptions in the museum twenty-five centuries old. Armenian learning in the fifth century saved to posterity, by its translations, early writings, the originals of which were afterwards irretrievably lost.

As to the charge of cowardice, Djemal Bey (who became Vali of Adana after the massacres) speaks in the highest

terms of the bravery of the Armenian soldiers under his command during the recent wars, and expresses his belief that the Armenians and Turks together will one day regenerate the Ottoman Empire.

The Kurds are mainly a barbarous people, and are a menace to the Turks no less than to the Armenians. There is no Kurdish nation, no Government, no written language, literature, or schools. The Kurdish movement is limited to a few chiefs, and the Kurds suffer almost as much at the hands of these feudal despots as do their Christian neighbours.

Kurdish villages are groups of hovels, sunk in the ground, lighted by a hole in the roof, and no green thing is found growing in their neighbourhood.

The Armenian villages have churches and schools, and agriculture is generally practised.

Mr. Noel Buxton records the fact that the Turkish Government is often powerless to protect Turks from Kurdish outrage, much less Armenians and other Christians. One can scarcely blame the Turkish Government when one knows something of the Kurds. Take as an example Ismail Aga Simko, who is certainly one of the best and most gifted of the Kurdish chiefs. He hits and splits, at a distance of sixty yards, a cartridge held between the fingers of one of his men ; not now and then, but five times out of six. He has political ambitions, talks of the Kurdish movement, and holds that the Kurds will gain their independence within two years. He asserts that any granting of political privileges by the Powers to the Armenians would not be tolerated for one moment by the Kurds. They would instantly massacre all the Armenians.

Last November, in Paris, I met a young infantry Lieutenant of Kurdish origin, belonging to the family of Salaheddine Eyoubi. He is rich, and his family has great influence in Kurdistan. He told me that the Kurds could never admit the Armenians to political, administrative, and judicial equality.

"We can die, mademoiselle," he said, "but we cannot submit to dishonour. Kurdistan is really our country. The Armenians have only taken refuge with us. Lately they have been infected by some young and ambitious Armenians, poisoned with Occidental ideas. The general Armenian public treats us with respect, but occasionally gets incited by these intriguers to make disturbances. Often the trouble is due to Russian Armenian reactionaries, instigated by the Russian Government."

A reference to the daily atrocities perpetrated on defenceless victims elicited this answer :

"These are the crimes noticeable in any country under similar circumstances. *No one notices these things.* Lately they have been chronicled by Armenian Committees. As for us we only know of an Armenian Question through European newspapers. And autonomy in Armenia is impossible. The *amour propre* of Kurds and Muhammadans would never suffer them to sink to the level of their humble slaves of yesterday. As I said before, we could not survive dishonour, and we do not dread death."

II.

Albania in Europe, and Armenia in Asia, have hitherto been two of the main centres of unrest in the Ottoman Empire. Both are mountainous countries, but there all resemblance ceases.

Chiefly Muhammadan in religion, Albania was the great stronghold of Abdul Hamid. His bodyguard was always recruited from amongst the Albanians. And yet Albania became the birthplace of the new régime. From thence came the telegram to the Sultan asking him to promulgate the then Constitution, and Abdul Hamid, after a few days' hesitation, acceded to the demand.

"Having given birth to the new Turkey, this wild country plunged her (Turkey) into a disastrous war, which cost Turkey the loss of her European possessions, and finally of Albania herself. And Turkey can now be congratulated on having her hands free from that turbulent country."

This passage from a patriotic Armenian's letter shows the loyalty of the Armenian, despite all he has suffered ; and were all Turkish statesmen as far-seeing as the late Kiamil Pasha and Boghos Nubar Pasha, the Armenian Question would soon cease to exist. Kiamil Pasha was keenly alive to the value of the still unquenched patriotism of the much-tried Armenians, and assured me that the carrying out of reforms in Armenia would be his first care on returning to office.

Boghos Pasha (whom I saw after the Peace Conference in London), less idealistic by nature, pointed out that an enlightened self-interest would insure the carrying out of the promised reforms, as the solvency of the Turkish Empire depended to a very great extent upon the prosperity of Armenia. And the Armenians, he said, preferred to remain Ottoman subjects, provided they received security and justice, as their religion and nationality were safer under Turkish rule than they would be if annexed by any other Power.

The short-sightedness of Turkish statesmen (with too few exceptions) is simply astounding, if we take into consideration the geographical position of Armenia, bordering as it does upon Russia, the natural enemy of the Ottoman Empire. The misgovernment of Armenia is proverbial, and the new régime has not improved matters. When each Power had obtained its share of the spoils from Turkey—Germany her railways, Austria and Italy the creation of Albania, France her loans and railway concessions in Northern Anatolia, England her Persian Gulf and Koweit—then Russia put forward her claim to protect poor misgoverned Armenia, and many Armenians, driven desperate by continued oppression and massacre, were only too willing to seek refuge from the known horrors of Turkish misrule in the possible security offered by Russian protection.

The scheme of moderate administrative reforms drawn up by the Powers and accepted by Turkey, after much temporizing, provides that the six vilayets inhabited by

Armenians, shall be divided into two districts, each to be under the control of an Inspector-General, the Powers having a voice in the election of these two Commissioners.

Vague and inefficient as is this measure of administrative reform, it would satisfy the Armenians if faithfully carried out. They, however, fear that nothing will be done, because European control is not adequately stipulated and guaranteed, and that the usual suicidal astuteness of the Turkish statesmen will enable them to evade even this shadowy control, and so nullify the whole scheme. The weak point lies in the fact that, although of European nationality, the Inspectors will enter the service of Turkey, and will receive instructions from Constantinople, while the Armenians were rightly anxious that they should be held responsible to the Powers, who would exercise direct control over them, through their Ambassadors, at the Sublime Porte.

The Chauvinist Press of Turkey has wrongfully accused the Armenians of Separatist aspirations, and of attempting to introduce foreign intervention by their demand for European control.

The Turks assert their intention to introduce reforms in Armenia, as in other Turkish provinces, independent of foreign control, and are astonished and hurt when the Armenians demand more than mere promises.

The Armenians deny that their claims for reform have any bearing upon Separatism, which they reject *in toto*. They insist only upon reforms that are absolutely vital, and honestly believe that these reforms will not be carried out by Turkey, however solemn her promises may be. Painful experience has now taught them that no promises are binding upon the Turkish Government unless they are backed by the Great Powers.

Furthermore, the Armenians maintain that, in demanding European control, they are more patriotic than the Turks who refuse it, since, lacking that control, no appreciable improvement can take place, as the Turks have

the men nor the means to that end at their disposal. Thus the country will remain in its present unsatisfactory condition, ripe any moment for Russian annexation—a repetition of the history of Macedonia, which could have been saved by the inauguration of timely reforms.

III.

Just a word in conclusion to those friends of Turkey who desire the preservation of her integrity. There is no salvation for Turkey without reform. Will these reforms be really introduced without pressure from the Powers? Can they be efficiently carried out without European aid? Is not the carrying out of essential reforms, under adequate European control, the only way of avoiding *dangerous* foreign intervention? And will not a reformed and prosperous Turkey be the Turkey that will the soonest become free of the tutelage of Europe?

The Turk rarely learns from the facts of history. Force is the only power to which he bows, and he defers the evil day of reform to the very last. Many months after the establishment of the Constitution, Mr. Charles Woods, author of the "Danger Zone of Europe," asked an Artillery Commander if reforms had been introduced in the artillery, and whether range practices were now carried on. The answer was that the Turkish Artillery had been so good for fifteen years, that it was not necessary to carry out any reforms! And I recall the airy optimism of the Turkish statesman at Constantinople in the spring of 1910, when Dr. Platon Drakoulis, on a semi-official mission, urged the advantages of a Turco-Greek Alliance* as the basis for a Balkan Federation, in view of the danger of a Balkan Alliance which left Turkey outside.

* When a Turkish statesman shows wisdom it is often late in the day, and when he is out of power. Cherif Pasha writes (*Mecherouiette*, March, 1914) that in his opinion an understanding ought to have been come to with Greece with regard to Crete before the beginning of external troubles. Where was he in 1910, when such an expression of opinion *temper* have been priceless?

"Let them unite," was his reply. "We shall be more than a match for them all." And that same statesman last month assured me that he was perfectly satisfied with the policy of his party and its results. And he spoke the truth.

In face of such facts, is not Sir Edward Grey premature in assuming that—

"The present Turkish Government have realized how much they have lost in Europe by their bad government, and how essential it is that they should apply in their Asiatic provinces the lessons which have been learned from their reverses in Europe."

What evidence does he offer us that these lessons have been learned?

THE SITUATION IN EPIRUS

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ARGYROCASTRO,
March 3, 1914.

YESTERDAY the Provisional Government constituted by the three Archbishops of Konitsa, Argyrocastro, and Korytsa, with Mr. Zografos as Chairman, declared here the independence of Northern Epirus. Previous to that Santa-Quaranta and Delvino had raised the flag of Epirus and surprised the Greek authorities, who remained helpless before the passive insubordination of the troops under their command.

I came to Argyrocastro Sunday morning, having heard in Janina from trustworthy sources that Mr. Zografos had arrived. Mr. Foiristi, the Governor-General of Epirus, preceded me there by an hour. The sights in the road were heartrending. Thousands of villagers crowded the trunk road, in vehicles of all sorts; beasts of burden, men, women, and children, were alike loaded with their chattels. They were moving from the towns and villages of the contested zone to the oasis situated within the Greek territory. This general *déménagement*, I have been told, has been going on for the past ten days. As a matter of fact, from the very moment it became known that the Greek Government had decided to evacuate the territory ascribed to Albania. The endeavours of the emissaries of the Government to prevent this emigration were of no avail. The public mistrust in the will of the Albanians, and

the power of the Albanian Government to respect and protect the life and property of the overwhelming Greek and Christian majority of the inhabitants, is too deeply rooted by life-long experience to be so easily allayed by the oral assurances of the Greek civil and military officers.

The arrival of Mr. Zografos had no effect on this wholesale emigration of women and children, for all men were anxious to place their families in safety in order to be more free in case of an invasion, either to fight or to burn their houses, and withdraw into Greek territory.

Mr. Foiristi's mission in Argyrocastro was to persuade Mr. Zografos to leave town willingly, as to use force was not easy of accomplishment without bloodshed. For, ever since the General Assembly, the permanent committee of the two Archbishops residing in Argyrocastro had given orders to all men able to carry arms to be ready for a *coup de main* at any time. Mr. Zografos's refusal to leave forced the hand of the Government, and General Papoulias arrived in great haste from Korytsa with formal orders to arrest the two Archbishops and order Mr. Zografos out of the district. It is to be surmised that on arrival in Argyrocastro he discovered that the execution of his orders was fraught with great dangers. The garrison of the town was passively opposed to obey orders to shoot their brethren, whom they had freed eleven months ago from the Turkish yoke. A new regiment was ordered there, but its arrival did not greatly improve matters. The spirit of the non-commissioned officers and men of the new regiment was no better. Not a man in the troops was disposed to go beyond a formal intimidation of the population, and no wonder, for it goes against their grain to surrender the country which by great sacrifices of blood they had conquered. The General, thus baffled, tried to entice the Archbishops to his headquarters and place them there and then under surveillance. The Archbishops appealed to their position as emissaries of the Ecumenical Patriarch, and refused to move a step from their sacred asylum of the metropolis. The defiance of the

Archbishops forced the General to negotiate, and by this means he obtained the concession to have the declaration of independence take place outside the town. Not trusting, however, to promises, he occupied all the outlets with troops, with orders to stop the incoming of the sacred battalions of the surrounding villages, who had been advised to assemble there. This precaution served only to delay matters for a few hours. For the assembled Epirotic troops, two thousand strong, after witnessing the official Declaration of Independence by the President of the Provisional Government, Mr. Zografos, and the blessing of the flag of the new autonomous state by the Bishops, formed a long procession, broke the cordon of the Greek troops, and would not fire at the people, who declared loudly that they preferred to be shot at by their brethren than be massacred by the Albanians, and made a demonstration before the Government House. Soldiers and petty officers showed their attitude to the movement by singly saluting the new flag, which consists of a white Greek cross in a blue field, with the Byzantine eagle spread in the middle. After speeches by Mr. Zografos and the Archbishops, the Epirotic troops withdrew to their villages, and the Epirotic flag now floats on the balcony of the Archbishops' mansion where the seat of the new autonomous Government has been installed.

Last night, the Archbishop of Konitsa, who seems to be the most active factor in the whole movement, left for Delvino and Santa-Quaranta, supposedly to establish the new autonomous authorities. All sorts of rumours fly through the town, but none can be verified. We hear that the surrender of the Korytsa was delayed and the hasty arrival of General Papoulias, who is in charge of the evacuation, seems to give a shadow of truth to the rumour. Another rumour is that Moschopolis was surrendered by the Greeks, but the inhabitants threatened the invading Albanian force with resistance, and that the Dutch officers declared that they did not intend to fire on the inhabitants.

The people at large, and to a great extent the rank and file of the army of occupation, are greatly worked up against the Greek Government, and Mr. Venizelos especially, for what they characterize as a betrayal of their interests. It is not unusual to hear the Greek premier treated as an ambitious politician who repeatedly and unscrupulously jeopardized the national interests for his own personal ambition when in Crete, while he hesitates now to sacrifice his love of office and power to the major interests of the Epirotes. Worse adjectives are also heard. There are, though, not a few who think that he is playing a deep game, and that his shrewdness is badly served on account of lack of proper men.

THE AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF NAZIM PASHA'S DEATH

ABOUT the time of the death of the famous Turkish General, there used to be Cabinet meetings every day in Constantinople. Reshid Bey, the Minister of the Interior, had been in the habit of making lists of prominent Turks who, he said, should be proscribed. For want of a better name, they might be called Young Turks. The contents of these lists were disclosed to those interested, and they agreed that a deputation should be sent to call the attention of the Cabinet to this practice. On the afternoon of Thursday, January 23, two or three whose names were in this list, among them Enver Bey, went to the Sublime Porte, to have an interview with the Cabinet on this question. As they went in, they left outside a small gathering of those interested, who had attended them on their way. These stopped outside the entrance to the Sublime Porte, and some blocked up the doorway. A young officer on guard remonstrated with them, as they were blocking up the entrance, and told them to stand back, at the same time drawing his revolver. A former friend of his in this small crowd called out an opprobrious insult, upon which he shot him. Some of those outside drew their revolvers, and shot the young officer in turn. The guards, hearing the shots, rushed in from side passages, and, on seeing their officer on the ground, they promptly retaliated, and the sound of the firing penetrated into the Council Chamber. Nazim Pasha, being angry because firearms were used in the Sublime

Porte, rushed out to order everybody under arrest, and, crossing the inner hall, emerged into the line of fire through the outer door, and received one of the bullets. As soon as someone on the spot saw who had been shot, he called out that it was Nazim, and at once an awe of silence came over them, and they all gathered round, horror-stricken at the tragedy. His death was due to an accident, and it is not in conformity with the facts to state that he was murdered.

This account has been given us by an Englishman who was there at the time.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ART IN RAJPUTANA, WITH SPECIAL RELATION TO JAIPUR

BY COLONEL T. HOLBEIN HENDLEY, C.I.E.

GEOGRAPHY, physical conditions, history, and some account of the inhabitants of a country are so important in relation to art that it is essential that I should trouble you with a few brief observations on these questions in regard to Rajputana.

The province in North-West India which is known under the above name has an area of more than 132,000 square miles, or about 11,000 more than that of the United Kingdom. It is divided by the Aravalli range of mountains into two natural parts—viz., the north-west and south-east. According to the late Sir John Eliot, the distinguished meteorologist, the former is a sandy and ill-watered tract, improving gradually from a mere desert in the west and north-west to comparatively fertile lands towards the east and north-east in the neighbourhood of the Aravalli Hills and the tracts bordering on the Panjab. South-East is more elevated and fertile than North-West Rajputana, and has a very diversified character. It contains extensive hill ranges and stretches of woodland. It is traversed by several large rivers, and in many parts there are fertile tablelands and stretches of excellent soil. The land falls gradually from the eastern flanks of the Aravallis through a country of high hills and deepest valleys, much broken up by rocky eminences. In the south-east the

country is also much broken, and there are valleys covered with thick jungles. Rajputana is bounded by the Panjab, United Provinces, the Native States of Central India, and the Bombay Presidency, including Sind. Its position in recent times, so near the centre of the Imperial Court at Delhi or Agra on the one hand, and to several of the great Mahratta States on the other, has had important bearings on its history. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that in Ajmere, which is now the chief town of the British district in the heart of the country, we have the former capital of a Muhammadan Soubah or division of the empire at which its Sovereigns often resided.

The struggles for supremacy in North India greatly affected Rajputana. Different races, with different religious views, took part in those great events, and so made the history of India. I cannot go minutely into that history as it affects my area, but I think we shall see in our survey of art in Rajputana that religion has been the most potent influence of all, thus confirming the views on the subject enunciated; for example, so late as on January 6 last by Mr. Godfrey Blount in his address on "Design" read before the Art Teachers' Guild, in which he said that the art of design—and I conclude he meant all art of the kind—in order to be vital, must be religious. It is certainly, I believe, true of Rajputana.

From my present standpoint it seems unnecessary to say much of the Bhils or other aboriginal inhabitants of Rajputana, or even of the early invaders of the country from Central Asia. It may, however, be conceded that the Vedic Aryans, through the Brahmanical religion in all its stages of development, made the greatest impression on the arts, especially on those of architecture and sculpture, as well as on the art-workers in Rajputana as in other Indian provinces. It is probable, nevertheless, that Muhammadan influence has been very great from the time, even if not earlier, of Mahmud of Ghazni, who crossed Western Rajputana early in the eleventh century, down to the period at which the Mogul Sovereigns held sway, when, in art matters,

it became supreme, except, of course, in the purely religious sphere. Nearly 150 years after Mahmud, Rajputana was traversed by Mohamed of Ghor, and his raids had some effect on the fortunes of the country, because he conquered the confederacy of Hindu Kings, which was led, in 1192, by Prithi Raj, the Chohan Raja of Delhi and Ajmere, one of the results of which was the migration of the ancestors of the Rathore clan from Kanauj, on the Ganges, in what are now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, to Jodhpore.

The Sultan Altamsh, who reigned at Delhi from 1211 to 1236, built the famous mosque at Ajmere, which is known as the Arhai-din-ka-Jhompra or "shed of two and a half days," out of the ruins of Jain temples, though the magnificent screen, which still stands in the courtyard of his building, is of Muhammadan design. Here, then, we have a new and potent factor introduced into the architecture of Rajputana. Possibly Ala-u-din Khilji, who besieged Ranthambhor—a strong fort which is now in the Jaipur State, and Chitor, the hill capital of Meywar in 1303,—may have left some effect on the arts, but most of it was certainly destructive. It was not until the days of Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls, however, that Muhammadan influence on the arts of peace was really effective in our area. What, then, was the condition prior to the latter period, that is, before the sixteenth century? The best way to study the question with advantage is, perhaps, to consider first the arts of architecture and sculpture; and here, I think, all must agree with Mr. Vincent Smith when he quotes Dr. Buhler's statement that "Indian art was not sectarian, but that all religions—Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical—used the art of their age and country, and all drew on a common storehouse of symbolic and conventional devices." This is not difficult to understand, because the two former cults arose out of the last named. The two latter are freely represented in Rajputana, and relics of the sculpture of all of them are exhibited near our border close to the sites on which they were found at the Museum of Mathura, with

many objects which show still another influence—viz., that of the Greeks.

In Rajputana itself I do not know of any Buddhist relics of importance except the edicts of Asoka, which are cut on rocks near Bairat, on the Jaipur-Ulwar border, though I found near the Sambhur Lake, in some excavations which were made at the cost of the Jaipur Durbar, 20 feet below the surface, a number of small objects which showed that the place had once been the home of Buddhists. Amongst them were a steatite box and some seals, with a clay block on which there was a very well-modelled figure in high relief of a tiger, that was clearly the work of a man possessed of some artistic skill. At Naraina, an old town close by, which is said to have been Buddhist, carved stones and statues have been found, but these appear to date from Chohan Chiefs of the tenth century. The Jains, however, have left many remarkable monuments, and, as their influence was most prominent for a long period, I propose to enumerate a few of them. Many are described and illustrated by Mr. Vincent Smith in his beautiful work on the "History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon." You will find full details in that valuable book. He does not include any statues in the district as examples of fine art, and perhaps even the wonderful decorative ornament which has been lavished on such temples as those of Vimala Sah (A.D. 1031) and Tejpal (A.D. 1230), at Mount Abu, cannot be so described, though few who have seen the rich pendant and the marvellous pillars and ceilings in those buildings can leave the hill without feeling the deepest admiration for the men who designed and carved them, and for their munificent employers, who were Jain merchants of the neighbouring city of Chandravati, which was the capital at the time of a dynasty of Pramāra Rajputs. It is regrettable that many sculptured stones from that site were used in the construction of Jain and other buildings in the city of Ahmedabad, and, what is far worse, not a few beautiful fragments have been inserted into the masonry of rail-

way bridges and embankments near the base of Mount Abu.

The tower of Sri Allat, or of Rana Alluji, at Chitor, which is believed to have been erected about 896, or as late as 951, is one of the most interesting, as it is the oldest of the Jain monuments in the country.

If its ornament is compared with that of the adjacent but more modern temple close by, it will be seen how little change there has been for many years, though the one was built for Jains and the other for orthodox Hindus. The secret is that at that early time, and even to-day there are traces of it, much toleration existed between the members of the two faiths, though the dominant one occasionally exerted its power by installing its own images in the position of honour, thereby forcibly converting the building to its own use. There was in later days such a case at Amber, the old capital of the Jaipur State, and another in Malwa. The ruling family of Meywar, or Udaipur, which came from Gujerat, was very Jain in sympathy, if not in faith, in early times, and the richest Jains of Marwar or Jodhpore are said to have been perverts from a Rahtore clan. These facts strongly support the views of Dr. Buhler, to which reference has been made. There has been a gradual development or change in the architecture of their religious buildings, but the decorative work has the same general effect, and errs on the side of extreme elaboration of detail with persistent features, which will be found, unless modified by Muhammadan influence, are repeated in all forms of industrial art in every kind of material. If we wish for earlier existing Jain and Brahmanical monuments, we must cross the southern border into Gujerat, whence both the Pramāra (Puar) rulers and the Meywar Chiefs came, and which even now exerts an influence, because many pilgrims come from its rich mercantile towns to visit holy shrines of both faiths in Rajputana. It has always been the policy of the Rajput Princes to encourage such pilgrimages and the residence in their States of wealthy traders. This has been very marked

through the whole period of their history, and is specially true in the sandy desert or western area beyond the Aravalli Mountains—that is to say, in Marwar or Jodhpore, and in Bikanir and Western Jaipur, in or near the somewhat inaccessible desert cities, where many rich mercantile families of Baneahs or orthodox Vaishyas (followers of Vishnu), and of Jains, of both the Digambara, the Stricter and Svetambra, or more lax sects, reside, carrying on their business of banking, which includes an active interest, as money-lenders, in every mercantile and artisan home in the fertile plains of North India. This work was done through members of the family or their agents, while their wives and children and the heads of firms lived, many of them in splendid houses, in Rajputana, in which also was stored much of their wealth and treasure.

Of course, they were heavily taxed by the Chiefs, but the obligation and advantage to both parties were great. The chief towns in which the bankers reside are Pokaran and Nagore in Marwar, and Sikar, Ramgarh, Nawalgarh, Fatehgarh, and other places in North Jaipur; besides which there are the capitals of those two States and Bikanir and Jaisalmer. Many of these places contain mansions, the exteriors of which are beautifully carved, and much of the money for erecting and ornamenting splendid temples, and even indirectly the palaces of the Chiefs, came from the same source.

The northern towns were conveniently situated for the cities of Hindustan and Sind, and the southern ones in Meywar and South Jodhpore, for those in Gujerat, so that Rajputana owes much of its art and its wealth to its situation and its physical conditions. Architecture and art of all kinds in Rajputana have, indeed, two great classes to thank for their existence and development. In the first place the wealthy merchants, and in the second the Chiefs and nobles, and in both cases, in my opinion, for similar reasons. It was religion chiefly, and especially the caste system, which urged the merchant, who was encouraged not a little by

his female relations, to spend his money, because, except on such occasions as marriages and deaths, he had little need or desire for expenditure on himself or on his family, and if he showed an inclination to an unusual amount of outward display it was promptly suppressed. The best means, therefore, of getting rid of his superfluous wealth was to devote it to the building of temples and houses, and not to the collection of curios or even to the manufacture of small articles of luxury or of furniture for his home. There were several exceptions, however, the chief being expenditure on jewellery and dress, and a little wood-carving for the enrichment of doors and windows. Religion was also the most powerful influence in the case of the art-worker. It was different, however, with the Chiefs, who had some inclination in the direction of luxury and art, when they had leisure from the necessity of fighting.

Their history points to one of such motives. The history of every Rajput family is much the same, as with a certain number of followers the founders started out to make for themselves homes beyond their own districts. This could only be done by conquests which had to be defended. Every Chief sought for a defensible position, and until the introduction of modern artillery this was most suitably discovered in East and South Rajputana, where there were sites on the hills for forts, which commanded well-watered valleys. In the north and west similar positions were only to be found on rocks which jutted out from the sandy wastes below. We therefore usually find a castle above for the Chief, and homes for his followers and retainers, his tradesmen, and the general population in a walled town below the battlements. This is true of all the great States, and even of the small towns and villages of the nobles and, not infrequently, there is a smaller and stronger fortress in some inaccessible situation into which the Chief can retire in times of difficulty with his family.

In unsettled and early days the Princes could not accumulate treasures or curios, but several circumstances tended

to force or help them, perhaps involuntarily, to patronize some of the minor arts. It was the custom for their subjects or retainers to propitiate their lords by offering them presents of objects of interest or value on stated occasions, and the nobles and courtiers, when they attended the durbars or courts of the greater Chiefs, were compelled to present fixed sums of money, which were termed *Nazrāna*, or gifts, and in return they received from their superiors presents of various kinds, which usually took the form of jewellery and a dress of honour, with rich stuffs, arms, and even a gaily caparisoned elephant or horse, etc. In the first class the artisans rivalled each other in presenting the most perfect and the newest specimens of their skill, and the traveller brought something rare from foreign parts; and in the second the Chief ordered the artists and artisans to design and make something worth presenting to his tribal supporters, amongst whom he was *primus inter pares*.

Valuable specimens of art-work also came into possession of the Chief by conquest and marriages, by presentation from neighbouring courts, or, as already stated, by gifts from individuals of all classes who sought his good-will or promotion of any kind, because in the East it has always been the custom to propitiate the great, and to approach them with an offering of some kind.

I do not think, however, that the Chiefs and nobles before the days of the Emperor Akbar, notwithstanding the circumstances to which I have referred, had any great love for art, because the times were not propitious.

There was for a long period no real paramount Sovereign in India at whose court chiefs and nobles could meet each other, or at which there were men of culture, except perhaps a Brahmin or two who were pundits or learned men, and a Kavi-raj (poet-laureate), who sang the praises of the clan and the liege lord, and a Charan (historian or bard), who recited past deeds of valour and the names of the ancestors of the different families. Whenever any monarch arose whose supremacy was widely acknowledged, the arts flourished.

Among such example relations were the Pāla, Chohān, and Gahilot Chiefs of early medieval Rajputana under whom the great temples were constructed for expanded. Artists, again, were not even possessed of general education. Artisans were quite unlettered, and only learned their craft by apprenticeship to their fathers or fellow-craftsmen.

The only ornament the Rajput valued was that which was applied to his weapons or curios or the jewellery which was worn by himself, his sons, and the ladies of families of his family, or which was required for the trappings of his horses and animals.

As far as their homes went I have often thought the Rajput Chiefs of note were in a similar position and I thought the the Princes or the *condottieri* of North Italy. I would wish to that of

It was not until the example was set at Delhi, where in the case the nobles went sooner or later, that there was any stimulus to induce a love of art or to promote rivalry in the acquisition of beautiful things. Henceforward the way was opened, and libraries, armouries, and storehouses of curios began to be formed, although the wars and vicissitudes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries made led to great losses and to the disposal of treasures of all kinds.

There is not wanting evidence, however, that some of the valuable possessions of the Delhi Court and of its great nobles found their way into Rajput palaces as well as into those of the Mahratta and Muhammadan Princes, and perhaps more recently into museums and collections, both public and private, in Europe. The Razmnamah or Persian abridgment of the great Indian epics—viz., the Mahabharata and the Ramayana—which Sheikh Faizī, the Emperor Akbar's poet, compiled, with the truly great idea of promoting by increased knowledge a better feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans, is an illustration of both points. Of the first because the Emperor advised his princes frequently, Chiefs and nobles to order illuminated copies of the inaccessible work, and of the second because the Emperor's orders of difficulty with the seals of the Imperial librarians for many generations could not accurately be traced.

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purchase in the dark days of Mahratta oppression at Delhi, when the great Mogul of the day fell into extreme poverty. After the decease of Akbar and the Princes of his time, there were not a few of the great Hindu rulers who are known to have been men of culture, and all of whom were desirous of acquiring objects of artistic interest and value. Amongst them may be mentioned the following: Sawai Jai Singh II., the founder of the modern capital of Dhundhar or Jaipur (1700-1744); Madho Singh I. (1751-1768); Ram Singh II. (1835-1880)—all three of Jaipur; Banai Singh of Alwar (1815-1857), though he was illiterate; Jaswant Singh I. (1635-1678) of Jodhpore; and the following Maharanas of Udaipur: Rai Singh (1661-1681) and Jai Singh (1681-1700). Two famous structures at Chitor were of older date and were also the work of great men. These were the temple of Mokajji, which was originally built in the eleventh century, and the tower of victory or fame, the Jaya or Kirat Stambha of Rana Khumbhu, who reigned from 1418 to 1461. The former is enriched with an extraordinary amount of sculpture, and, in the opinion of Mr. Vincent Smith, may be taken as a fine example of Hindu work, which is characteristic of the medieval period, as are also a group of temples in South Jodhpore and another in the adjacent State of Sirohi, all of which date from the seventh or eight century A.D. The famous temples of the Chandel dynasty at Khajarahao in the Chhatarpur State in Malwa are, however, the most important of that period in Upper India. Later sculpture is of less interest than that of the earlier shrines. Tourists, who cannot ascend Mount Abu, may see a very interesting Jain temple of the same class at Sanganiir, a short drive from Jaipur City. They should also examine the fine orthodox temples of Jagat Sarwan at Amber and of Jaganath at Udaipur, both of which are covered with sculpture and serve, with similar shrines, as models for modern sculptors in various parts of the province. Most of the temple-work, however, points to decay.

The greater and finer tower of victory, or Jaya Stambha at Chitor, which is 120 feet high and was erected in the fifteenth century, was no doubt derived, as to form, from the older one, that was built by the Jains in the ninth century. It is covered inside and out with, as Mr. Vincent Smith remarks, an "illustrated dictionary of Hindu mythology." It is certainly one of the most marvellous structures of the kind that I have ever seen, and perhaps here I may be permitted to recall my first visit, in 1874, to Chitor, and to the tower and the remarkable places of interest in its vicinity. From the summit we looked down, not only upon the ruined palaces and numerous shrines of what had formerly been the capital of Meywar, but also upon the plain below and the sloping paths on the hillside, where once took place a fierce struggle for supremacy between the Mogul forces, under the great Emperor Akbar himself, and the Rana of Udaipur and his brave Rajputs. The representative and descendant of one of the two bravest and most renowned nobles was with us. His ancestor fell at his post, shot by the Emperor himself, and was ever afterwards referred to by him as a brave foe, whose statue he put up outside his own palace gate. We talked of the siege and of the romantic deeds which accompanied it, and how, when all hope of success had died away, the Rajput ladies, headed by the Queen, retired into caverns below, and were burned or suffocated in fires which were lighted in those gloomy halls, whilst the men put on saffron robes, and met their deaths in the ranks of the enemy. The caverns have been closed since that day, and are sacred to the memory of those who perished. A few paces from the foot of the tower, close to a sacred tank in a cleft in the hill, the entrance was shown to us. In stirring times such as these no wonder art could not be encouraged.

All the magnificent buildings, and many others like them, in Rajputana, are examples to living art-workers in stone, wood, and metal, and point, not only to the devotion of many of its inhabitants to their religion, but to their willing-

ness to spend their money upon it when the times are fortunate and wealth can be accumulated.

Several matters of some importance arise out of this branch of my subject, and first is the fact that the existence of many beautiful building-stones in the province has led to its fame in architecture being widely spread. The white marbles of Jhiri, on the Jaipur - Ulwar border, and of Makrana, near the Marwar edge of the Sambhur Lake, were used at the Taj Mahl in Agra, and in many of the other noble Musalman buildings in North India. Black, green, and red marble have been utilized in recent times, especially in church work, and for making images and small objects, which, however, can hardly been described as artistic. Certain places, particularly Dausa, about forty miles east of Jaipur, and Jaipur itself, supply most of Brahmanical India with marble (stone being the most orthodox material) representations of the gods of the usual conventional types. Ready-shaped marble slabs are also cut in the quarries, to be sent to a distance for decoration of buildings. Much of the tracery is highly artistic, as, for example, that of the well-known mosque of Sidi Sayyid, at Ahmedabad, beyond our border, which dates from about A.D. 1500. The windows in which it is seen are made of Gujerat sandstone. Red sandstone is employed in similar fashion in Rajputana, and it is also used in many other beautiful ways in such places as Jodhpore, Bikanir, and Jaipur, where whole house-fronts are elaborately carved from top to bottom.

At Jaisalmer several very charming varieties of differently coloured nummulitic limestone are used, and thin slabs of them were and are carried on the backs of camels to even such distant places as Kashmir, as well as to the great Muhammadan cities in Hindustan, in order to decorate the marble halls of the Moguls. I need not dwell any longer on decorative work as applied to buildings in the Muhammadan style, or to the buildings in the province itself, which fashion and influence led the Chiefs to construct after the Moguls became supreme. The most noteworthy

are perhaps those in the Dargah at Ajmere, in which several shrines in white marble were erected by the Emperors, and a few open halls, the remains of palaces, on the embankment of the Ana Sagar Lake. Besides these, there are remarkable palaces at Dig in the Bharatpar State, others at Amber, the old capital of Jaipur, and the famous water-palaces in the Peshola Lake at Udaipur. Perhaps the most interesting from our standpoint to-day are the different halls at Amber, because of the great variety of the forms of decoration with which they are enriched. Amongst these the most important are, I think, the marble dados in the style of the Taj Mahl, in which the usual bouquets of flowers are associated with butterflies and other insects in relief, thus giving life to the designs, which is undoubtedly an improvement on the work in Musalman buildings.

Connected with work in stone are many minor arts that are employed in the decoration of buildings in Rajputana.

Most, if not all, of them were foreign in origin, in some cases even being traceable to places outside India ; but the local artisans were, and are, as capable of using them as men who live beyond the frontiers of Rajputana.

Nearly all these minor arts have been practised in the Jaipur as well as in the Amber palaces, the former of which date from 1732 down to our own day, because it must be remembered that an Oriental palace which is in use is rarely finished lest misfortune happen. The latter were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The most common decoration is mirror work, in which the patterns are formed in glass, or, in the older examples, in mica, in the form of shells set in the plaster. Some of the finest specimens have cypress-trees as the chief ornament. At Udaipur there are figures of men, and a few magnificent peacocks with expanded tails which are set up against the back wall of a court.

In one of the stones of the great Chandra Mahl, or Moon Palace, at Jaipur, the Chhabi Newas, or Hall of Radiance, the shells were made of copper, which was covered

with foil of different colours, in front of each of which were set flat pieces of glass. Much of this ornament was enriched with a gilt framework in relief.

I described this mirror-work and many other varieties of decoration in the *Journal of Indian Art* for January, 1888, and will therefore refer only briefly to-day to the principal methods.

From stone we proceed to plaster, in which there are several styles. There is first that in which the ornament is raised on plaques which have been fastened to the walls, and these are sometimes covered with a thin layer of mica, which affords a satiny lustre and has a very cooling effect.

A second style is more elaborate as the plaster is cut and moulded into flowers, which are placed between thin sheets of mica or coloured glass, or patterns are cut out in plates of plaster or even of copper, behind which pieces of brightly coloured glass are fastened so as to give the effect of painted-glass windows through which the light shines. Some of the designs are most interesting and very archaic. At Amber, in several places, roundels of glass were used, which were said to have been brought by the overland route in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries from Venice.

In a few instances the raised flowers were gilded and coloured, and were then attached to the walls. There is very little sameness about the designs. The ceilings both of plaster and mirror work usually have stalactitic cornices and large mirrors, and in some cases portraits are set in the midst of the walls. The floors are generally of white Jhiri or Makrana marble with patterns, which are also used in the dados, in black marble from Baislana, or in red marble from Baldeogarh, or in nummulitic limestone from Jaisalmer, all of which places are in Rajputana. In the walls niches are sometimes formed, which originally were used for the reception of vessels of the same shape. These niches are now merely ornamental survivals. All the work I have described is in the Arabian or Persian manner, and the earliest examples in Rajputana date from the sixteenth century.

It is not only in stone and plaster that decorative work is done. Tiles in blue or green monochrome are used. In the Chhabi Newas at Jaipur, before mentioned, there was formerly a fine dado, in which the flowers in the centre of each blue tile were raised. In one of the balconies dark green tiles may still be seen, in which scenes from the life of Krishna are represented. A remarkable reminiscence of the influence of the Dutch and of their factory at Surat exists in rooms in the great palace at Udaipur, and in the smaller one at Dungarpur. These tiles and many of the well-known English willow-pattern plates are set in large numbers in the walls. Still more curious is a large hall in the Bikanir Palace, in which such plates and the perforated fish-strainers from a large number of dinner services are inserted all over the walls.

In the former case, some at least of the decorative work was being done when I first visited Udaipur about forty-three years ago—long after the materials were procured. This is also proved by the fact that the tiles belong to different centuries. There has been nothing too singular for use in such places, but there is always the wish to excite curiosity and feelings of wonder. Moreover, in the older examples there was a kind of artistic sense, which certainly prevented the general effect from being displeasing, and, unlike much which has been done in later times, the results are rarely vulgar.

The wall paintings such as those in the apartments reserved in former days for women at Jaipur, in which the sports of children are charmingly delineated, are far more pleasing, so also are the carved and inlaid wood and lacquered work. Wood unfortunately is not very suitable for use in Indian buildings because it is so liable to injury from the weather and insects. It is therefore generally confined to door and window frames. There are the remains of many Shisham (*Dalbergia Sisso*) wood doors, which are carved into beautiful arabesque patterns, in the old Rawala or female apartments at Amber. In the Mardāna or rooms

of the Maharajas there are other doors inlaid with pieces of white and coloured ivory after the fashion of the Bombay or Surat marquetry.

There is much that is noteworthy about wood-carving in Rajputana. There, as elsewhere, artisans, after the manner of the craftsmen of the Middle Ages in Europe, could work indifferently in any material, and were capable of using any substance for ornamental purposes.

The stonemason, when he is not wanted to carve tracery in marble, is equally at home in fashioning huge wooden window frames, doors, and balconies, which he enriches with artistically headed massive nails and bands of brass or iron and even with gaily coloured lacquered drops, for the rich merchants' houses in the Northern Rajputana and Panjab towns not far from them or in the desert cities of which I have spoken. This is true everywhere, but especially of the men who live in the regions to which I have just referred.

In the Panjab the woodwork takes the form of Pinjara or tracery and is not unlike the Masharabiyahs of the Egyptians. The best Rajputana illustration of this dexterity which occurs to me is that of a number of fine, sturdy men who lived in Shekhawati or North Jaipur, where I met some of them a year before the opening of the Indo-Colonial Exhibition of 1886. I proposed that the Jaipur courts of the Rajputana section of the exhibition should be constructed of carved wood, and, with the approval of the Jaipur Government, the men were set to work to cut in Shisham wood every design with which they were acquainted; the results may be seen to-day in the Imperial Institute. These men also did much of the stone-carving at the Albert Hall, or museum building at Jaipur, and one of them, whom I often saw in his home at Chirawa in Shekhawati, on one occasion was employed in making hookas for smoking tobacco, in zinc, which he was ornamenting with engraved brass bands. This universality of talent is quite medieval and it gives the craftsman a joy in his work of which many a European artisan is quite incapable of realizing under

modern conditions. It is really delightful to talk to such artists whose hearts are in their work—much of which, however, would not be suitable for display in a museum which is arranged on the basis of materials, because its real value depends upon its representations of the thoughts and aims of true men who know how to think and use everything which will beautify their work.

• The connection between stone and wood in India was very close in ancient times. Mr. Vincent Smith observes that “all authors who treat of Indian architecture notice, and are embarrassed by the fact, that each style, when it first comes to our knowledge, is full grown and complete. The earliest specimens betray no signs of tentative effort, and in no cases is it possible to trace the progressive evolution of a given style from rude beginnings.” He remarks that the extensive destruction of ancient monuments, especially those built of brick, no doubt supplies a partial, though not adequate, explanation; but he himself considers that the real cause is that all the styles are derived from prototypes constructed in timber, bamboos, and other perishable materials. I understand, moreover, that M. E. Senart, the distinguished French writer, discovered remains of early wooden buildings in North India, which go far to prove this theory, and we know that beyond India, as for instance at Persepolis, there were such wooden forms.

It is strange that very little use has been made in Rajputana of tiles for decorating the exteriors of buildings. Perhaps the facility with which coloured stones are found is the reason. There are instances of the use of coloured tiles on several roofs in the old Amber Zenana and in the minarets of a mosque at Nagore, in North Marwar, a town famous as the birthplace of Abul Fazl, the celebrated Minister of the Emperor Akbar. I also found traces of blue enamelled pottery in the old Sambhar ruins, showing the art was known in Buddhist times.

My next subject is pottery, of which the best known is that which is made at the School of Industrial Art in Jaipur.

It is like most of the other minor art-work of foreign introduction, having been first made by imported workmen from Delhi ; but it is rather finer and is quite suitable for manufacture at Jaipur, because Kaolin or potter's clay is found in the adjacent hills. It differs but little from the semi-transparent pottery which the old Egyptians used for their Ushabtiu figurines. The proper ware is in blue and white, but greens and other colours have recently been introduced, though not, I think, with much advantage. It is ornamental, but not of practical use, as it is porous. There are some good modellers in clay in Jaipur, whose heads of men of different caste and occupations have attracted notice at recent exhibitions, as also smaller models of artisans at work. There are good workmen in metal throughout the province, who are capable of making such objects as pillars for canopies, maces, ornaments for thrones, the metal portions of trappings for animals, and the like ; but amongst Hindus, whose eating and drinking vessels require purification by fire or much scouring if of metal, or complete destruction after use if of baser material, there is no scope for the manufacture of works of art for the table, which is the great incentive in Europe for rivalry in design and beauty amongst silver and gold smiths. Some of the work of these artisans in India is bold and effective, and many different modes of enriching it are known and practised with good results ; but the designs are rarely new, and are very similar to those employed for stone and wood work.

The skill of the artisan is most frequently applied to making religious images and to the decoration of arms. It has been observed that the art displayed in fashioning Buddhist images was far higher than that which was shown by the makers of similar objects for the Jains and the orthodox Hindus. Possibly because the latter were crippled by the conventional and unnatural forms of the idols. A few temple lamps, with human figures, are of some merit. The *cire perdue* process has long been practised, even in

such small places as at Siwai Madhopur, in South Jaipur, where it is employed in the most ingenious way in casting elaborate bracelets in pairs. The skill of the metal-worker is perhaps best shown in the decoration of arms and in jewellery. This is not surprising, because, even in the most strenuous times, these articles were portable, and were most valued by the powerful and wealthy. The Rajput was proud of his weapons, and he and the ladies of his family wore and treasured all kinds of ornaments. The rich merchant also had need of jewellery. The former has a lien upon the first services of the craftsman in his capital or upon his estate; but the latter, by virtue of his wealth, and the fact that the artisan usually owes him money, which has been advanced to carry on his trade, has almost a monopoly of his time, though it is subject to the lord's requirements. In addition to this, the needs of the larger courts and of the richer patrons are sufficiently great to enable them to keep one or more men continually at work, in the former case, in each of what are termed the Chhatis Kār-khana, or thirty-six workshops of the State.

The sword or dagger maker and the damascener, for example, were, until quite recently, rarely unemployed. In my book on this subject I reproduced a large number of pictures of beautiful weapons from the Jaipur armoury, all of which were splendidly inlaid with ornament in gold wire, or in the true damascening, termed "tah-i-nishān." I believe this is a very old and probably pre-Muhammadan industry in Rajputana. Some of the sword hilts, mounts and dagger-handles are remarkable examples of minute and most artistic decoration, and the variety of patterns is enormous, and some of them show foreign—as, for instance, Chinese—influence. Some of my slides prove the accuracy of these statements. The armourer is not, however, confined to damascening. He has perfect knowledge of niello, plating, inlaying, incrustation with gems in lacquer or scales, chasing, engraving, and enamelling. He can combine all these methods with carved work in ivory, bone, or jade. In

short, in the ornamentation of arms of all kinds, the ingenuity and skill of the Indian decorative artist and workman cannot be surpassed anywhere, and I think the men who can do such work are fully entitled to be classed as true artists, certainly after the manner of Benvenuto Cellini and the master-craftsmen of his time. I believe, moreover, that if custom had required that their skill was needed for the production of cups and salvers, or such articles as the medieval art-worker produced, they would have been equally efficient. Unfortunately their powers have been always frittered away on minute objects, and have recently been diverted for the manufacture of bric-à-brac for the tourist.

I should like, however, to bear testimony to the pleasure I have felt in conversing with many of these men, whose genuine interest in their work, and knowledge of every branch of it, whose general intelligence and modesty, and, within certain limits, refinement, are really remarkable.

The art of enamelling on gold is one for which Jaipur is famous, especially for the brilliancy of its reds, which, when first known in Europe, attracted much attention. This art was introduced into, and has since been practised by, a family of Sikhs from Lahore.

Another illustration of this peculiar migration of art-work is the quasi-enamel which is made at Partabgarh and Rutlam, in and near the south of Rajputana respectively. It consists of plaques, in the former place of green, in the latter of blue, glass, on which sporting scenes are drawn in quaint figures of fine gold. The secret of manufacture is preserved in one or two families in each place, and is an illustration of what has been noted in other instances of the discovery by a talented craftsman of a new process, which he practises with profit, and passes on to a son or near relative, in whose hands it usually decays, and after a generation or two it perishes.

Similar illustrations occur at Ulwar in the case of book-binding, and in a process by which a piece of gauze can be

dyed in different colours on its two sides. This is true of many small minor arts throughout the East. In Rajputana we find the following additional examples : Inlaying powder-flasks with ivory and mother-of-pearl on buffalo horn at Etawah, in the Kotah State ; a peculiar kind of pottery at Indurgarh, in the same neighbourhood ; and interesting playing-cards at Siwai-Madhopur, in Jaipur.

A more widely spread industry in the province is that of lacquer-work of several kinds. That of North Jaipur and of Bikanir is most noteworthy. The former is painted or incised, the latter is raised, and in some instances also painted. The palace at Bikanir has several rooms decorated in lacquer in a most effective manner.

Jewellery throughout Rajputana is an important subject, and much of it is of ancient type and very bold in design. I devoted the greater portion of Nos. 96 and 97 of the *Journal of Indian Art* to jewellery in Rajputana alone. The following is a summary of my observations :

1. The preservation of many old designs, which correspond with those in ancient temples and sculptures, and, secondly, with ornaments in base metal which are worn by the poor, and especially by the women of wandering tribes, like the Birinjari or grain-carriers, as it is known that because their ornaments were of no intrinsic value they were rarely broken up in order to be remade in the newest fashion, or to meet the pecuniary necessities of their owners, as is so often the case with gold and silver articles.

2. The common use of the *cire perdue* process.

3. The archaic forms of some of the jewellery in Marwar and in the more remote States, and the persistence in those regions of bracclets and armlets of bone or ivory, with or without bands of gold let into them.

4. The use of jewelled or golden anklets as marks of high rank or birth.

5. The importation by the bankers, who have business connections with all parts of India, and even with such remote places as Zanzibar and Hong-Kong, of ornaments

from distant places, thus bringing new ideas from many sources.

6. The acquisition by the bankers and traders of many valuable specimens at the time of famine or pestilence, and the retention by them of the most rare ones as curiosities. Too much, however, must not be made of this point, or of the preservation in temple treasuries of gifts of jewellery, which are common enough, because these objects are broken up to be remade for the images, or in both cases for their intrinsic value.

7. The designs of one place pass to another with brides and their attendants when they marry into families in distant States. This is most common among the Rajputs.

8. The use of steatite or brass moulds in the manufacture of ornaments such as were employed in ancient times, even in Assyria and Egypt.

The most striking examples of jewellery in Rajputana which I illustrated were the ivory ornaments I found on the old Sambhur site, facsimiles of which are still used in Marwar, necklaces of plaques set with large stones, or scales of diamonds with richly enamelled work.

2. Solid gold, silver, or base metal bangles of the forms common in the Bronze Age.

3. Torques of gold or enamel, with pendants of thick plaques worn by the rich mercantile women in Western Rajputana.

4. Boldly carved or perforated beads of gold or silver strung on silk cords, and used on the neck or limbs.

5. Very elaborate anklets and bracelets with bells or floral drops.

6. Massive cylinders of metal for the limbs, and similar cylinders of lac which are worn by married women, some of which were set with small gems.

7. The profusion of beads and drops often found on some of the old sites of towns in Rajputana.

The immense weight of ornaments worn by women of

all classes, and the love of jewellery shown by the men, are remarkable.

To sum up, I think jewellery alone proves that the people of Rajputana have always had much love of the beautiful, and that a great deal of ingenuity and artistic skill have been shown from the earliest times in meeting their wants. This is true of all classes, because even the poorest wear ornaments of base metal or of lac, or of beads threaded in complicated patterns.

I am sorry that time will not permit me to consider at length the subject of trappings for animals and leather work, the adornment of vehicles, and, above all, the great department of dress and of fabrics of all kinds. I can only say that much taste is displayed in Rajputana in these matters, and that throughout the province there is a love of bright colours which makes a Rajputana city on festival days a perfect Kaleidoscope, in which, until the introduction of the crude and often fugitive aniline dyes, there seemed to be complete harmony of colours, which was rarely disturbed by a false note. I regret, too, that I cannot deal with paintings and illuminated manuscripts and books, of which there are many in the libraries of the Princes and nobles.

In conclusion I would sum up my views in the following brief sentences :

1. The art of Rajputana is, almost without exception, of foreign origin, and is the result of its geographical situation and political history, aided by the wisdom of its rulers, who encouraged the settlement amongst them of rich merchants and bankers, through whom ideas of art were brought into the country, as well as much wealth, which enabled those ideas to be carried into effect.

2. That the more important developments were of a religious character, and were expressed in the erection of richly decorated temples in the styles of neighbouring countries, and were probably the work of craftsmen who were imported for the purpose.

3. That, with the exception of sculpture and ornament in stone, most of the minor arts have been introduced in recent times, and have chiefly been derived from the Muhammadan courts and cities, and that this is due to the fact that it was not until the time of the Moguls that there had been for many centuries a powerful central authority which could give opportunities for the Chiefs and nobles of Rajputana to meet together, and to be influenced by the civilization of their neighbours, or indeed to pay much attention to the arts of peace or to the acquisition or encouragement to make beautiful objects of any kind, the only exceptions being weapons, jewellery, and perhaps dress. Similar conditions are producing somewhat similar results, but more rapidly, chiefly from facility of communication, under British supremacy.

4. That the craftsmen who have been employed are a highly interesting body of men, who under conditions not unlike those which prevailed in medieval Europe could think for themselves, and work in any material with great technical skill ; and, finally, that the growth and development of art in the romantic tract which we have been considering, although we cannot discover any traces of the existence of what is called Fine Art, with the exception, perhaps, in architecture, are well worth our study, and our sincere admiration.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W., on Monday, February 23, 1914, a lantern lecture was delivered on "Art in Rajputana, with Special Relation to Jaipur," by Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley, C.I.E. Sir Robert F. Fulton, LL.D., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frederick Russell Hogg, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Lionel Dixon Spencer, K.C.B., Professor T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., Mrs. Hendley, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Furnell, Mr. W. Coldstream, Captain and Mrs. P. Southwell Piper, Miss M. Pollen, Mr. John and Mrs. Oates, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Cook, Miss Wall, Mr. N. M. M. Bhownaggee, Mr. A. Stewart Buckle, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. E. E. Sawyer, Mr. Md. Yamin Khan, Mrs. Young, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Hartley, Miss Bashford, Miss Sainsbury, Miss Salisbury, Miss Ross Johnson, Colonel and Mrs. A. F. Laughton, Miss Laughton, Mrs. Heath, Mrs. and Miss Bean, Miss Wade, Mrs. Newman, Miss Pinkett, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. N. C. Sen, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. W. H. Dawson, Mrs. Flora Sassoon, Mrs. Mackenzie, Miss Lethbridge, Miss Mason, Colonel H. D. Love, Mr. James F. Croasdel, Mrs. Marratt, Colonel Wingate, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. T. W. Mansukhain, Miss Paterson, Mrs. Hartley, Mr. C. M. Hall, Colonel Frank Sheffield, Mr. Sparling Hadwyn, Dr. Chambers, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you the lecturer of this afternoon. He is a stranger to the East India Association, and therefore I beg leave to make a few introductory remarks in regard to him. He has had a long and distinguished career in the Indian Medical Service; he has held numerous appointments, culminating in the Inspector-Generalship of Civil Hospitals in Bengal, where I had the pleasure of meeting him; he has contributed many learned medical works to the literature of his profession, but I will not dwell on those things to-night, because it is not as a medical authority he presents himself before you to-day, but as an authority on Indian Art in Rajputana, with special relation to Jaipur. The connection of Colonel Holbein Hendley with Indian art arose in this way: For twenty-four

years he was Resident Surgeon in Jaipur, which is one of the principal cities of Rajputana. Rajputana is a province in the North-West of the great continent of India, which purports to be the land of the Rajputs, the great warrior caste of India. Rajputana is a very extensive country, somewhat larger than the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—that is to say, as the United Kingdom is at present constituted. (Laughter.) Colonel Hendley was appointed by the Maharajah of Jaipur to be the Honorary Secretary of the Committee for the management of the museum. The Maharajah was a very enlightened and very generous ruler, and shortly after his accession he established a museum for the purpose of educating and instructing his subjects, and the Colonel occupied this post for about eighteen years. The Maharajah gave Colonel Hendley a free hand both in collecting exhibits for the museum and in managing it. It is true there was a Committee appointed to assist, and perhaps to control, Dr. Hendley, but inasmuch as this Committee only met twice during eighteen years, you will see it did not do very much harm. The whole credit of the management of the museum belongs to Colonel Hendley.

At a recent meeting of the Society of Arts, Lord Reay and Sir George Birdwood, whom we have the pleasure of seeing here, both spoke of this museum as a most excellent one, and the best museum they had ever known; Lord Reay said he could not conceive anything better. One novel point in its management, which we owe to Colonel Hendley, was that he appointed Indian guides and demonstrators to explain the exhibits to the people who visited it. This was an entirely novel scientific departure, because there never had been guides to museums before. Colonel Hendley instituted these guides in 1892, and it is only recently that his example has been followed by the Albert and Edward and British Museums. The museum fully fulfilled the purposes for which it was established, and up to 1898, when the Colonel retired from his post in Jaipur, this museum had been visited by upwards of three millions of people, and how many people have visited it since it is impossible to say.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you that I am not an authority on Indian art, and I have never been to Jaipur, and therefore I do not think I need take up your time in talking to you upon subjects of which I am profoundly ignorant. I feel these defects very much, but I hope, after we have heard Colonel Hendley's lecture, these defects will be remedied, if not entirely removed. I will now call upon the lecturer to deliver his lecture.

The LECTURER, who was received with applause, then proceeded to read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all very much indebted to Colonel Hendley for the very interesting lecture he has just delivered. Perhaps some of those present will now be kind enough to make a few remarks. I will call upon Sir George Birdwood to speak first.

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said: I am grateful for the opportunity given me by Sir Robert Fulton to express my keen appreciation of Colonel

Hendley's lecture, and, beyond that, of the invaluable service he has rendered throughout his life to the cause of the revival of Indian art. He has been indefatigable in this labour of love, and in the very highest sense successful. It is not only that his museum at Jaipur contains the most impressive collection of the noblest industrial arts of India in India, and that the building itself is a fine and most impressive example of the building style of Rajputana, but that by his richly illustrated monographs and articles in Griggs' *Journal of Indian Art* he has done more than anyone else, before and after him, to revive among the people of India a pride in their own indigenous and idiosyncratic arts. This was no easy achievement. Arrian has told us how ready the ancient people of India were to adopt the arts of other countries; and when I wrote my official handbook on "The Industrial Arts of India," I received several affectionate rebukes from my old Settia friends in Bombay for having belauded the degrading traditional arts of their country on purpose to prevent their having houses and household furniture and decorations "like those of English people"! Colonel Hendley's lot was, however, cast among the heroic *Kshatrya* men and women of Rajputana, with one of the most enlightened of their Princes for their ruler, who backed Colonel Hendley right royally in all he advised and did. But if Colonel Hendley was fortunate in his princely patron, the Prince was even more fortunate, as I said the other day at the Royal Society of Arts, in having Colonel Hendley as his guide, philosopher, and friend, in the truly patriotic and beneficent work in which they both so indefatigably and loyally co-operated, and with such felicitous and brilliant results. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the service thus rendered to India, and to the British Raj in India, by Colonel Hendley—that is, in teaching the people of India to take a pride in their own arts, as Sir William Jones taught them to take a pride in their literature, and Sir Friedrich Max Müller in their religion. How much we owe in this respect to Colonel Hendley personally may be judged from the fact that another distinguished founder of an Indian Museum wrote to me some twenty years ago in a passing fit of irritation telling me, quite affectionately, that there were three men he "particularly detested"—"Max Muller, for his praise of the literature of the Hindus; Edwin Arnold, for his praise of their religion; and you [*i.e.*, I] for your praise of their arts."

I must add a word in hearty acknowledgment of the pleasure I have enjoyed in listening to Colonel Hendley's lecture. It has proved a model of what a lecture illustrated by lantern slides should be—that is to say, the lecturer had not relied solely on his slides, as most lecturers using slides are only too ready to do, but had prepared his text for reading as carefully as if it had not been illustrated by the slides, so carefully, indeed, that you felt independent of the slides in visualizing the objects they depicted. The slides and text had worked together in absolute harmony, without a hitch, and this of itself was a great pleasure. Part of the praise of it was due, of course, to Mr. Davenport, the expert manipulator of the slides; but that in no way detracted from the merit of Colonel Hendley in conscientiously preparing a text which, whether with or without its magic-lantern illustrations, was equally profitable for instruction, for correction, and for inspira-

tion. I have never listened to a lecture with greater serenity and refreshment of spirit, and I thank Colonel Hendley most heartily and gratefully for it.

SIR MANCHERJEE BROWNAGREE said that he was neither an art expert nor an art critic, and he felt he had no right to address such an audience upon a subject so delightfully treated by Colonel Hendley. However, as he had been suddenly called upon by the Chairman, he wished to say that, handled by an experienced man like the Lecturer, even a layman like himself might feel a sense of pride at what India had been capable of doing in the past, in pursuit of high craftsmanship: but at the same time he must confess he felt a sense of sorrow that a people who were capable of producing such magnificent samples of art industry were dependent at the present day upon many foreign articles for their daily use, both for household and for ornamental purposes. A land capable of turning out such articles as had been shown on the screen, ought, in his opinion, under proper guidance, to be able to supply all its wants in that direction, but unfortunately the trend of education followed in India in the last century had resulted almost in the annihilation of Indian industries, which formerly held such a lucrative and honourable place in the economic life of that country. Apart from that feeling which, to some extent, oppressed him during the hearing of the lecture, he thought they would all agree with him that they had had a most enjoyable lecture, of a highly intellectual character, by a gentleman who had devoted the greater part of his life to the promotion and preservation of those arts which at one time made India celebrated, and the arrest of whose further decay ought to engage the attention of Government and people alike. (Hear, hear.)

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said that he could not help thinking what a singularly charming life Colonel Hendley, the Lecturer, must have led, because he not only went out to India with his knowledge of the medical profession, and carried out his labour of love to the people there, but he became a collector and gatherer up of all those charming specimens of Indian art, which enabled him to come and give them such a lecture, which must bind them in sympathy with the Indian people. He personally had served for twenty years in India. That service could be divided into three interesting periods. The first period was of glamour, unceasing travel, and gradual knowledge of the country and its races. The second period was one of war, and pestilence, but in the third period he learned to see more deeply into the real India, that is the India of the people of India, and he then felt that extraordinary sympathy which India is able to develop for herself in those who trouble to know her most. Colonel Hendley, by his lecture, had drawn a great bond of sympathy between the Indian people and those English people who desired to understand the country. He agreed that it was necessary to bring in all the aids of modern civilization, but they were still able to admire the arts and beauties of the country; there must be a levelling up to a certain extent to our Western ideas, but they must not turn their backs on India's beautiful past. The pictures he had seen had charmed him immensely,

and he felt sure they would have had the same effect on many others. England and India must be drawn together by every possible union and every possible bond, and the study of her art could not be neglected. His whole nature went out to the gradual wakening up and development of India and her people, but her ancient arts must never be overlooked. He joined heartily in the vote of thanks to Colonel Hendley.

MR. CHISHOLM: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not think I have anything to add to the eloquence we have listened to to-day, or to the excellent lecture we have heard. There is only one point, to which with the permission of the Lecturer I should like to call attention. Dr. Hendley alluded to the pottery of Multan as "blue and white," a term which has been employed universally to another kind of pottery, which is as different from the blue and white of Multan as chalk is from cheese. The real blue and white is immortalized by "Bunthorne" in "Patience": "Such a love of blue and white, and other kinds of pottery, from early Oriental down to modern terra-cottary." (Laughter.) The "early Oriental pottery" was certainly not the blue and white of Multan, but the "blue and white" familiar to us all in willow pattern plates and dishes. I agree with the Lecturer that the character of this ware is being destroyed by the introduction of other colours. The pottery is not really "blue and white," it exhibits two colours on a siliceous ground—viz., light-blue green, and dark-purple blue, the former made of oxide of copper, and the latter made of oxide of cobalt; the oxide of copper passes into a metallic condition long before the commercial pottery (which we know in the willow-pattern plates) is touched by the fire. The consequence is that the pottery of Multan is unique, and cannot be imitated in harder ware. All the colours which have been introduced lately can be imitated and illustrated in ordinary commercial ware, but this peculiar pottery of Multan cannot, inasmuch as the copper oxide of the beautiful green-blue would pass into its metallic condition at a low temperature. For that reason it is to be regretted that these modern colours are introduced into the Bombay and Jaipur ware—which is not, strictly speaking, an industrial art so much as a vehicle for artistic display.

MR. COLDSTREAM said that he associated himself with the previous speakers in his appreciation of the excellent paper. The Lecturer had done a great deal for art in Rajputana, and he was particularly interested in his lecture as a topographical survey. The Government of India had taken particular pains to exploit the industrial arts of the various provinces of India—for instance, with reference to wood carving, glass, pottery, jewellery, and so on—but they still wanted such local surveys of art as a whole, as they had just had the opportunity of listening to with regard to Rajputana. If they had local handbooks of art in the different provinces it would be very desirable, and would help to extend their knowledge of the subject. There were many of the arts mentioned still existing in other parts of the country; for instance, in the Punjab they had the Damascening and encaustic tiles, and to a certain extent the enamelling. These industries were much localized. For instance, they had enamelling in Kangra, a remote hill district, and the Damascening was mainly confined to two or

three districts in the centre of the Punjab—e.g., Gujrat, Sialkot, where it was carried on very efficiently.

MR. OWEN DUNN said that it only remained for him to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer for the great pleasure he had given them. He spoke also on behalf of those present who had not for themselves given expression to the pleasure they all felt at hearing such a very charming lecture. (Applause.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL, in seconding the vote of thanks for Colonel Hendley's most interesting lecture, wished for a still longer time to study the slides as they passed. He desired to express the thanks of the Association to their chairman—Sir Robert Fulton—for his kindness in taking the chair, and for the very interesting remarks with which he introduced the Lecturer. With regard to the lecture itself, one or two points occurred to him, one of which was as to the way in which the artisan in India was able to carry out original designs. He gave some instances from his personal experience.

THE LECTURER: Ladies and gentlemen, I am very grateful to all those who have spoken, and I wish I had not occupied your time so long—(cries of "No, no!")—but the subject could not very well be shortened. I thank Sir Robert Fulton for so kindly occupying the chair this evening, and for the kind things he has said. I do not know that I can say very much in reply, except that I am glad Mr. Chisholm sympathizes with me in the matter of the introduction of a change of colours into the Jaipur pottery. I am afraid Mr. Coldstream's suggestions about a number of special hand-books must remain for a long time in abeyance. Some of us have done what we could with regard to local arts, but I quite agree that much remains to be accomplished. Sir M. Bhownagree has also referred to the educational system. I agree that, although our system must continue, we may still hope that all that is good in the Indian methods of instruction may eventuate in the revival of Indian art.

Lastly, I wish to thank Sir Arundel Arundel for all he has said with regard to the wonderful ingenuity of Indian art workers. I would simply refer to the old story of Alexander the Great who sent sponges to certain Indians who came into his camp to see if they could reproduce them, which they did as accurately as they could with threads, cotton, and other things, so that they deceived many of the Greeks, and started a story which has survived to this day.

THE HON. SECRETARY said that, without having the permission of the Chairman, he wished to be allowed to second the vote of thanks to him which had been proposed by Sir Arundel Arundel. They were all grateful to Sir Robert Fulton for the admirable manner in which he had fulfilled his duties and the assistance he had rendered to the Association. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very much obliged for those remarks. This has been a very interesting afternoon. We have had a series of confessions—two from Sir George Birdwood, and now another confession from Sir Arundel Arundel. I am very glad I did not know when I was in India that he had been guilty of melting down Queen's coins. (Laughter.)

THE EARLY EXPLOITATION OF INDIA AND THE INDIAN BORDERLANDS

BY COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G.,
K.C.I.E., C.B.

PROBABLY no country in the world has instigated such heroic exertions in the matter of exploitation as India. In past ages there was no exploration that had not for its ultimate object the exploitation of the country explored. Scientific geography, discovery for discovery's sake, had no attractions for a barbarous world of half-savage adventurers who aimed at nothing beyond the acquisition of material wealth, and had no use for ideals. Between the organizers and promoters of tentative excursions into foreign lands and those who went down to the sea in ships to carry out their behests there was little to choose. Perhaps that little was in favour of the sailors, who, accustomed to the peril of the sea and familiar with the vast width of the starry sky, could hardly fail to realize a power greater than human energy and a quest more important than that of gold. India was through all ancient centuries the land of man's desire—the promised land, round which there gathered fables and myths innumerable, and which held the golden key to national wealth. As time rolled on, and generation after generation of men from the north, the east, and the west struggled through India's guardian hills or traversed her surrounding seas, it gradually became clear that that golden

key was, at any rate, no myth, for it may, I think, be accepted as an historical fact that the nation which has held the Indian trade has ever been the leading commercial nation of the world. History as regards India is comparatively recent. Six hundred years B.C. bounds the historical horizon, and out of the misty atmosphere which envelops the literature of India previous to that period there is nothing really clear and decisive to be evolved. A certain amount of historical evidence has been unearthed by the patient researches of generations of literary and archæological investigators, and here and there a date has been fixed, but the story of Indian exploitation previous to the days of the Persian Empire can only be one of conjecture. This is much to be regretted from our present point of view, for the eastern world was a most active world in the matter of trade and commercial exploration by land and sea for twenty, if not thirty, centuries B.C. We cannot, indeed, get back to the earliest days of coast navigation. All over the world the savage islander has required no outside teaching to enable him to discover the use of a canoe, or to take advantage of a favourable wind or tide. This appreciation and use of the forces of Nature is probably as old as man's intelligence; but the first people we can actually identify as a sea-faring folk are the Phœnicians.

Off the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, separated from El Hara in Arabia by about twenty miles of sea, there lies a group of islands called Bahrein. There is not much in them. The largest is only twenty-seven miles in length by about ten wide. This is Bahrein. The next in size is Moharek, separated from Bahrein, and north of it, by a strait of a mile in width. This island is about five miles long and a half-mile broad. From these two islands there extend seawards two coral reefs which shut in a harbour only approachable by small vessels. The shallowness of the clear sea above the coral reefs is such that no boat can touch the shore, and landing is effected by hasty transfer from the boat to the backs of large white donkeys,

which make rapidly for dry land, pursued by a mob of unruly and half-naked Arab boys. The transfer from the boat to the saddleless donkey has to be rapid, otherwise donkeys and boys would inevitably sink the boat. The other islands of the group are insignificant. Arad is the only one which retains its ancient name; the others, according to Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, being called Tyros or Tylos. Sidodona is also a recognized name amongst them. The chief town of the group, Manameh, is quite a clean, respectable-looking Arab town, very different to the ill-kept and filthy Persian towns on the opposite coast. Arabs have rudimentary ideas on the subject of sanitation; Persians have none. The Bahrein islands have long been celebrated for their pearl fisheries, and a comparatively late visitor in 1510, Albuquerque, notes the barley crops and the variety of fruits. To the Portuguese seaman any fruit would commend itself; but there is not much sign either of crops or fruit in these days, and it appeared to me that the staple food-supply of Manameh was seaweed. The greater part of Bahrein is desert sand, the blinding glare of which is only relieved by groups of dark palms, throwing black shadows on the white floor. In the midst of the island is a limestone hill about 400 feet high, with a depression all round it. Here, according to classical authors, was the original home of the Phœnicians, and here have they certainly lain buried for many centuries. Looking across the open plain to the north of the hill Jebel Dukan (or mist mountain) there is a vision of shining white tumuli glistening in the sunlight, flanked by black-shadowed palm-groves with glimpses of an azure-blue sea beyond. One or two of these tumuli (hardened to the consistency of conglomerate) were opened by Edward Durand when he was on political duty in Persia. Some more were opened later by Theodore Bent in 1888, and the double-storyed, stone-encased tombs, with rolling stone doors, which were then unearthed proved to contain, amidst the dust of ages and crumbling tags of cloth, certain fragments of ostrich shell and ivory

decorated with unmistakable Phœnician design. So the classical authorities were, as usual, correct. But when did the Phœnicians migrate to Syria? and how is it that they, the most enterprising of all commercial adventurers that have ever existed, apparently turned their backs on India to go northwards? The date of their emigration is beyond our ken; but it has often occurred to me that the old-world tradition of the Turanian peoples who inhabited southern Chaldea long before the days of Abraham, which traditions were to the effect that the fish-god Oannes came up from the southern seas to teach them civilization, may point to that prehistoric time, and that the people of Shumir and Accad (who were not necessarily cognate tribespeople, as is frequently assumed from their common language) owed such rudiments of civilization as they possessed to those world wide explorers the Phœnicians, as they made their slow way northward to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

It is, however, passing strange that the first organized and systematic emigration from what was doubtless an overcrowded island group, which must have occurred from 3,000 to 4,000 years B.C., was directed away from that Eastern bourne of all subsequent historical commercial quests. That the Phœnicians were great navigators in those early days is certain, and that they knew their way to India is evidenced by the quantities of very ancient glass relics which are to be found all along the coast of Makrin between the Persian Gulf and India. This glass, which is chiefly in the form of bangles, may have been of Egyptian, Babylonian or Phœnician origin. In any case it was conveyed in Phœnician ships. India was then peopled with pre-Aryan tribes who were incapable probably of developing the resources of the country. There were no rich kingdoms to exploit and no commerce to speak of—nothing to excite the cupidity of the adventurer, or to repay what must always have been a risky venture. On the other side was Egypt, already highly civilized. The leading nation upon

earth, with immense promises for the future, and possibly already possessing the rudiments of a commercial navy. Then again, there was further the question of climate. It passes imagination to understand how a virile and adventurous people like the Phœnicians should ever have been bred in the humid atmosphere of these Persian Gulf islands, if the climate six thousand years ago was as it is to-day. The desire to reach more favourable conditions for development is easily understood, and it is thus probably that the earliest navigators of the world were impelled north—ever north and west—till they passed Syria and the Mediterranean, and reaching beyond the islands of Britain, founded settlements on the coast of Scandinavia. But we may, I think, take it that the Phœnicians were probably the first to tap the wealth of India before historical times. If we assume that commercial enterprise amounted to exploitation, they were first in the field. Irruptions into India from the north and north-west had of course been a part of the movement of Asiatic tribes still in the nomadic stage of human existence from time immemorial. In days when the geographical features of Western India, if not the northern mountain regions, were very different in topographical distribution to what they are now, there must have been periods of Dravidian immigration from the north-west, the effects of which are still traceable in the ethnology of the central and southern parts of India. These irruptions culminated with that great immigration from the north, which we call Aryan, with which the regeneration of India from a land of jungle and swamp into a highly productive region may be said to have commenced.

With the dawn of civilization and the development of agricultural and mineral wealth the era of historical exploitation set in. But long before the evolution of Indian history Indian exploitation had commenced. Whether that earliest exploitation was by land or sea is comparatively unimportant, but probably the caravan traffic was older than that which crawled along the sea-coast and brought

ivory and apes and peacocks to Syria in the days of Solomon. Commercially, there was probably no through traffic. Interchange of commodities was effected at points along the route, and it was only in the train of the conqueror that men made their way right through from west to east. Before the days of Alexander it is consequently the exploitation of India by conquest rather than commerce which stands out clearest in the misty records of the past. Assyria was undoubtedly first to make an impression on India by land. Two thousand years B.C. Assyria and Babylonia were united in one monarchy under Ninus, the son of Belus, or Nimrod, who had subdued Asia Minor, Persia, and Baktria before he took Babylon. There is a very ancient tradition in Badakshan (the ancient Baktria) that Balkh, its one-time capital, was founded by Nimrod, or Belus. Balkh is known to this day, all along the Oxus, as the "Mother of Cities." It would seem, therefore, that direct connexion existed between Nineveh and Balkh (which pointed one of the high roads to India) even before the days of Ninus. When I visited Balkh in 1885 there was nothing in the modern city of irregular and mud-filled streets permeating a town of squat, flat-roofed buildings surrounded by a city wall in the last stages of disrepair, and only relieved by the picturesque existence of a half-ruined mosque and a very creditable caravanserai, which indicated so ancient a history. There were the remains of a Buddhist stupa or two, and a ruined and unserviceable fort at a little distance from the city walls; and in the distance southwards the long flat line of the Elburz, through a crack in which the narrow highway led by Haibak to the serried ranks of the mountain ridges, beyond which lay Kabul and India. There was nothing visible to denote such ancient history as must envelop Balkh, except endless grass-grown mounds, which, catching the rays of the western sun, threw long shadows athwart the plains, extending in disorderly variety to the north and west of the city. Until another Layard arises to dig out Balkh we shall never know the untold

wealth of Eastern story which lies buried in solid layers beneath that uninviting town of Afghan Turkestan. North of Balkh and north-west are the remains of the old canal system, which carried the waters of the Oxus through the plains. They seemed to me to denote the same process of ages of abandonment and disrepair as that of the past great irrigation works of Babylon, which yet streak the plains to the north of the mounds and ditches of that ancient city. They might easily be as old, and, like the Babylonian works, they indicate an age of slave labour, when nations were conquered and transported bodily to assist in developing such public works. It is quite certain that ages before the advent of the Greeks there was a well-trodden highway between Assyria and the plains of Balkh continuing through Baktria over the Hindu Kush to Kabul and India. There occurs in misty record the story of the invasion of India by Simiramis, Queen of Assyria, about 2000 B.C. It is but vaguely referred to in classical history, the point of the story being an apparently disastrous retreat through Makran. It was because Simiramis failed that Alexander (so says Arrian) attempted the feat. Whatever truth may attach to such history (if it can be regarded as history at all) the evidences of a constant intercommunication between Assyria and North-Western India through the ages preceding the Greek invasion are to be found indelibly stamped on the industrial arts of the north-west until this day.

For the relations between Assyrian art and that of Western India, we must turn to the pages of Sir G. Birdwood's inimitable work on the "Industrial Arts of India." There is not room here for a disquisition on art. It is possible, as Sir George Birdwood says, that India and Assyria may have found a common origin for the art of the potter and carpet-weaver in the Turanian traditions which preceded the Semitic occupation of Chaldea, or the Aryan immigration into India. That, however, seems to be almost an unnecessary deduction from the fact of their

similarity, in face of the certainty of long ages of inter-communication subsequently. The fact is that "pottery is still made all over India for daily use, which is in reality older," in design and form, "than the oldest remains we possess of the ceramic art of ancient Greece or Italy." Even the potter himself has not changed. He works as of old in the spirit of serenity and dignity. "He knows nothing," says Sir George Birdwood, "of the desperate struggle for existence which oppresses the life and crushes the very soul out of the English working man. He has his assured place inherited from father to son for a hundred generations in the national church and state organization, while Nature provides him with everything to his hand." "The sun is the Indian workman's co-operative landlord, coal merchant, upholsterer, tailor, publican, and butcher; his head partner from whom he gets almost everything he wants, and free of all cost but his labour contribution towards the trade union village corporation of which he is an indispensable and essential member." Thus he gives to his work (which to him is a religious function) that contentment of mind and leisure, and pride and pleasure in it for its own sake, which are essential to all artistic excellence. As for the Assyrian and Levitical "knop and flower" pattern, with the infinite variations on the "tree of life," which are introduced in almost all Asiatic carpet designs, we are all of us sufficiently familiar with them even if we do not all of us immediately recognize their origin.

Solid historical ground for the consideration of the earliest exploitation of India is not reached till we touch the records of the great Persian Empire under Darius. Rather more than five centuries B.C. (on the authority of Herodotus), we learn of that first expedition down the Indus, starting from a point somewhere near Attok, which under Scylax, a Greek, was to explore the country and lead to a subsequent invasion. In the Behistun inscription, which is dated not long after the great revolts which led to the assumption of sovereign power in Persia by Darius, son of Hystaspes,

there is no mention made of an Indian province ; but the careful enumeration by Herodotus of the geographical position of the Persian satrapies and of the tribal distribution of their inhabitants, many of whom are to be recognized in their original habitat to this day, leaves no doubt as to that subsequent conquest of India or as to the extent of it. In order to appreciate the value of this extension of Persian dominion, it is well to remember that for centuries before the days of Darius there were regular monarchies of some size even in distant Iranian lands. There are unmistakable evidences of the ancient empire in Bactria, with Balkh as its capital, which controlled the fertile Valley of the Oxus, which was probably coeval with Nineveh and reached a high pitch of civilization. Modern evidence of the widespread existence of the ancient Persian or Median stock, which we call Tajik, and the survival of an archaic form of the Persian language prevailing all through Asia from the Euphrates to the Oxus, and pervading the whole north-western Indian borderland, including Baluchistan and Afghanistan, testifies to the extent of Persian ethnographic influence, if not of Persian dominion. It was probably before the days of Darius that the Greek colonies on the Euxine gradually extended themselves eastward till they reached the foothills of the Hindu Kush, and were pushed into the rugged wilderness of Kafiristan. The routes eastward from Chaldea and Asia Minor were evidently well known and well trodden. The geographical distribution of mountain and desert in Persia has not changed since the time of Darius, and the great north road from the Caspian to Herat and Balkh, or the southern route from Persepolis to Kirman and the Indus Valley were equally open—more open indeed than they are now. That Darius should have reconnoitred a sea-route to India was only natural when we think of some of the naval episodes of that momentous contest for supremacy which continued for ages between Greece and Persia.

But what was India in those days ? We may take it for

granted that the only part of the Indian peninsula included in those ancient conquests was the Valley of the Indus. The rich and teeming plains to the south-east of the Indus were known only by report to those early conquerors. The Indus was frequently called the sea by them, as it was centuries later by early Arab immigrants. Even as late as one thousand years in our own era the deserts of Rajputana, Sind, and the Punjab bounded the enterprise of northern raids. When the conquest of India is spoken of in the earliest historical records, it may be assumed that the India to which that history referred was almost identically the same region as was subsequently known as Khorasan, and that it included the Asiatic kingdoms and peoples that were geographically nearest the Indus to the north-west of that river. Kabul was an "Indian" city in medieval geography, and only appears to be entirely dissociated from India when the Afghan kingdom was carved out by Ahmad Shah in the eighteenth century. The fact that no further progress was made beyond the Indus Valley was doubtless due to the geographical separation of that valley from the cultivated and comparatively wealthy regions of the Indian peninsula, from which it was divided by wide stretches of difficult and unproductive country, if not of absolute desert. It is impossible to suppose that reports of the wealth that lay beyond in the regions of the south did not reach the ears of Persian or Greek invaders, but there was ever present the dread of crossing those blazing, waterless, sun-scorched tracts that flanked the eastern banks of the river towards the south, and which separated by many miles of weary marching its great tributaries from each other on the north. We must remember the conditions under which armies marched in those days—heavily armoured for the most part, without efficient commissariat, or any sort of medical assistance, dependent on the country of their invasion for their supplies of food and shelter. These were conditions which did not render campaigning in High Asia, where vast hordes of people

have from time immemorial shifted their habitat, and traversed the continent by certain well-recognized and well-trodden routes, always supplying their wants from local sources, a matter of dread or of difficulty. The climate for the most part is favourable to movement. From the highlands of Persia and the uplands of Greece there is no immediate change in the general climatic conditions until the invader passes the gates of the north-western frontier hills, and steps down into the trough of the Indus. From this trough there was, in those early days, nothing but a red-hot stretch of barren country, sweltering under a dust-laden sky, to face an invader if he attempted to move eastward by any route but that which hugged the northern hills. Small wonder, then, that the Greek army mutinied when they reached the Beás, and that Medes and Persians found the outlook beyond the Indus quite unattractive. Even that great conqueror of India, the Turk emperor Babar, first of the so-called Mogul Dynasty, found existence at Delhi almost insupportable; and it was only by the exercise of an iron determination that he faced the piteous appeals of his nobles and captains to be allowed to return to the delights of Kabul, and abandon further enterprise in the plains of India altogether. But this being so, what about the Persian exploitation of India? We know for certain from contemporary historians that a large part of the revenues of the great empire of Persia was drawn from India. Doubtless trade with India assisted to swell the coffers of the Imperial treasury to a certain extent, but in those days revenue was not derived so much from trade as in the actual weight of bullion demanded from conquered nations. It was tribute, not trade, that was looked for as the reward of victory. Where did that gold come from? It is possible, indeed probable, that some of the present known sources of gold in the peninsula were worked 500 B.C., and the wealth of India in gold and precious stones must have been rumoured before the days of Solomon. But a conquest which only included the India of the

Khorasan and the Indus could not at first sight have been productive of much gold.

There is no sign in these days that gold could be worked to a profit in Afghanistan or in Badakshan, although the days of forced slave labour may have seen a certain amount extracted from the soil in both countries. Presumably the unconquered kingdoms of the Indian plains contributed nothing to the maintenance of the Persian Empire. We must, however, remember that the revenues of an empire, even as overgrown as that of Persia in the days of Herodotus, were but a fraction of those which would be required to maintain a kingdom of much more modest dimensions in these days. Wealth was concentrated in the Courts of Kings and their immediate environment. Those were not the days of millionaire subjects, nor even of rich land-owners. When we are impressed with the tales of the magnificence of the courtly State maintained by early historical sovereigns, we are affected only by the conveyance to us of the impressions of contemporary witnesses who wrote and spoke in terms of comparison with what they knew or believed to exist elsewhere. If we could be witnesses ourselves of the recorded splendour of those times, we should doubtless be filled with wonder at the magnificence of such palaces, temples, pyramids, and public works as were the works of men's hands, works which cost but little and were the direct result of conquest and slave labour; but for the display of wealth immediately surrounding the Court, the concentrated and undistributed wealth represented by imported gold, we should probably be as much impressed with its tawdriness as we are when we witness similar conditions in any native State in India. Nevertheless, a very large importation of gold from India undoubtedly existed in the times of which Herodotus wrote, and the question is, where did it come from? I believe myself that it came from Tibet. The enormous extent of the alluvial workings in the western provinces of Tibet must have been productive of vast quantities of gold, which

seldom remained to enrich those inhospitable highlands. These workings cover hundreds of square miles of uninviting plateau land, whilst we know that gold in nuggets is taken from the hard rock bottoms of many a pebble-filled stream in the eastern provinces. Tibet, indeed, seems to be the original storehouse of gold for all Asia. Every river which takes its rise on the Tibetan highlands washes down a certain amount of gold. Thus no doubt gold was found on the Indus and some of the tributaries where it is no longer worth the trouble of working. There never was any mining or quartz crushing in Tibet. It has all been shovel work and stream-washing. It may seem a "far cry" from Tibet to the Persian capital, but it is not in fact half the distance from the western gold-fields of Tibet to Balkh that it is to Peking, and to Peking yearly consignments of gold have traversed Tibet from the earliest days of Chinese supremacy until quite lately. The trail of the Persian is all over Badakshan and part of the Pamirs, and I believe that Persian India stretched itself to include Western Tibet. From the very earliest times of which we have any record there appear to have been persistent Oriental tales of gold-digging ants guarded by fierce dogs in India. It is only recently that the origin of these tales has been traced to the queer resemblance to ants which the Tibetan diggers assume when crouching under their black blankets they scratch the soil with long antelope horns in search of surface gold.

After Persia. Greece took up the tale of exploitation. When Alexander set out on his world-wide scheme of conquest through Asia, some three centuries before the Christian era, he organized an expedition which was for its time as complete in scientific equipment as any of modern days. He was, in the first place, fully acquainted with the general geography of the countries he must pass through, and with the special geographical details of the routes which led to India. They were, in fact, great trade highways, and he acquired, as he progressed, all the knowledge that the

Persian intelligence department possessed of what directly concerned their own empire. Greeks (or Pelasgi) had traversed some of those routes long before Alexander. So long before that when he actually encountered their descendants in the northern hills of India he had no knowledge of how they came to be there.

In some of the upper valleys of the Badakshan rivers—in Andaráb and about the northern foot of the Hindu Kush—there are villages whose names indicate a Greek origin. This is not surprising if we remember that a quasi-Greek occupation of Badakshan continued long after Greek influence and institutions had been cast out of the Indus Valley, subsequent to Alexander's expedition. But it seems probable that there were Greek colonies settled there even before Alexander appeared at the gates of the Hindu Kush, and that there must have been a tide of western immigration setting in towards Northern India for centuries. When we consider the extraordinary extent of international movement which must have taken place in those early centuries as indicated by the ethnology of present inhabitants, there is nothing surprising in this. It would, indeed, be more surprising if there were no evidence in the East of the energy or geographical initiative of the most civilized people of the West in those days. We need not concern ourselves with Alexander's progress through High Asia. There was hard fighting to be done ere the Persian barrier could be broken through, and the Central Asian States be reduced to a proper recognition of the invincibility of the Greek force, and rendered secure from meddling with the line of communication. Nothing is more wonderful than the success of Alexander's efforts to maintain constant communication with Europe. He had apparently no difficulty in keeping up the strength of his force by the addition of contingents from Greece. He secured a fresh supply of armour, which must have been badly needed before he reached the Indus, and he even sent back specimens of the cattle of the Indian border countries to Greece for the

improvement of the home breed. There was a fine admixture of severity and clemency in his methods which insured such results, and there was no political party behind him (at least, I have read of none) to request his recall if his methods now and then appeared to be too drastic. Eventually, after a progress through Asia which is one of the most astonishing romances of military history, he occupied the plains of Kabul, founded a city as usual, and proceeded to invade India. We need not follow his military progress in detail. Step by step it has been traced out, and although students of classical history may disagree on the position of some of the places and incidents mentioned in Arrian's story, it is quite clear that his general plan of action was to deal first with those independent tribes who might harry his line of advance, and to make no move into the plains of India until he had secured his communications with Kabul. He was consequently engaged in successive actions with the tribes to the north of what we know as the Khaibar route, and he followed a line of advance which has not been made use of in any recent campaigns. Taxila, the great centre of trade and of learning, three marches to the east of the Indus, surrendered without a blow, in the year 327 B.C., probably because its ruler was then engaged in hostilities with the great King Porus to the south, and he was anxious for Alexander's assistance. Then followed the dramatic defeat of Porus in May, 326 B.C., near Jhelum, the advance to the Beás River, involving several severe actions. This was the limit of Alexander's movement eastwards. It was here that the Greek army mutinied and declined to go further. It was in the month of July, and one can imagine the effect of the stagnant heat, the weary sleepless nights, the insupportable oppression of the dull, heat-ridden days on an army wearied to death with hard marching and constant fighting under the dead weight of Greek armour. The men who never before had failed him now refused to listen, and so, with leaden feet and weary hearts, the Greek army

returned to the Indus. Then followed the voyage down the river to the sea, chequered with hard fighting at intervals, and the final withdrawal of the force through Makran to Persia. It was in Makran that Alexander lost so much of his force through thirst. There was no lack of water, had he followed the right and obvious route. But it is admitted that he did not know the route, and he was, moreover, anxious to be as near to his slow moving coasting fleet of Indus-built boats as he could, in order to insure their safety. This was his undoing. His general, Krateros, succeeded in reaching Persia from Sind with the heavy baggage and the elephants, by a route which must have passed by Quetta and Kalat. It was at Quetta that a small bronze figure of Hercules was found when we were constructing the Quetta defences. This must have been abandoned during the march of Krateros. This is quite enough to prove that the western gates of India were open at that time even to heavy traffic. Too much has been made by historians of Alexander's disastrous march through Makran. There is evidence enough to prove that there was more water in Makran 300 years B.C. than there is now, but the route which he selected was fatal.

What did the Greeks acquire by this exploitation of the fringe of India? We know that in the short course of two or three years the Greek occupation of the Indus Valley ceased to exist after Alexander's death in the year 323 B.C. It was practically wiped out by a young Hindu named Chandragupta Maurya, an exiled and illegitimate member of the reigning family of Maghada. The kingdom of Maghada was at that time the most important kingdom in the Indian peninsula. With the assistance of an army of border ruffians, probably not very dissimilar to those whom we recognize as independent tribe people to-day, Chandragupta placed himself on the throne of Maghada, and rapidly extended his authority over the whole of the north-west frontier of India and through Baluchistan and Afghanistan to the foot of the Hindu

Kush. So far, then, brilliant as had been the military achievements of Alexander—perhaps the greatest general that the world has ever seen—masterly as had been his organization, his strategy, and tactics in the field, the world gained nothing by the awful suffering which he inflicted. Greece gained little or nothing, and for seventy years after his death Greek triumphs were but a memory. Then arose a partial Hellenization of the north-west border lands of India by the separation of Baktria and Parthia from the Syrian kingdom of Antiochus Theos, and their assumption of the rank of independent States. It was then probably that some effect was produced in the interior of India on the development of fine arts, and that Græco-Buddhist sculpture sprang into existence. But there was little else that could be claimed as an institution of Greek origin; and it is extremely doubtful if that most marvellous record of the triumphal progress of the Greeks to India and the chequered course of subsequent Greek occupation beyond the Indus with a few successful expeditions into India, brought any store of wealth to Greece or contributed in any other way to the permanent benefit of that country. Greek rule in Baktria ended about 130 B.C. with the invasion of a Central Asian horde who overwhelmed the last Greek King of Baktria and destroyed Hellenic rule for ever north of the Hindu Kush.

After the Greeks many successive invaders—Parthians, Scythians, and Huns—entered India through the North-West passes, all seeking to exploit India for their own benefit after being driven from more inhospitable regions in High Asia, either by pressure of their own increased population, or forced from their country by yet more powerful invaders from beyond. For centuries the tide set Indiawards. We read of no backward flow, except in the case of those who were able to return to their own country, and these no doubt carried a certain limited amount of wealth with them. The great majority, however, became absorbed in the country of their adoption, and their descen-

dants contributed to the development of Indian agriculture and trade as Indian citizens. There was no further definite and continuous exploitation of India until the days of Islam, when a people differing in religious faith from the ancient faith of the Hindu first thrust in the wedge of conquest from the west towards the Indus, and subsequently raided India periodically during medieval times, producing deep and lasting results upon that country, and undoubtedly adding enormously to the wealth and power of their own. Pre-Muhammadan Arab races had doubtless exploited India peacefully for centuries before Muhammadan invasions.

The beginning of that sea supremacy which was subsequently developed into an aggressive form by Arabs and Turks in medieval ages is lost in antiquity ; but it is, as I have said, highly probable that from the days of the Persian Gulf Phœnicians coasting-ships had crawled their slow way along the shores of the Red Sea and Makran to India, and had established trading depots which enabled them to maintain an interchange of traffic with those Chinese junks which are said to have sailed as far west as the Red Sea. We cannot, indeed, get back to the earliest records of this Eastern trade ; we only know from fairly certain history when it was that Muhammadan Arabs evinced that practical interest in India which led them to the conquest of the Indus Valley, and extended their marvellous system of Asiatic caravan trade till it covered nearly all Asia. Muhammad died in the year A.D. 632, and Islam became a militant faith animated by a spirit of missionary enterprise united with a truly Semitic appreciation of temporal wealth and power. It was when Muhammadan armies were engaged in the conquest of Spain on the west, and of Khiva on the north, that Muhammad, son of Kasim (who was but seventeen years of age), was sent by the Kalif Walid, his father-in-law, to conquer India in the year A.D. 711. As the Arabs then held Persia and Makran there was no difficulty

in the way of a military advance through the latter country. This expedition was notable for several reasons : The extreme youth of its commander ; its organization as both a military and a naval expedition ; its extraordinary success ; and the ultimate tragedy of Muhammad Kasim's death—for he was finally recalled from India by the Kalif Sulaiman who tortured him in prison till he died. With but 6,000 camel riders and 3,000 infantry from Syria, supported by a naval contingent which conveyed such siege weapons as were used in those days, the great fort of Debal in the Indus delta was reduced, and the subsequent victorious progress of Muhammad Kasim up the Indus Valley only stopped at Kashmir. This was in the year A.D. 712-13. With a chequered history the rule of the Arab in the Indus lasted for about three centuries, until Mahmud of Ghazni put an end to it by expelling the Karmatian rulers from Multan.

Again, we find that foreign ascendancy was confined to the Valley of the Indus. Nor can there be much reason to doubt that it was the old geographical difficulty presented by the position of that valley with regard to the rest of India, rather than any slackness of initiative on the part of the Arab, that prevented his supremacy in the peninsula. The Indus Valley was, however, exploited in a manner differing greatly from that of any previous invasion. Magnificent cities sprung up ; high roads were made with definite stages and halting-places ; huge caravan-serais, baths, and public buildings were common to these Arab towns ; and the Arabs, who are ever traders first and soldiers afterwards, grew wealthy, whilst the capital at Baghdad grew fat with the spoils of India. Nothing in the history of the world's development is more remarkable than the vast network of trade routes which covered the face of Asia from the Oxus to the Indus in the palmy days of Muhammadan ascendancy. The position and extent of them has recently been fairly well illustrated. The Arab was perhaps the first to lay the foundation of all

sound colonization. If he exploited a country for his own benefit, he at least was equally a benefactor to the country. Owing, however, to the fact that the original Arab invaders brought no women with them (contrary to their usual custom), but took wives of the women of the country, the Arab language seems to have rapidly disappeared from the Indus Valley; for the child talks its mother's tongue rather than its father's. At the present time there is much less Arabic to be recognized in the colloquial language of the Indus Valley than there is, for instance, in Argentine Spanish.

After the Arab, there came a deluge of Turkish irruptions into Northern India, culminating in the fifteen raids which were carried out successfully by Mahmud of Ghazni in the twenty-eight years at the commencement of the eleventh century; but it was not till the beginning of the thirteenth century that we find Muhammadan supremacy established in Northern India, from Peshawur to the Bay of Bengal. The thirty years of conquest which began about the year 1176, ended in a military occupation, with political supremacy centred at Delhi, which extended over about half the peninsula.

During these three centuries Northern India had been exploited for the benefit of the Afghan conquerors, who had carried off vast treasures to Ghazni and to Ghor, where India's wealth was expended in the erection and adornment of magnificent cities, of which not a vestige remains at this day. The very site of Ghor was difficult to determine, though I believe that we know it now; and the desolate plain of Ghazni, with its ruined shrines and one or two pathetic-looking minars, gives no sign of the splendours which must once have adorned it. For my own part, I believe the magnificence of these past cities of Afghanistan to have been greatly exaggerated. Thirty-four Turkish kings ruled at Delhi from 1206 to 1526 A.D., and then they were replaced by a new Turkish Dynasty from fresh Asiatic fields, which lasted under the name of the Moghul

Dynasty until our own time. It was a cruel irony of fate which gave the name Moghul—or Mongul—to the most magnificent succession of Turkish emperors that the world has ever seen. The founder of the empire—Babar—detested the Monguls with a whole-hearted detestation. They are a different people. To this day there is no comparison in the scale of advanced and enlightened humanity between the debased Buddhist or Shamanistic Mongul and the Muhammadan Turk, even when they are living side by side. Read Mr. Douglas Carruthers' delightful book on Mongolia, and you will see what he says about it. Then, after the days of the Afghan kings, followed the exploitation of India by sea—the race for India's trade between Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. This is modern history, which cannot be recounted here. It would provide matter, indeed, for many lectures. As a result we find that India is still being exploited, inasmuch as England is greater and richer for her Indian dependency. But the exploitation has taken to itself new forms and new hopes and aspirations, with the exploitations of the land by means of canals and railways, the exploitation of trade by the wide extension of agricultural areas, the exploitation of scientific means of dealing with the horrors of famine and pestilence, which, whilst they have brought to India far more material wealth than has ever been taken out of her, have rendered the task of administration infinitely greater and more complicated by reason of the enormous growth of her population.

Thus we have seen that through all the ages India has been essentially a land of exploitation. From the days of the Phœnician sailor and of Solomon to the last of the conquerors of India has she been the desire of men's eyes, the golden treasure-house of Asia. And yet India has always held her own. India is far richer to-day than she ever was in the palmiest days of her prosperity under the Maurya Dynasty or the Turkish emperors. What is the reason of this unique position amongst the nations? We

can give at least two fundamental reasons: her geographical position and her climate. With a barrier almost impassable of mountains and deserts on her northern and north-western sides, and the sea on her eastern and western shores, she was for countless ages, until the development of ocean commerce, practically too difficult of approach for direct military invasion. Persians, Greeks, and Arabs have occupied the trans-Indus provinces and the extreme northern hills, but they were all held up from further exploitation by the deserts flanking the Indus, and by the unendurable heat of the climate. Consequently neither Persians, Greeks, nor Arabs have left a permanent impression on India and Indian institutions. Assyria and Greece have indeed influenced the art of an imitative people, and Greece has made some slight mark on the ethnographical distributions of the northern tribes, which may be faintly recognized to-day in Kaffiristan and, I think possibly, in the villages of Andarab, under the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush. But independently of these military expeditions, which have left no trace in the plains of India, there have been countless irruptions of Aryans, Dravidians, Skyths, and cognate Central Asian peoples, who have been driven from Central Asian fields southward into India, and who have amalgamated together with the aboriginal Dravidians into a compact federation of nationalities, often hardly to be distinguished from each other, which forms the bulk of the Indian population of to-day.

It is to this huge (now unwieldy) population that India owes its wealth and has always owed its wealth. The mineral wealth of India has always been considerable, but it is nevertheless chiefly to agriculture and the development of many industries that India has owed that extraordinary recuperative power the results of which were once concentrated in the hands of its rulers to the impoverishment of the nation as a whole, and thus were a comparatively easy prey to the victorious exploiter. Until the Turk came from Afghanistan, I doubt if much solid wealth found its way

out of the plains of India. When it changed hands as the result of international war within the limits of India, it at least remained within these limits. It was no longer taken away, but continued to swell the coffers of some Indian potentate. When the Afghan Turk descended upon the plains he, no doubt, thrust both hands into these coffers and at first carried away great stores of gold and treasure to the north. But from the day that he settled in India this continuous outflow of wealth ceased. Once again the fertility of the country, the patient industry of its hordes of workers renewed its wealth, which, no longer flowing north for the benefit of the ephemeral cities of Afghanistan, concentrated itself in the Courts of its foreign rulers. But whilst India has thus maintained a position which is unique in Asia as a land for exploitation, and has held her own in the world's economy by reason of her isolated (almost insular) position and her recuperative climate, how is it that she has never risen to the necessity of defending and maintaining her own against the power of the exploiter? In ancient times this was a matter of military efficiency and fighting force.

Here again climate has much to account for. The original immigrants from High Asia, who made up the human amalgam representing the northern people of the plains, came themselves of fighting stock; and in the northern and western regions of India, where life was a struggle against comparatively desert conditions, and the strength of a man was unsapped by a humid atmosphere, whilst his caste called him to the soldier's profession (as in Rajputana and Sind), he was ever a formidable foe in the field. But for the vast mass of the sweltering Indian plains people the profession of war was contrary to caste and prejudice and habit. Magnificent as was the military spirit which animated the Rajput of old, he was no match in military science for the trained forces of Greek or Turk. It was the old, old story of the hill-bred man against the plains man—of hardened and trained vigour animated by

deadly unity of purpose against a valiant but decadent military race. Just as the savage hosts of the Shepherd Kings demolished the old civilization of Egypt; as Persia succumbed to the Macedonian; as the Roman Empire was broken up by the Goths; so apparently did the hill-bred Turk of Afghanistan (assisted by the Mongol) dispose of the plains-bred Hindu of India whenever he met him. Thus it fell out that since Nature had decreed that India should be rich and that the northern races should be strong, the Hindu, as a national entity, has ever been under the dominion of the foreigner, and the only change of alien sovereignty which he has known has been the change from East to West. And so, if heredity counts for anything, will it continue. A self-governing federation of Hindu and Muhammadan states with an army strong enough for defence will never be combined under one Indian ruler.

After the exploitations by land—exploitations from the highlands of Afghanistan and High Asia—came the exploitations by sea. And although these exploitations may be said to have commenced on strictly legitimate commercial lines, European rivalry in the ocean-field soon led to extensions of influence within the India that lay beyond the coast line, and led by degrees to conquest and annexation.

Now on this latter-day form of exploitation we may just for a minute observe that India was as defenceless and even more helpless than she was when confronting her northern foes. It is a remarkable fact that with all her length of seaboard, India has never possessed a true seagoing population, or anything approaching to a navy. Ever since the days of the Phœnicians trade has come to India—it may be from Egypt, or the Persian Gulf, or from China—and yet she has never reciprocated by floating a single commercial ship for broad ocean traffic. India has never possessed a navy; never made a bid for command of the sea against Arab or Turk, because she has never bred sailors. I shall be told that our big merchant liners of the

P. and O. and other lines are manned with Indian lascars. That may be ; but are they really sailors in the full sense of that term ? Is there any naval captain who would care to fight his ship, to take her into a red-hot action, manned by lascars ? I doubt it. I know that men can be recruited on the west coast of India, notably about Rutnagiri, who appear to have the very saltiness of the true tar about them ; but they are few, and, after all, they have never been tried. I doubt if they are sailors as English and Norwegians, Dutchmen, Chilians, and Japanese are sailors ; and in these days it is well to remember that still the command of the sea depends not so much on the size of the ship as on the man behind the gun. It is to our sailors that we owe it. After all the long experiences of bygone ages in the exploitation of India, we still hold our own in that great final exploitation which we trust and believe is an exploitation as much for India's benefit as it is for our own.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, March 10, 1914, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, S.W., at which a paper was read by Colonel Sir Thomas H. Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., on "The Early Exploitation of India and the Indian Borderlands." General Sir Edmund George Barrow, G.C.B., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Sir Lionel Spencer, K.C.B., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Barrow, Lady Holdich, Mrs. Pollen, Miss Pollen, Miss Barrow, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Grose, Mr. Mohammed Yamin Khan, Major Longridge, Dr. S. A. Kapadia, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mrs. Bean, Mrs. Hammond, Mrs. and Miss Hastings, Miss Webster, Mrs. Tate, Mr. K. P. K. Menon, Miss Prendergast, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. N. L. Hallward, Miss Wade, Major Wright, Colonel E. G. Hales, Mrs. Wigley, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. N. C. Sen, Captain Cotton, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Major Skene Thomson, Colonel A. U. S. Wingate, Mr. Ramdas Chhokra, Mr. Denyer, Mr. N. B. Leash, Mr. N. P. Wadia, The Rev. J. R. Brown, Mr. E. B. Havell, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. W. H. Dawson, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. H. Faraker, and Dr. J. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, it seems almost futile to go through the form of introducing the Lecturer to you, as he is not only well known in England as a geographer, but his reputation, I may say, extends to three continents, Europe, Asia, and South America. By his geographical labours and his erudite researches he has earned for himself a world-wide reputation, and no one is better qualified than Sir Thomas Holdich to address you on the subject of the exploitation of India from early times. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read by Sir Thomas Holdich.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with applause) said: Ladies and gentlemen, we are all very much obliged to Sir Thomas Holdich for the splendid address he has given us.

We have had a most interesting and instructive afternoon, and I am afraid any observations I may make will fall somewhat flat after the learned disquisition to which Sir Thomas Holdich has treated us.

There is one subject, however, on which I, as a soldier, regret he did not

so lightly, namely, Alexander's march from Kabul to the Indus. Now it is quite certain that in Alexander's time the Khaibar was the grand trade route from Central Asia and Northern Afghanistan to India. Apart from the fact that nature has clearly marked it as such, the Buddhist ruins along it distinctly indicate it as the "Badshahi Sarakh" or "Royal Road," by which epithet it is described to this day. If so, why did not Alexander use it, as there is no good road to the north of it, and *none* by which any great commissariat caravan or train of military chariots could have been taken. I know this region pretty intimately, and I think Sir Thomas will bear out my assertion as to the character of the country.

Sir Thomas in his lecture says: "It is quite clear that his general plan of action was to deal first with those independent tribes who might harry his line of advance, and to make no move into the plains of India until he had secured his communications with Kabul. He was consequently engaged in successive actions with the tribes to the north of what we know as the Khaibar route, and he followed a line of advance which has not yet been made use of in any recent campaigns." Now, as the General Commanding on the Frontier, I have often pondered on the spot on this problem, and the conclusion I came to was not exactly the same as that of the lecturer. A great Captain does not turn aside for secondary issues; the chastisement of the local tribes would have been such a secondary issue. My solution of the mystery is this: Alexander found his progress by the Khaibar barred by the Hindu army and the fortified position they had probably taken up in front of Landi Kotal; that is the natural and scientific line of defence. The ruins we call Kafir Kot may indeed mark some of those fortifications, and I can well imagine that, faced by a strong force in so impregnable a position, Alexander may well have hesitated to make a frontal attack. He had no artillery to shell those heights, and on the steep mountain-side the serried ranks of his incomparable infantry would have been of no avail against an active enemy. Landi Kotal was a veritable *darband* or shut door, and he recognized it; so leaving his main army and his trains in front of the famous pass, he turned aside with a picked force and sought a way of outflanking his enemy. He found that way through Bajaur and Chakdarra, and the enemy, thus finding their position in the Khaibar turned, and the terrible conqueror threatening their communications, in all probability abandoned the Khaibar in haste and fled to Attock, thus leaving open the great road for Alexander's main body. Where Aornos was we do not know, but I feel absolutely convinced that only stern necessity would have compelled Alexander to turn aside from the main line of advance into the tangled mass of mountains which lie between Jellalabad and the Peshawar Valley. Those of you who know the ground will, I think, appreciate my argument. If Sir Thomas can throw any further light on this problem, or on the identity of Aornos, I think it would interest many who will read his address.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the only point that struck me on reading the lecture, but there are many points in the lecture which are deserving of our study and of discussion, and I hope some of those present will improve occasion by continuing the discussion on those points. (Hear, hear.)

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL: Ladies and gentlemen, there is one point which has been suggested to me by the lecture, on which I should like to make a comment; but before doing so I should like to express on behalf of the Association our cordial welcome to General Barrow, and if he will kindly not listen to what I am going to say, I think I might add that England, no less than India, is to be congratulated on having secured his great administrative experience and long military service in the distinguished post which he now holds in the Secretary of State's office. (Hear, hear.)

The point I wish to refer to is, I feel, so very small and humble after the interesting lecture we have heard, and after the Chairman's remarks, that I am rather inclined to sit down without saying it. It is in reference to the Phœnicians. The lecturer said that probably some three or four thousand years before Christ the Phœnicians found their way to the Mediterranean, and from there began their wanderings along the coast as far as Great Britain eventually, and then, he also says, made settlements possibly on the coast of Scandinavia. I remember a good many years ago the Duke of Argyll wrote a paper with regard to some of the names along the south coast, and he said that we had some traces of the Phœnicians in the names Baltic and Belt—that is to say, worship of Baal—and also in Start Point; and he maintained that this was nothing but the remains of the word "Astarte" or "Astareth." We still hear of "bale" fires and of things "baleful." The Lecturer says there were settlements apparently in Scandinavia, and the idea that occurred to me is this: I found in the only book I could consult on the subject that the worship of the snake—which is almost universal throughout the world—by the Phœnicians was in the form of the snake with its tail in its mouth. That is not the usual Oriental way, but here in the West we have exactly the same form, conveying the notion of permanence or eternity, and, oddly enough, in the Scandinavian mythology they have the same idea. No doubt you may remember that in the old story of the Norse god or demigod, Thor, whom we invoke on *Thursday*, he went to a place which perhaps the children nowadays would have called "No Man's Land," or "Never Never Land," and there he was challenged to various feats of strength. He had three things given him to do: First, to drain a drinking-horn dry, which they said was a very easy thing to do; the second was to wrestle with an old woman; and the third was to lift a cat. He took a drain at the horn, and reduced the level of the liquor by an inch or two, but no more; he seized the old woman, but with all his godlike strength he could not throw her; he seized the cat, but only one forepaw could he lift off the ground. Thor had never been defeated before in deeds of strength, and he was about to depart in great depression when some of the folk said: "Do not be depressed; this has been a deception. The bottom of the horn was in the sea, but who can empty that, the bottomless?—you did make it ebb. The old woman was old age; who can wrestle with her and prevail? The cat was the Mitgard Snake, which, with tail in mouth, holds the world together, and if you had succeeded in lifting the cat off the ground, the world would have rushed to ruin." Thus

it may be possible the old Scandinavian idea of the world-serpent may have been implanted among the primitive people by the Phœnicians in their wanderings in the far-off days before the Christian era. (Hear, hear.)

DR. KAPADIA said he had not come prepared to speak, but he had listened with great pleasure and edification to the interesting account the Lecturer had given of the doings in ancient times of a race with which he himself as a Parsee could claim kindred. He had gleaned knowledge from the paper that he could not otherwise have obtained, and he felt very grateful to Sir Thomas for the lucid manner in which the story of the Exploitation of the Indian Borderlands had been traced, and he desired to say how thoroughly he had enjoyed listening to the reading of the paper.

No one else taking part in the discussion, the Chairman said he would call upon Mr. Coldstream to say a few words.

MR. COLDSTREAM said that he had been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the Lecturer, and he thought he was voicing the feeling of the whole meeting in offering him their most grateful thanks. Sir Thomas Holdich, during the period of his active service, was a distinguished member of a distinguished service of the Crown, and had devoted the leisure of his subsequent years to the study of problems connected with the vast Indian Borderlands, its geography, its history, and its antiquities. He had not only been a great traveller who had seen the vast area of South-West Asia from Makrán to Balkh, and a diligent student and investigator in those far-off and recondite fields, but he had the high qualifications and the public spirit—and those two were not always combined—to express by literary and artistic skill the fruitful results of his studies. (Hear, hear.) In his work "*The Gates of India*," and other works, they had a valuable store of information. The Society was to be congratulated on having secured such a lecture as they had listened to from so ripe a scholar, and so eloquent and practised a speaker as Sir Thomas. He had the greatest pleasure in offering to the Lecturer on behalf of the meeting the cordial thanks of the East India Association. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

MR. OWEN DUNN said he had great pleasure in seconding the proposal put before them by Mr. Coldstream. The paper was an inspiring one, and one that excited the imagination, and, he was sure, had aroused the greatest interest in all present; he felt sure they would all look forward to reading it when it was published, and carefully study it. The remarks which had been added by the Chairman and Sir Arundel Arundel had also added to its interest. He thought they would all leave the meeting feeling they had learned a good deal, and spent a very enjoyable afternoon.

THE LECTURER, in reply, said: I have very little further to say, except to thank Mr. Coldstream and his seconder for the kind words they have spoken, and to thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the attentive way in which you have listened to what I should think must have been a somewhat uninteresting lecture. (Cries of No, no.) I am not going to enter into any argument on the subject of Alexander's campaign; I have done that once before, and it lasted a very long time. I have already quarrelled with one of my best friends about the identity of Aornos, and I should be sorry to begin again. I was interested to hear what Sir Arundel Arundel

told us of the legends in the Far North. I knew it as an historical fact that the Phœnicians traded to the Baltic for amber; but whether they actually established colonies in Scandinavia is, I think, not quite satisfactorily proved; but they probably did so. It is curious that one should be able to trace so long a sequence of exploitation by diving back a little into the ancient history of a country which, I take it, all of us in this room know so well. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

DR. POLLEN said that he would like to support the vote of thanks to Sir Thomas for his splendid paper. He agreed cordially with all he had written except one little point towards the end. He thought it was a great pity they could not all spread themselves over the various presidencies in India, so as to be in a better position to deliver judgment when necessary on the whole. He thought people ought to have a good experience of Bombay, for instance. (Laughter.) There was no presidency like it.

The one point on which he wished to dwell was the reference in the paper to the Lascars. He did not think the lecturer really meant to suggest they were not splendid sailors, and that they did not share some of the excellent qualities of his own countrymen in the north of Ireland—the fishermen of the coast. They had not been tested, perhaps, on warships; but they were brave men nevertheless, and feared no storm, and always rose to the occasion. He understood what Sir Thomas meant—viz., that the spirit of a race is, after all, the controlling power that directs the destinies of a race. But, if he read history aright, there was a time at which the sailors of India held their own, and showed their spirit in contending with foes who were vastly superior, and he had heard there was a time when Indian navies swept the Southern seas even so far as remote New Zealand. The great thing was to preserve or revive the spirit of a race, and he recalled the lines—

"Vain mightiest fleets of iron framed !
Vain those all-shattering guns !
Unless proud England keep untamed
The strong hearts of her sons."

Indians, too, had strong hearts of their own, and he knew Indian sailors could hold their own with the very best. Officers of the Indian Marine spoke in the very highest terms of the splendid capacities of the Indian sailor, and his qualities were not inferior to those of the Indian soldier, as to which the Chairman [Sir Edmund Barrow] could testify from long experience.

SIR ROBERT FULTON said he wished to propose a vote of thanks also to the Chairman (applause), but apparently the Chairman did not wish him to do so. Without his permission, however, he thought they would all join with him in that vote of thanks. The Chairman might be a stranger to most of them, but he was not a stranger to those who had spent their lives in India. He had had a very distinguished military career, and, in fact, had made history in India. About the end of the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, General Barrow was selected to be the military member of the Council, as Lord Curzon considered him the most appropriate officer to occupy that post. Lord Kitchener, however, thought he was too strong a man, and would not agree to his appointment. Therefore the matter

was referred home, and the then Secretary of State for India said the services of General Barrow could not be spared, because if there was any outbreak of hostilities in India he would select General Barrow to lead the forces. (Hear, hear.) He well remembered, when in Calcutta, seeing General Barrow start as Second in Command of the expedition to China at the time of the Boxer trouble. Sir Alfred Gaselee was the Commander-in-Chief. The European powers had sent out forces to assist in quelling the rebellion; there were French, Germans, Russians, Americans, and Indian and Japanese troops. He would now like to reveal to them a secret page of the history of that campaign. (Hear, hear.) Of course they would hear nothing of it from the gentlemen on that side of the table, because their mouths were sealed; but he held no official position, and therefore was irresponsible. It got about at Tientsin that some of the allies did not want to go on and attack Pekin, and there was a Council of War held to consider the matter. The night before the Council of War was held, Sir Alfred Gaselee and General Barrow were discussing their plans, when the Japanese General came and asked what they were going to do if the others would not advance. They said: "We shall go on by ourselves." (Hear, hear.) The Japanese General said: "Then I will come too." The next day the Council of War took place, and some of the allies suggested that it might be dangerous to attack Pekin, but the British officers said they would go alone, and the Japanese and the Americans said they would go with them. On that the others all declared they would go. They appointed a time for the starting of the expedition—but the Russians started three hours before the appointed time, so as to get the start of the rest of the party! The others waited for the appointed time. In the result, when the Chinese saw the Russians coming, they went out and attacked them; there was a good fight, and a good number of casualties. The British attacked from a flank, but there was no one there, the Chinese having gone out to fight the Russians; so that the British troops got into the British Legation safe and sound, whilst the Russians and Japanese were fighting in front. There were practically no casualties in the British force, and the only unfortunate incident was that there were some drains into which some of the troops fell. They therefore arrived somewhat dirty and "smelly." (Loud laughter.)

In conclusion, he wished to say they were all very much indebted to General Barrow for his excellent address, and he was sure all would join with him in cordially thanking him. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

SIR LESLEY PROBYN briefly seconded, and the Chairman returned thanks. The proceedings then terminated.

THE ARMENIAN UNITED ASSOCIATION OF LONDON

THE *Conversazione* of this Association was held at the Élysée Hall, Queen's Road, W., on Sunday last. The proceedings were opened by an address from Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. Gregory, V.D., the President, who dealt with political and social events affecting Armenians, and voiced the wish of all that the recent Agreement with the Sublime Porte as to the reforms to be introduced into the Armenian vilayets would be loyally carried out and prove efficacious.

A programme of vocal and instrumental music followed, and was brought to a conclusion with addresses in English and Armenian by Mr. H. Garabedian and the Rev. Karoome Ablahatian. The former, having graduated in America and obtained his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, is now on his way to Etchmiadzin, the cathedral city of the Armenian Church, to be ordained, and so to devote his life to the welfare of the nation. He conveyed the greetings of the Armenian colony in America, spoke of the progress and needs of Armenians, and urged the fostering of all educational efforts. The latter, who had, for the past forty years, lived and travelled in Kurdistan and Armenia, pointed out the requirements of the inhabitants, and also explained the direction from which help should come, especially from irrigation schemes, which were needed to obviate the sufferings entailed by drought.

SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

1. THE MESSAGE OF ZOROASTER. By Ardaser Sorabjee N. Wadia, (*Dent and Sons.*)

From the very first page of Mr. Wadia's remarkable volume it is plainly evident that he is a firm believer in the Persian proverb that "It is better to aim at the moon and strike the tree-tops, than to aim at the trees and strike the earth," for the majority of his thought-arrows are well winged for a high target, and few fail to hit at least the Outer White.

The book is important, inasmuch as it serves the dual purpose of an earnestly religious textbook for Parsee perusers, and a scholarly collection of philosophical theories concerning the ancient faith of Iran, which every Western student will welcome; and the critics our author openly despises will yet pardon the occasional digressions on rather irrelevant subjects for which he somewhat scornfully apologizes in his preface; and also overlook a sometimes jejune turn of phrase in consideration of his genuine erudition and undoubted literary power.

The first of the book's three sections, "Why do we hold Fire Sacred?" is perhaps the most important to Parsee thought, since it is a stirring call to those fainter-souled devotees who of late neglect the Prophet's first injunction to "Contemplate the beams of fire with a most pious mind."

Mr. Wadia, indeed, fearlessly avows himself one of the Old School—a fire-worshipper in the most literal sense of the term, in opposition to the merely symbolical belief of later Avestaic authorities; and explains his reason with strength and conviction, citing both ancient scriptures and modern science to prove his case.

Western readers will find its latter pages, on the "Analysis of Light," of extreme interest, and also his ideals of the world-old Mysteries of Mithra.

Secondly, "The Philosophy of Zoroaster" contains chiefly an able exposition of the principles of polarity in nature, art, and music, illustrated by some exceedingly picturesque descriptive writings, and some thoughtful passages upon the uses of Evil in the Divine scheme of harmony according to Mazdayasnian ideals.

Thirdly come the "Ethics of Zoroaster," which has for its text the Master's own words, "To tell the truth and to aim straight is the first Persian virtue."

Thereon Mr. Wadia discourses most interestingly, taking for his headings the respective commands of Shree Kreeshta, "Get Wisdom," Buddha's "Forsake Desire," Christ's "Have Charity," Muhammad's "Seek God," and Zoroaster's "Make Thyself Pure."

It is a homily which will hold the Western reader's close attention, particularly the novel treatment of the three Drukhshi of Impurity, Covetousness, and Sloth, whose vivid originality very forcibly grips the imagination.

Still, we fancy that the sentiments of pp. 181, 182 will not meet with entire approval among the fair readers of modern education in Bombay!

Yet even though Mr. Wadia avers "that the book's first aim was to extricate himself and others from the gloom of irreligion which gathers only too plainly around us," his is a cheerful and inspiring view of futurity, for he backs his optimism with a formidable and cosmopolitan row of sages and philosophers of all climes, from Plato and the Psalmist, to Ruskin, Chunder Dutt, and Madame Blavatsky, while Pharisees and dogmatists get short shrift and sharp digs from his pen.

On the whole, Eastern theologians will certainly concur in pronouncing the latest interpretation of the message a very able one. For the less expert Western reader's convenience, however, a slight biographical notice of the Sage or Iran might have been given.

In a future edition it could easily be added to the two well-arranged appendices.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

2. THE FAITH OF ANCIENT EGYPT. By Sydney G. P. Coryn. (*The Theosophical Publishing Company*.)

If the hint of the publishers, on the last page of this elegantly got up little monograph, to "read others of our interesting books and send for our descriptive catalogue," indicates that its primary *raison d'être* was the making of an attractive light sample of more weighty goods, it may be surely held to have achieved its aim; but considered as a serious attempt to deal with a very deep subject it has many gaps. They are gaps which irritate the more, since the author shows a thorough insight into his theme and a genuine gift for alluring narrative.

Armed with a most modern lamp of Theosophy, he proceeds to flash it into several of the darkest corners of the old Egyptian temples, and so shows us not a few quite enthrallingly interesting scientific facts which the ordinary student of hieroglyphs is apt to overlook, such as the latest explanatory reading of the records concerning the great Zodiac of Denderah, its bearing upon occult chronology, and its comparative value with the Schemhamphorasch, the Kabbalah, and modern Hindu reckoning.

There is a particularly fascinating chapter upon the cycles and the Gods of the Cycles, and another on the inward meaning of the highest priests' initiation and powers; while the wanderings of the soul from the Book of the Dead and the symbolical meanings of certain rites and objects are very clearly described.

But when we come to such absorbing matters as the Promise of the

Zodiac and proofs of Eternal Memory, the scanty paragraphs are distinctly annoying, and our annoyance is the keener, since tucked in the cover-pocket are two excellent supplementary charts of the famous Zodiac and Temple Front, skilfully reconstructed to show every detail of its inscriptions; while the whole book is equally well illustrated with such artistic drawings as revive one's longings to behold again the originals in Thebes, Esneh, and luckless Philæ.

Still, despite its lapses, it is a dainty picture-booklet to set on the end of the shelf holding one's Flinders Petries and Garstangs.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

3. AU YUNNAN, ET DANS LE MASSIF DU KIN-HO. Par le Dr. A. F. Legendre. (*Librairie Plon.*) Price 3 francs.

The two salient points of Dr. Legendre's interesting new volume of his latest explorations in the Flowery Kingdom are, firstly, his thoroughness in his scientific observations and high personal courage; and, secondly, the penny-wise folly of the French Government in supplying so small a European escort for so important a mission in such perilous regions.

The wonder is that the Doctor and his two brave companions—MM. Desirier and Noiret—ever reached civilization alive, or that they saved any of their notes or specimens from the attack made upon them by the Chinese revolutionaries.

The first part of their expedition in 1910 was their march through Yunnan; the next the exploration of the Yalong Basin and the Kin-Ho, or Golden River; and the last stage was the passing through another portion of this Basin, ending with the tale of their dangerous siege and capture by the rebels.

Dr. Legendre concurs strongly with all experts on the Yellow Question of to-day in the conviction that the present Chinese Government is a case of "new presbyter is but old priest writ large," and (for the destruction of the Imperial prestige has not allayed the venality of the intriguing Court factions) that European intervention and aid are the country's only hope of salvation in the future.

He has a facile pen, our brave Doctor, and if his pictures have not the warm colouring of Loti, the weird and often barren lands and sordid natives of his adventures are at least faithfully portrayed.

He liked best the basin of the Yalong, a marvellous region of the Thibetan Marches, where great furry yaks cropped the short grass, and huge mastiffs barked by brown hair tents, and in the springtide the lower scrub was luxuriant as Elfland, while in the higher districts the grand oaks and pines towered high above the flamy glory of rhododendrons, outlined against the eternal grey of distant moraines.

Such scenery contrasts rather sharply with some of the revolting habits of the people, which he describes quite candidly. Despite the loss of so many precious papers and geographical notes, the rebels could not seize our author's good memory or tireless patience, and he has reconstructed nearly the whole of the more important data relatively of use to French commerce and ethnography.

And apart from this practical success, we can assure him, with a cordial handshake, that whatever tame feet follow his tracks in those dread wilds hereafter, he has indeed the first joy of Kipling's immortal Explorer in the Never-Never Country, and no congratulations can sound sweeter than the

" . . . mile-wide mutterings of unimagined rivers "

And no sight is fairer than

" And beyond the nameless timber the illimitable plains. . . . "

FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

4. THE PROVINCIAL GEOGRAPHIES OF INDIA: THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY WITH MYSORE, COORG, AND THE ASSOCIATED STATES. By E. Thurston, C.I.E. (*The Cambridge University Press.*) Price 3s. net.

Here we have the first of what promises to be a really fascinating series of textbooks, and (as is fitting) it deals with the senior Presidency and its neighbours.

We entirely agree with Sir Thomas Holland, the editor, who states in his neat little preface "that everyone who knows Madras will recognize the pre-eminent fitness of Mr. Edgar Thurston to give a true picture of South India, for as Superintendent of the Madras Museum and the Ethnographic Survey, he sampled every form of human and natural interest in the districts." Not only this, but the author has a vastly pretty gift for story-telling, and where he has scope—say, in the chapters on history, religions, and industrial arts—he embroiders his many fresh and useful facts with quite enthrallingly romantic detail-threads.

He has, moreover, enlisted the services of Mr. Havell, the well-known writer upon Indian Art, for the chapter on Architecture, and Mr. Romilly for the Planter's Information, while a hundred excellent photographs, maps, and portraits, illustrate their descriptions.

Yet while the artistic side has been so well looked to, the practical is no less ably planned out, and the mass of concise and accurate information upon boundaries, seaports, maritime trade, agriculture, canals, and minerals, is of high value.

It is quite pathetic on opening such a geography as this to recall the dry, tedious tomes of last generation's youth, and it will be a lucky school whose principal now subscribes for the whole series, if the first is to be judged as a specimen of the rest.

There is a particularly good account of the Todas—those strange pastoral folk of the Nilgiris—and a roll of honour worth remembering, while no young soldier or civilian on his way Eastwards can afford to neglect the admirable chapter of advice on Climate, nor the indexed list of useful books at the end.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

5. OUR TASK IN INDIA. By Bernard Lucas. (*Macmillan and Co.* 1914.) Price 2s. 6d.

The author makes a distinction without much difference between proselytism and evangelism, by depreciating the act of a proselytizer and

glorifying the act of an evangelist. If taken in its natural derived sense proselytism is as free of offence as the word evangelist itself. The author is conscious of the unreality of the bogey he has called up both in his preface, p. vi, and in his first chapter, pp. 5, 16, 20, where the struggle to make a difference is severe. In the chapters that follow he feels the insecurity of the foundation on which he is building. He acknowledges the difficulty on p. 39, and gives away his whole argument when he admits that "the soul of India can only be touched through the souls of individual Hindus."

Incidentally he dates modern missionary enterprise in India from the time of William Carey, as if the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had had no existence before that period, and had not by means of its missionaries (some of whom like Schwartz, Fabricius, and Gericke were eminent) co-operated with God for the salvation of a portion of the Hindu world. It is not easy to understand what he means by the word Church; but he evidently excludes the Churches of Rome, Syria, and England, and their work in India in the centuries before the time of Carey.

The author is quite mistaken in saying that Christian missionary effort has had no effect upon Aryan India, that is upon the caste people of the country. The lives of Bishops Middleton, Heber, and Wilson are open to all of us; and English readers have found the chapters concerning their contentions with the caste Christians in the south of India among the most interesting of all. Before the conclusion was arrived at that caste as a social system was inseparable from caste as a religious system, Aryan India was more generally affected by the teachings of Christianity than it has been since.

For his own purposes the writer contrasts the method of evangelism, which he says is the new way of teaching Christianity, with the method of dogmatic theological expression, which he says was that adopted by the older missionaries. He compares the actual answer of our Lord to the young ruler with what He might have said if He had been speaking the language of orthodoxy and proselytism, that is the language of the older missionaries; and he fills sixteen pages to show the superiority of the reply Christ adopted over that which He did not adopt. Such setting up of bogeys in order to knock them down again is futile.

The author says many sensible things which are not new, in the chapter on Men and Methods. He also suggests some novel missionary methods which no experienced missionaries are likely to adopt. There is a certain amount of cleverness in the way he picks holes in the infant Indian Church and presents his case; but the cleverness will not advance the cause of Christ, which is presumably his intention. He thinks that all the deficiencies will be corrected if the missionaries cease to proselytize and begin to evangelize; and so he gets back to the original difficulty he stumbled over at the beginning. There is no such person as a missionary who exalts dogmas and formulæ above the quickening of spiritual life in the soul. Dogmas and formulæ are only the boundary hedges of the Kingdom of God to protect the soul from trespassing into dangerous places.

The author frankly recognizes that the missionaries of the Church

evince brotherliness towards those of other Christian communions. But his reservations do not make for further brotherly advances on their part. It would be better to accept the advances and to strive for unity—not uniformity but unity—than to prevent any further advance by accentuating possible dangers.

This may be done by co-operation in essentials, of which there are two : (1) *the simple gospel*, which is best guarded by the creed ; and (2) a *common ministerial organization* which is best maintained by the historic episcopate in synod. There must be diversities in practice ; within the limits of the simple gospel let them be. All other questions, including that of Christian literature and variations in the mode of expressing Christian doctrines, will settle themselves or will be settled in synod, in course of time.—F.P.

6. REFLECTIONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF INDIA. By A. S. Wadia.
(J. M. Dent and Sons.)

Mr. Wadia has sent us a very daintily bound little volume, more suggestive from its outward appearance of lyrics and rondels than aught else. The subjects which he has dealt with are, however, of a far more serious character. Out of the many problems that beset India, he has selected four, namely, Elementary Education, of which he disapproves ; The Caste System, which he upholds ; and Industrial Development in India, which he deplors as bad for the country. As regards the last point, The Political Future of India, his views are neither in accordance with those of the Congress ideals, nor of the Nationalist party. He thinks that there ought to be formed a new party of a carefully-chosen select few, under the designation—somewhat self-contradictory—of the “Independent Pro-British Party,” whose aim should be to maintain, at one and the same time, the permanence of British rule in India, and the independence, when practical, of all Indians.

Mr. Wadia quotes largely from various well-known writers, especially Nietzsche and Carlyle, to support his views, and is evidently a staunch follower of the former.

7. ANNALS AND MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF PEKIN. By E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland. (Heinemann.) Price 16s.

Readers who demand nicely varnished and conventional pictures of the Flowery Empire, and have a sentimental belief in the efficacy of gentle Western methods of conversion from barbarous customs upon the wily Chinese, will surely find Messrs. Backhouse and Bland's able chronicle much too strong meat.

They fearlessly show us the country's condition in the bad old days, and also how little it has changed to-day, for the bloody records of the late Empress, the “Old Buddha's” Borgia-like intrigues, scarcely differ from those of the early Ming and Manchu doings.

One of our most pompous contemporary journals finds fault with their plain naming of spades, but we must in common sense agree with them that the reader will best appreciate their story who, “clearing his mind

of conventions and cant, endeavours to understand the fundamental differences between the moralities of East and West, and to weigh their results without prejudice or passion."

They have thus given us a really monumental effort of patient research, and careful compilation of the Ming dynasty from 1368, through the successive Manchu Empire to the present day; and they enliven their saga with some of the most vivid sketches of love and war it has ever been our lot to review.

We get a wonderfully good analysis and insight into the Chinese character and its terrible combinations, which is vividly illustrated, particularly in such fearful contrasts as that between the poetic imagery which could christen the "Palace of Motherly Felicity" and the "Pavilion of Charity made Manifest," and the gruesome fiendishness of the murders between their walls, though a few good and brave souls, like the General Shih K'o-fa and the Lady Precious Pearl, shine through the mists of terror and death.

The book's plan is rather a series of scenes than a continuous narrative, yet only a student who knows the myriads of events and personages concerned in the complicated tangle of Chinese history can realize the author's difficulties, and sympathetically congratulate them on having achieved a much more concise chronicle than such materials promised, and one which ought to prove most useful to all interested in Far Eastern affairs.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

8. THE ISLAND DEPENDENCIES OF JAPAN. By Charlotte M. Salwey.
(London: *Eugène L. Morice.*)

This book is in a way designed to be a memorial to the late Emperor Meyji Temio of Japan. It commences with a short appreciation, touching on many events which occurred in his reign, special reference being made to the outlying islands that depend from, and have passed into the definite possession of, Japan. The mission of the book is to show what keen activity has been organized in these beautiful islands, each of which offers some unique attraction of its own.

Working upwards—after Japanese fashion—Formosa claims first attention. The camphor trade is a serious undertaking, and it is time that those who use this valuable substance in trade or medicine should be aware of the difficulties attending its possession. "The danger zone" into which the workers are obliged to force their way leads to the loss of many valuable lives, for the head-hunters and the workers carry on a ceaseless warfare, contending inch by inch the territory wherein the camphor-trees abound.

The account of the *Aiyu Sen* or Guard line, instituted for centuries by the former rulers of Formosa, now ably organized by the Japanese, is, together with various items of interest connected with Formosa, graphically described by the author through the co-operation of those who have recently travelled into the interior of the island, or have sojourned with the tribes since the Japanese occupation of Taiwan.

The attractions of the Loo Choo Islands or *Okinawa*, a name preferred by the natives, have received full attention, particularly the former royal residence of Shuri Castle, a triumph of masonic skill and architectural solidity. The speciality of these islands is red lacquer work, also hempen material, and they are celebrated for their beautiful trees, shells, and butterflies. We may also mention the Kuriles, the haunt of the fur-bearing mammals, an account of their advent at certain times of year, the sojourn of the seals and other species, their ultimate capture, slaughter, and market value, which will perhaps make clear that it is at the risk of many lives and much danger (in order to meet the demands of fashion for valuable furs) that these trades are prosecuted.

Karafuto, the northernmost possession, reclaimed since 1905, is, notwithstanding the severity of its climate, becoming a colony of great promise and keen activity. Schools, lighthouses, railroads, and means of communication, are being established, which will in time dispel the terrors of isolation. Many from the mainland are seeking this extreme point of Japan's territory as an abiding-place and homeland.

Minor details are touched upon. The book is suitably produced and beautifully printed. It should prove pleasant, instructive, and reliable reading alike for Japanese and English students. It is supplied with special maps, and delicate pencil-work illustrations by Jasper Salwey.

SOME BOOKS ON SOUTH AFRICA

9. THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE. By V. R. Markham. (*Smith, Elder and Co.*) Price 7s. 6d. net.

The above is an extremely able exposition by an able and recognized authority of affairs in South Africa. Although we feel that recent events must needs modify some of her conclusions, it is an adequate survey of the problems of the South African Government until a year ago. The menace of Herzogism and the ascendancy of the Boer-Jingoes is no longer what it was, not because the spirit of reconciliation is stronger, but owing to the combined influence of the labour troubles and the increase in the black population. Dutch and English must now stand shoulder to shoulder if their cause of civilized government and the predominance of the white population is to triumph. The author could, naturally, not foresee this development, or, rather, the rapidity with which this development was brought about. The chapter on "The Asiatic Difficulty" should interest particularly our Indian readers. The lines of compromise she suggests are fair treatment for the Asiatics already in the country, and, on the Indian side, an undertaking, tacit or otherwise, that there should be no further influx of Indian immigration beyond the handful of educated men who are required annually to make good any social shrinkage among the Asiatic community. This is, of course, rotten even as a compromise. Indians are British subjects, and as such have the right to be domiciled in British possessions. And if they are better workers than others, it remains for those others to improve.

10. *THE MOUNTED POLICE OF NATAL.* By H. P. Holt. (*John Murray.*)
Price 10s. 6d. net.

This volume is prefaced by a short note on the very early days of the Natal Mounted Police, by Major-General Sir J. G. Dartnell, K.C.B., the founder of the corps. Much of their early success seems to have been due to the rigour of "a first-rate sergeant-major who threatened 'By God, I'll cut your ——— head off!' when a recruit failed to keep his horse in the ranks." We are to believe that this early training made the Mounted Police of Natal what it was. A monument has been erected to commemorate their services in the Boer War, and ten members of the corps subsequently came to England for the coronation of King Edward VII. It is a brightly-written work, and gives a very good idea of the kind of life led by troopers in these South African Horse.

11. *CECIL RHODES.* By Gordon Le Sueur, F.R.G.S. (*John Murray.*)

In the preface the author states that his object was to present Rhodes as a human document. With that modest purpose he has given to us the most interesting and the most informative volume on the great statesman that we have so far seen. The perusal of it is as inspiring as Levy's "Napoléon Intime"; we feel all through that we are reading about the daily life and the actions of a great man; it is therefore the best of all literature to put in the hands of the young. That even Rhodes found his match occasionally is shown in his relations with "Jack" Grimmer, his one-time private secretary. "To see them together, one might have come to the conclusion that Rhodes was in charge of a keeper. Grimmer was anything but an ordinary secretary. His method of dealing with letters was characteristic :

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your application, Mr. Rhodes says no.—Yours faithfully, JOHN R. GRIMMER.

Very little space is devoted to his scholarship and will, and Mr. Le Sueur might with advantage have added a chapter on Rhodes's maxims.

THE NEAR EAST.

12. *THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 1801-1913.* By William Miller, M.A. (Oxon.)
(*Cambridge University Press.*)

After the stirring events of the last two years in South-Eastern Europe, the subject of the present volume is invested with an especial interest, and should serve as an excellent textbook for those who will in future essay the task of giving to the world the history of that war. Its particular value lies in the fact that it is based upon original documents, and represents the fruit of many years' study of the Eastern Question. The second chapter deals with the first Napoleon's relations with the Turks, and points out that the great Corsican never developed his ambitions in that direction farther than "the paper partition at Tilgitz." The War of Greek Independence has been so well described by Mr. Aliquot Phillips

that Mr. Miller has really very little to add, but the later chapters deserve warm commendation. The Epilogue is devoted to the new Balkan War. The author remarks "that the final liquidation of the Ottoman dominions in Europe has not been yet completed; but, after the events of the last few months, it is obvious that Turkey has ceased, for all practical purposes, to be an European State." That judgment we venture to characterize as a little hasty.

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13. LETTERS FROM GREECE. By John Mavrogordato. (*Martin Secker*.)
Price 2s. net.

These letters were written on the spot at a time when "the London Press had lost all interest in the war . . . being chiefly concerned, as far as I remember, with a Murder in a Taxi, a Tragedy in a West End Flat, and a Blind Earl in an Omnibus." Nor do the letters disappoint this welcome sally in the preface. The most amusing portion is that entitled "Among the Bulgarians." He explains the almost child-like psychology of their soldiers. "All the conquered territory being regarded as Bulgaria, any Bulgarian took anything he could." This was followed by a wholesale depopulation, especially in the triangle Doiran, Strumnitza, Serres, where it is not easy to find a single Mussulman peasant. Mr. Mavrogordato adds: "This ultra-Malthusian manner of adjusting demand to supply seems to be popular in the Bulgarian army." He also includes a letter headed "Bulgarvinism" to the editor of the *Observer*, in which he protests against the latter's "Turkey must trot," coupled with "England must not get unpopular with Turkey" policy, and accuses him of ignoring Bulgaria's treacherous aggression. The author undoubtedly hits hard and straight for Greece.

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14. THE GOLDEN BOUGH. By J. G. Frazer. Third Edition. Part VI.:
The Scapegoat. (London: *Macmillan and Co.* 1913.)

In his preface, the author sums up concisely the theory and practice of the dying god, brought with *The Scapegoat* to a conclusion. The dying god is considered as a scapegoat to free his worshippers from the troubles of all sorts with which life on earth is beset.

The idea of the scapegoat resolves itself into a simple confusion between the material and the immaterial, between the real possibility of transferring a physical load to other shoulders and the supposed possibility of transferring our bodily and mental ailments to another who will bear them for us.

The chief illustration of the theory of the dying god as a scapegoat is found by the author in the religious ritual of the Aztecs. In truth, that illustration is not very adequate. The author must justify his comparison. "If we ask why a dying god should be chosen to take upon himself and carry away the sins and sorrows of the people, it may be suggested that in the practice of using the divinity as a scapegoat we have a combination of two customs which were at one time distinct and independent. On the one hand, we have seen that it has been customary to kill the human or animal god in order to save his divine life from being weakened by the

inroads of age. On the other hand, we have seen that it has been customary to have a general expulsion of evils and sins once a year. Now, if it occurred to people to combine these two customs, the result would be the employment of the dying god as a scapegoat. He was killed not originally to take away sin but to save the divine life from the degeneracy of old age; but, since he had to be killed at any rate, people may have thought that they might well seize the opportunity to lay upon him the burden of their sufferings and sins, in order that he might bear it away with him to the unknown world beyond the grave (p. 227).

The chapter (vii) on "Killing the God in Mexico" is the most interesting in the volume.

In a note, the author studies the crucifixion of Christ, in relation with similar facts of other religions. But he points out explicitly that his theory assumes the historical reality of Jesus of Nazareth.

DR. EDOUARD MONTET.

"The Life of Richard Corfield of Somaliland," by Mr. Prevost-Battersby, is due from Mr. Arnold, and is largely based on the officer's correspondence home during his crowded years of service. "Mr. Wyatt Tilby, South Africa, 1486-1913," completes the author's series on "The English People Overseas," and is published by Constable. Mr. Maurice Baring, who is also one of the editors of the *Russian Review*, has a new book coming out next month with Messrs. Nelson entitled "The Main-springs of Russia."

Among the novels now due are "The End of Her Honeymoon," by Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, and "Fireman Hot," by Mr. Cutcliff Hyne, also "Unto Cæsar," by the Baroness Orczy, and "Jill-all-Alone," by Rita.

Messrs. Spottiswoode have brought out a new book entitled "The Code of Mohammedan Personal Law," which is designed to be of use to British Magistrates in the Sudan.

Among new travel books are, "A Woman in the Antipodes and in the Far East," by Mary Hall, F.R.G.S., and "Through the South Seas with Jack London," by Martin Johnson.

The death of Sir John Tenniel, the famous *Punch* cartoonist, will come as a great shock to his many friends, and we understand that a special supplement will be issued, commemorating his great art and his sweet and simple nature, written by some of his colleagues on the staff of *Punch*, including a number of his contemporaries.

A new monthly publication is in preparation, entitled *The Britannic Review*, intended, it is said, to reflect the ideals, aims, and interests of that Empire movement which points to a closer and more permanent union of His Majesty's peoples. It will have no politics in the party sense, for, as it says, the party system is too often the enemy of national interests.

THE DRAMA

TOLSTOY IN LONDON

STEVENSON wrote in one of his essays of the shock to self-importance inflicted upon the busy people of this world by the sudden discovery that others had attained to fame by more passive, less sensational and, strangely enough, quieter methods. Where was the glory of having taken Rome, he remarks, for those tumultuous barbarians who poured into the Senate and found the Fathers sitting there unmoved and indifferent? Something of the same kind of feeling came over us as we watched the performance of "Anna Karenina," at the Ambassadors Theatre the other evening. Not that we would suggest that Anna, as played by Madame Lydia Yavorska, is an instance of the arresting and fame-usurping capacity of a wise passivity. But there was something between her acting and the acting of the other actors akin to the contrast between the Dionysiac barbarians and the Apolline Fathers, something which made us quite indifferent to the zealous efforts of the other actors and supremely sensitive to her art.

No doubt the others were at a disadvantage. They had to personate individuals, the full scope of whose individualities were compressed into much smaller limits of expression than those given them in the novel, and moreover limits only outlined at the points at which they touched upon the central story. But for all that it seemed to us that they might have accepted this dramatic subordination more gracefully, thereby giving less of the impression that they did give of the forces of worldliness banded together against the unhappy Anna. Actually, of course, there was no such conspiracy, the genial Oblonsky's championship of his sister being but one instance to the contrary, but owing, as we have remarked, to a certain level of declamatory vehemence marking all the acting except Madame Yavorska's, we were nearly misled into fancying that the motives of the other characters were as militant as their manners.

Against this militancy Madame Yavorska's Anna stood out with a fine restraint and dignity, never once tainted by the theatricality of her companions. We could have wished her a more inspiring lover than Mr. Ambrose Flower, but he certainly presented a romantic contrast to her original (or we might say aboriginal) husband.

SAVOY DAY-DREAMS.

Dreams, even Midsummer Night Dreams, must, we suppose, reflect the spirit of the day, else they would confound us with their anachronisms, and

we might never waken from them, never come back from the far-away hills to the plains of every day. Moreover, the nights are not long enough for twentieth-century mortals to sink into those deep slumber-lands where the old-fashioned fairies live. We must be content to snatch at feverish dozings wherein the overburdened consciousness meets but the phantasms of things it has just fled from, phantasms clad in the hemp and homespun of the latest Impressionist fashion. Mr. Barker's production of "Midsummer Night's Dream" is very beautiful, but it is too schematic, too close to wakeful, conscious art, to persuade us that Puck has ever touched *his* eyes with fairy herb. This is not the real fairyland. These are not "such sights as youthful poets dream, on summer eve by haunted stream." These are the intelligent day-dreams of the Savoy. Mr. Barker and Mr. Norman Wilkinson are their parents and original. Puck, too, was undoubtedly their offspring, yet for all that ultra-modern ideals of the fantastic seemed to reach their fullest expression in him, there was a quality of real fairyishness and of the friar's lanthorn about Mr. Calthrop's Puck. Physically, Mr. Calthrop is a born Puck, his very voice is anticsome. He *could* have sat on a toadstool; the other fairies would have creased their armour, to say nothing of their dignity, had they tried.

These Gummidge-like reflections must not be taken as careless of the beauty and harmony of the Savoy production. The actors in almost every case were unswervingly true to very individual conceptions of their respective parts. Only those conceptions kept us still earthbound, unenchanted. We were lonely for the pert fairies and dapper elves. They come not near a London Strand.—I. COOPER WILLIS.

"THE MARRIAGE OF KITTY."

"The Marriage of Kitty," at the Playhouse, judging by the enthusiastic reception it received on the first night, is likely to prove a great success. And there is no denying the fact revivals seem to thrive best at the present moment in London. The theatre list shows a quite disproportionate number of them. Such well-known old favourites as "Diplomacy," "The Darling of the Gods," "Kismet," "The Tyranny of Tears," serve to swell the list which seems to point to the fact that the work of the modern dramatist is not preferred to a *réchauffé* of older talent. There can be no doubt that the acting of Miss Marie Tempest has very much to do with the initial and immediate success of the play above mentioned. Kitty comes to the office of her rich relation, a solicitor, with the information that not only were her worldly possessions confined to a very few pounds, but that she actually kept all that treasure in her handbag. A brief résumé of the employments open to women did not prove attractive to her, so her rich relation must needs find her a husband. This he undertakes to do, and ushers her into an adjoining room. Her future husband comes along, dragging with him his accepted bride. There was a ludicrous will, and though of course they would marry even without the fortune, they would of course marry only with the fortune. The *pis aller* is furnished by Kitty,

who offers her services as his wife to get over the difficulties of the will. Naturally they must not meet after the church service, and naturally they do, a year later, and all ends well, even for the bride, who settles down to a well-earned spinsterhood.

"THE TYRANNY OF TEARS."

"The Tyranny of Tears," at the Comedy Theatre, was a refreshing comedy in the old style, dealing with the then new problem of lady secretaries living in the houses of newly-married couples. But if the problem was out of date, the acting and staging gave a distinctly modern appearance. The typist, who was the thirteenth daughter of a penniless clergyman, seemed to have abundant funds for particularly new dresses. In fact, she outdressed the fashionable wife completely, but we cannot add that Miss Evelyn D'Alroy out-acted her. Our sympathies were not really with her for a moment, and she seemed to us at the same time dull and dangerous. Mr. Robert Lorraine talked at a great pace as the successful novelist, and Mr. Kerr as the confirmed bachelor was excellent. Miss Ethel Irving wept whole-heartedly and well, but the reconciliation between husband and wife did not give the impression of lasting for ever.

"THE DARLING OF THE GODS."

"The Darling of the Gods" gives a good picture of the noble struggle of the last of the Samurai of Japan against the invasion of modern ideas. But their extermination was not conducted according to modern methods, and torture chambers exhaling red vapours formed part of the paraphernalia employed for that end. The staging was of course only what was to be expected from a production at His Majesty's Theatre, it was superb, and we venture to add that the last scene in which the Samurai chieftain meets his beloved in the next world was one of the finest scenic effects we have ever had the privilege of seeing. The Japanese on the stage proved, contrary to expectation, veritable giants, and especially Sir Herbert Tree, whose stature was accentuated by the dwarf who always accompanied him. He seemed more like a Cyclops than a son of Asia. Miss Marie Löhr acted very sympathetically and, in common with the other women in the caste, looked thoroughly Japanese. It was an impressive spectacle, and, as the prospectus given with the programme led us to expect, a mixture of many kinds of plays.

CORRESPONDENCE

'A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR'

"THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEUDATORY STATES OF INDIA"

DEAR SIR,

I have not so much information as to many of the "nascent industries of India" as would justify me in attempting to follow Sir Roper Lethbridge in his disquisition on the "strangling" of them, and will only just say in passing that those I know best are so far from being "strangled" that they seldom pay less than 25 per cent.; but I must ask for a little space to repeat what I have said more than once about "sugar," and to add a few remarks and figures for Sir Roper's consideration.

I would point out in the first place that there has been no great increase in the import of sugar during the last four years, and that the local product is, of course, already "protected" by the regular import duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, in addition to counteracting duties on any bounty-fed sugar. Secondly, that the Indian sugar industry was *not* "nearly ruined" (as Sir Roper says) is plain from the fact that though the area under sugar cane has fluctuated considerably during the last ten years from 2,408,212 acres in 1908-9 to 2,876,965 acres in the previous year (if this figure is correct,*) yet it has risen steadily since the former year (1908-9) to 2,569,770 acres in 1911-12. Curiously enough, and as if to confound Sir Roper more completely, the yield of cane sugar attained its maximum in the same year (1911-12). And this of course is only cane sugar. There is also a vast and apparently unknown quantity of palm sugar,† so that

* One cannot but suspect some error in the acreage for 1907-8, because the yield of sugar in that year showed a distinct falling off as compared with the previous year and the last three years.

† According to the returns ("Statistical Abstract," p. 132) Madras has nearly as many acres under palm as under cane sugar, whilst in the rest of India palm sugar occupies scarce one-fortieth of that under cane; and, as far as I can see, no attempt is made even to estimate the amount of palm sugar. It certainly must be considerable; and with improved cultivation and improved processes of manufacture there is no reason why India should not be a large exporter again. It is a great opportunity for the agricultural department. They have only to raise the standard to that of Java, and they will double the produce in India from the same area. Then, of course, it is quite possible the consumption per head may be doubled also. There is still scope for greatly increased consumption before the rate reaches that of Great Britain.

India probably still produces nearly half the sugar of the world ; but as she also consumes more sugar *per head* than any "Protectionist" country in Europe (see p. 101 of "Truths about India," referred to in such complimentary language by Sir Roper on p. 152), she does not produce enough for her own consumption. Sir Roper will not listen to one who is not "an educated and intelligent economist," but I am still convinced that India will never compete on equal terms with Java until she learns to grow crops like those of Java and also acquires greater skill in the manufacture of sugar. Mere "protection" will not enable her to grow better crops ; and as I said before, it seems almost unreasonable to compel 99 per cent. of the people of India to consume inferior sugar at an enhanced cost for the benefit of the remaining 1 per cent.

Yours truly,
J. B. PENNINGTON.

ENGLISH AUTHORS AND ORIENTAL ORTHOGRAPHY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

DEAR SIR,

In reply to the query by your correspondent Mr. Delschaft in his letter published in the January number of the *Review*, I must explain that the words *khoja*, *khanum*, etc., are pronounced *hoja* and *hanum* by the Ottoman Turks. Another instance of the same peculiarity is the word *kharāj* (tax or tribute), which is pronounced by the Turks as *harāj*, and hence is commonly written as *haratsch* by European authors.

Yours truly,
F. H. TYRRELL.

GRAND HOTEL DE CLARENS,
CLARENS, SWITZERLAND.
March 16, 1914.

THE CAPTURE OF DELHI

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

May I make three observations on a letter which appeared in the March number of your *Review*, and of which the subject matter is my recently published account of my father's life and work ?

1. Its writer asserts, to my surprise, that I "make the definite claim that Sir Alex. was the hero of Delhi." Other periodicals of position have characterized him as the "captor of Delhi," and like your correspondent, seem to think that in using this phrase they were giving expression to my thought.

I am at a loss to understand how any words of mine can have given rise to so unfortunate a misconception. To call any officer of Engineers the "captor of Delhi" would be to commit as gross a breach of military etiquette as to call Sir John Cheape or Lord Napier the captors of Multan, or Lord Napier the captor of Lucknow. General Wilson was the captor of Delhi in the same sense that Lord Clyde was the captor of Lucknow.

All three cities were taken by Generals who acted on siege-plans prepared for them by their officers of Engineers.

It is true that General Nicholson twice said: "Alex. Taylor took Delhi." This expression, however, was used colloquially, and in the heat of generous indignation against injustice; to separate it from its context is to distort its significance.

Still more incorrect would it be to associate so exclusive a title as that of "*the hero of Delhi*" with the name of any officer: heroism was common in the ranks of the Delhi Field Force. Some were doubtless pre-eminent in both character and opportunity, but the fingers of one hand would not suffice to register their number! My father would have shrunk in dismay from the acceptance of such an honour. As General Scott-Moncrieff has admirably said in a sketch of my father's life which appeared in the January number of *Blackwood*: "Nothing could be more foreign to his chivalrous character than to assume a priority of credit where others did noble and gallant service."

The claim made, not by me, but by a number of competent witnesses is much more definite and of a comparatively modest character. It is asserted that, owing to the disablement of the Chief Engineer, Colonel Baird-Smith, by a wound and by a sickness of a character which confined him to his tent, the burden of drawing up a plan of attack was laid on the shoulders of his second in command, by whom this responsible task was triumphantly achieved under circumstances which I have been fortunate enough to be able to put before my readers in the words of eye-witnesses and fellow-actors. These circumstances made the feat one which Sir Frederick Maunsell has characterized as "an operation unprecedented in the annals of warfare"—a battlefield previously surveyed, the position of every gun of the attacking force, and the way to every post distinctly marked on ground which was under the very eyes and fire of a watchful enemy; and finally, the operation carried out exactly as pre-designed."

This contention contains no element of disparagement of the services of the Chief Engineer, who, in spite of crippling illness, filled the all-important position of adviser to the General with firmness and judgment, and on whose exceptional powers of organization the success of the hazardous project largely depended.

2. Your correspondent goes on to call your readers' attention to Colonel Vibart's book, entitled "*Richard Baird-Smith, the Hero of Delhi*," "which," he says, "was generally considered at the time to prove the latter's claims up to the hilt." This book does not contain an impartial analysis of evidence, but is—admittedly—a piece of special pleading in which the facts and arguments on the other side are ignored, and has produced the reaction that might have been anticipated: it has provided Sir William Lee-Varner with the material on which he bases his strictures on Colonel Baird-Smith's loyalty to his General (*Fortnightly*, March, 1913), and other officers with evidence which has tempted them to suspect that distinguished officer's generosity towards his subordinate, doubtless, unjustly.

3. Your correspondent further speaks of an article which appeared in the *Saturday Review* of May, 1858, as "*the locus classicus* on the con-

troversy." If it be so, the fact is characteristic of the method on which the controversy has been conducted from the outset.

Colonel Baird-Smith was invalided from Delhi either late in September or early in October. (I write from memory in the wilds of Italy, far from any books of reference.) He wielded an able pen, and his friends were literary. His wife was a daughter of De Quincey. Alex. Taylor—who had succeeded to the command of his corps, had taken part in the Rohilkund Campaign, and in the Siege of Lucknow—lay on a bed of sickness in May, 1858, disabled by a severe wound received when assaulting the Begum's Kothe, in complete ignorance of being the subject of anything of the nature of a controversy. Sick and wounded as he was, his heart was full of joy. By the grace of God a national disaster had been averted by the grit of his fellow-countrymen, a result towards which his own good head and stout heart had contributed materially. I am glad to know that even to his dying day he never even heard of that article. Not that he attached much importance to either praise or blame—he did his best, and then went on to the next "job." The pen, moreover, was not his weapon, nor that of his friends. They all worked together for impersonal ends, and the work of to-day trod too closely on the heels of that of yesterday for them to devote much time to the study of the Press. Still, it is surely a first principle of justice that none should presume to arbitrate between conflicting claims without having questioned the protagonists of both sides.

It seems to me that the truth about the services rendered by my father at Delhi—services of their nature secret—does not admit of mathematical proof, but that they can be deduced from the testimony of competent and disinterested witnesses. It is evident, moreover, the weight of the personalities of those witnesses is a factor which should not be ignored.

It is a question of "Quellen."

Sir John Kaye gives the sources whence he drew his information in his preface to the third volume of his "Sepoy War."

It should be observed that Sir John Kaye attaches importance to the fact that the plans lent him by Colonel Baird-Smith's family were annotated in Colonel Baird-Smith's handwriting, but it must not be forgotten that the notes in question were generally copies or amplifications of rough sketches and drawings made by Alex. Taylor, not in the safety of the office in camp, but when he stood on the enemy's land with his life in his hands, sometimes more than a mile from his nearest supports. It would be interesting to know what became of *those* papers.

Two persons only had personal knowledge of Alex. Taylor's work as a whole, Colonel Baird-Smith and General John Nicholson; the opinions held by the latter are a matter of common knowledge. No one was more *au courant* with all that passed in the complex life of the camp than Lord Lawrence, who corresponded with nearly everyone of note in the Force (except with Alex. Taylor); and he has borne eloquent testimony to his high sense of the young Engineer's services, notably in the well-known letter written to Lord Dalhousie after the Mutiny was over. Similar opinions have been publicly expressed by comrades in the Delhi Field

Force, by General Sir Frederick Maunsell, R.E., who commanded the Sappers throughout the whole of the operations, and was attached to the Right Attack; by General Thomason, R.E., whose duties throughout the operations were connected with the Left Attack; by Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, then Adjutant-General; and by Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, then Assistant-Adjutant-General.

John Nicholson, John Lawrence, Sir Neville Chamberlain, Sir Henry Norman, Sir Fred. Maunsell, General Thomason—these are men, surely, whose deliberate verdict on work in which they themselves participated should not be lightly brushed aside.

Yours faithfully,

ALICIA CAMERON TAYLOR.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BALKAN WAR CORRESPONDENTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.

DEAR SIR,

"Mighty is he whose quarrel's just, but mightier still is he who gets the biggest lie in first," has been the motto of the Balkan States. Whatever may be thought of the foregoing statements, they are neither opinions nor deductions, but historical facts. And equally as the world has been deluded regarding Turkey before the war, so it has been as greatly deluded regarding the war itself. Will those war correspondents forget that dirty night during the retirement to Tchataldja, when, camped alongside their broken down cart, they discussed the chances of being murdered for the sake of their provisions by some of that starving horde of troops streaming past them all night, whose line of march was marked by men who, exhausted by hunger had fallen down, to subsequently die of starvation? They will readily admit, now, that there was, indeed, a noble response to the Turkish Commander-in-Chief's (*vide Times*) "dignified and impressive appeal to the chivalrous sentiments of the Ottoman army." Is it, or is it not, true that the proclamations made by each of the Balkan sovereigns to their respective peoples was a direct appeal to the vilest of religious passions, and was not the Turkish reply to these proclamations a warning to the local authorities to take energetic steps to protect the Christians? In order to be first in the field for sympathy, it will be remembered that

before a shot had been fired, an official charge was made by Greece that the savage Turks were poisoning the wells, and when unable to prove their contention, rudely replied that the Turks were capable of it.

Italy having landed some 140,000 troops in Tripoli, and after many months of war, found herself hemmed along the coast, and unable to advance beyond the range of the guns of their war ships; she was being driven to her wits' end to find means to force Turkey to make peace and cede Tripoli. Neither her blockade, nor her attack on the Dardanelles, nor the seizure of the *Ægean* Islands had any effect on the Turks. As a last resource, she threatened to attack the coast of Asia Minor and the bulk of the Turkish forces were sent there for its defence. When the alliance, and the object of the Balkan States became obvious, the cross currents of the diplomatic world, and its inherited fears, so forced it to move, that it gave the Turkish Government clearly to believe that if it added no fuel to the fire by way of making preparations for war, the Powers themselves would take the Balkan States in hand and prevent the war. The foolish Turks not only took the Powers seriously and trusted them, but refrained from carrying out the autumn manœuvres; and dismissed to their homes those who had been called up for training.

The picturesque brigands of Montenegro declared war on October 8, 1912, and to their credit frankly avowed that the conquest of the Albanian town of Scutari was their object, and as much more of the Albanian lands as they could seize. The relations between the Albanians and the Central Government at Constantinople had been more than estranged. Since the establishment of the Constitution, the Albanians had been in constant revolt against the Government. Whether the grant of Albanian Home Rule would have otherwise shaped Balkan history, would now be a mere academic discussion. These domestic differences most effectually settled the fate of the western provinces of European Turkey. Had the Turks and Albanians been

united, the pæans of praise sung by the Greeks and Servians over their magnified victories against the scattered Turkish units in the western area of the war would, in light of subsequent events, have been otherwise rendered.

An intimation was conveyed to Kiamil Pasha, then President of the Council, through a British channel that the Balkan States would not be restrained by the Powers, and that it was imperative for Turkey to make peace with Italy. War between the Balkan Allies and Turkey was declared on October 17. The Treaty of Peace with Italy was signed on the 18th. Without doubt, the general opinion of the diplomatic world was that Turkey would be victorious, and so that she should not be allowed to disturb the Balkan equilibrium the Powers ordained that the *status quo* would be maintained. On the other hand, there were the fears that, if the Turks were defeated, no settlement could be effected without a war between Austria and Russia.

Within a fortnight, thanks to the grossest of misrepresentations, the almost universal belief (in which the majority of the Turks themselves shared) was that the Turkish Empire in Europe was a thing of the past, and with small prospects in Asia, 500 years of history, it was said, had gone the way of all flesh in as many minutes. Turkey, on the declaration of war, was totally unprepared, the majority of its troops were over in Asia Minor. Bulgaria had mobilized a force of 340,000 troops, every available man over nineteen years of age with twelve months training, and its generals, according to their own statements, had for years been preparing for the struggle.

The Bulgarian headquarters were 200 miles from Constantinople. Owing to the inadequate Turkish forces to check their advance, the Bulgarians were confident that Constantinople would be captured with the minimum of opposition, and Bulgarian sympathisers found their way there to attend the *Te Deum* to be held by King Ferdinand in the world-famed mosque of St. Sofia. The whole of the European Provinces to the west of Thrace were left by the

Turkish authorities to take care of themselves, and every effort concentrated on protecting the capital. All the available troops and stores were rushed up to Adrianople, so that, if it did not contain the Bulgarians as Plevna, in 1877, contained the Russians, it would at least contain a considerable section of the Bulgarian forces, and, above all, make a break in the line of their railway communications.

The Bulgarian army which invaded Thrace numbered some 250,000 troops. The first fighting took place near the frontier on October 23, only six days after the declaration of war. The Turkish plans were to delay the Bulgarian advance by a series of rear-guard actions, and for this purpose a more or less nondescript force of some 20,000 troops were scratched together. It has since been admitted by the Bulgarians that the Turks were successful in delaying their advance by four days. The Bulgarians in their wisdom allowed no war correspondents to accompany their armies, but they had a favoured correspondent with King Ferdinand at headquarters, and the world was "spoofed," as will be remembered, by the headlines in the whole of the press on the morning of October 25—" *Fall of Kirk Kilisse ; 50,000 Turkish Prisoners Taken.*" This news was not only believed in Constantinople, but in addition Levantine reports were circulated that the Commanders Mohamed Mukhtar (Son of the Grand Vizier) and Prince Aziz (a cousin of the Khedive) had been tried and shot by order of court martial for every military offence, including cowardice.

It may be here mentioned that the population of Constantinople and its environs is about a million people. The majority are classed as Levantines. The Greek population alone is about half a million. It is part of the Ottoman system of Government to allow the various Christian ecclesiastical heads to direct their respective flocks, who accordingly receive homage from them as though they were kings. The priest-ridden Levantines are under the influence and dominion of repulsive, long-haired, frowsy-

looking priests, whose dress and appearance conjure up thoughts of vermin, and whose prototype Christ kicked out of the Temple. Under such inspiration the Levantines would sell their souls to injure the Turks. They openly rejoiced at the then believed prospect of the departure of the Turks from Europe, and were responsible for the reports after the Battle of Lule Burgas that the Sultan had gone, and the Government had packed up preparatory to crossing the Bosphorus.

There is a considerable section of foreigners in Constantinople—British, French, German, and various continental nationalities. The Member for "Bulgaria" in the British Parliament, whose antipathies to everything Turkish is well known, wrote of the appalling ignorance of the majority of the foreigners in Constantinople on all matters pertaining to the Turks, their customs and country; few speak Turkish, and although French, more or less, is common language, their social relations with the Turks could hardly be less.

It is said that the greater the ignorance the greater the readiness to pass judgment on questions without having studied the subject. Though ever ready with their views and opinions, the foreigners in Constantinople are mostly in accord with the charity boy, who said it was a question of taste as to "Whether it's worth while going through so much to learn so little." Under the despotic rule of Abdul Hamid, when the Turkish Ministers were merely clerks, the Embassies and their entourage lived in the sun, and kissing went by favour. With the establishment of the Constitution, this was all swept away, and accordingly it is the belief of this section that the new *régime* is a curse to the country, thus agreeing with the foreigners, who most erroneously think that a free Turkey will curtail their opportunities.

With the reported fall of Kirk Kilisse and 50,000 Turkish prisoners taken—though there was no fall of the town, and only some 20,000 troops employed in delaying the Bulgarians—the fertile imagination of the

Levantine ran riot, and the population of Constantinople was described as having become divided into three classes—the lying knaves, the stupid fools who gave currency to the lies, and the amazed and bewildered ignorant Turks.

The correspondents, of whom there was an influx into Constantinople, have been accused of sensationalism—had they even been supermen, they would have been misled, for on all sides they were snowed under with the contention that Abel was killing Cain, and if subsequent events have lowered their prestige in the eyes of their editors, these latter can be thankful that the seekers after copy did not send all the circumstantial news they were supplied with by the manufacturers of the reports for which the Levant is famed. Thanks to the Constantinople-Levantine imagination, coupled with the now admitted lies of the favoured correspondent at the Bulgarian headquarters, the almost universal belief, and still maintained throughout the world, is that, not only was Kirk Kilisse captured, and 50,000 Turkish prisoners taken, but that the Turkish troops at the Lule Burgas-Viza battle were demoralized, panic-stricken, and that the bubble of "Turkish military reputation had been pricked beyond all redemption." Fooled as the Turks had been by the failure of the Powers to make good their word to stop the Balkan States making war, and finding themselves in a condition totally unprepared, the utmost they could possibly hope for (and that seemed almost a forlorn hope) was the defence of the Capital—for this purpose, and at all costs and hazards, it was necessary to stay the Bulgarian advance pending the completion of the defensive positions at Tchataldja.

Immediately on the declaration of war, all the available troops and stores were rushed up to Adrianople, which, until it was starved out, kept a portion of the Bulgarian forces fully occupied for five full months. It was elected that the Bulgarian advance should be broken along the Lule Burgas-Viza line, which extended for some thirty miles across the Bulgarian line of advance from the railway

line on the left, or western side, to the Istranja Hills on the eastern side. Whilst Mohamed Mukhtar's frontier (Kilis) force was successfully hampering the Bulgarian advance, troops, trained and untrained, volunteers and non-descripts were being rushed up to the Lule Burgas-Viza line, and never, it can be truly said, was such an army put into the field. It was not an army, but a mere disorganized mob of armed men, more or less exhausted by forced marches, without food, and short of ammunition. It was expected that a sufficient food supply would be obtained in the surrounding district. Unfortunately its inhabitants, with a lively knowledge of what was in store for the Turks in the western provinces, fled in one unbroken stream, carrying everything possible away with them. Though the Turks were greatly inferior in numbers, and whilst the Bulgarians claimed that the last word had been said in their organization, and that their forces had been trained to a point, the Bulgarians were fought to a standstill, completely exhausted and played out.

It was on Monday afternoon, October 28, that the battle called Lule Burgas may be said to have commenced, and it is now known that Savoff's plan was to engage the Turks along their front from Lule Burgas to Viza, then to strike in on the Lule Burgas flank with the 1st Army, drive the Turks away from the railway, cut off their line of retreat to Tchataldja, and by driving them over to the Black Sea, force them to surrender. The Bulgarian plans were a complete failure, and the one man in the world who never wishes to again hear of the names of Lule Burgas, Tchataldja, and Bulair, is General Savoff, for he (as against the rest of the world) fully realizes the ghastly failure of the Bulgarian attack on Turkey. It is a natural question to ask, and as easily answered, "Why has the world been so misled?"

Credit is due in the first instance to Lieutenant Wagner, of the Vienna newspaper *Reichspost*, the favoured correspondent retained by the Bulgarian war staff, who was

given the spoon-fed information and the facilities to publish such news to the world as would serve the Bulgarian war plans. The Bulgarians kept all other correspondents effectually and safely bottled up, and away from the sphere of operations, so that their Ananias should have the whole field to himself. To disguise the failure of the Bulgarian efforts at Lule Burgas he was day by day sending out to the world accounts of the bloody battles that the pursuing victorious Bulgarians were inflicting upon the fleeing, demoralized, panic-stricken Turks, whose corpses were damming the rivers which he made run red with their blood, or, as the *Times* subsequently stated, misleading the world with "the reverberations of imaginary battles which gathered volume until all Europe rang with the roar of the guns and the dying cries of the slain." Whilst the Turks had retired to Tchataldja the Bulgarians had never advanced beyond Lule Burgas. If everything in war is fair, the Bulgarians were justified, for the first lie counts, and the majority would rather believe a lie than admit they had been fooled.

It was the intention of the Turkish administration to give the war correspondents every facility, a one time member of the House of Commons was engaged as Press Censor, and all were sent to the front in a special train. It is true that this was hung up at Tchorlu, and bitter were the complaints in consequence. In the bitterness of their wrath, hostility to everything Turkish was engendered, it being even represented that they were being detained by force as prisoners, and questions on this supposition were asked in the House of Commons. They were journalists out for copy, who are more dangerous to baulk than it is to come between a tiger and its prey. One only of the correspondents could be described as having had a military training, and few had seen more of war. What would a Kitchener have done with these correspondents, had he been faced with difficulties similar to those confronting the Turkish administration? In fairness to those correspondents

who returned for the renewal of the war, or subsequently reviewed its course, they not only modified their original and most erroneous opinions, but had it been possible to explain to them at the time the uneviable position in which Turkey had been placed by the Powers, their accounts would have been of more value to the public.

The correspondents were by no means all in accord. Three, by committing a breach of faith, succeeded in reaching the front. The *Times*, carrying the *Daily Mail*, were colleagues. "We were tricked, misled, cajoled," wrote the *Daily Mail*, "and it was intensely irritating that our efforts failed, while regular despatches were arriving daily from the Bulgarian side" (but he did not then know the source of these despatches). "There was no intention on the part of the Turks, despite their promises, of letting us see anything of the war; but we saw indeed a gigantic rout, and my recollection of the campaign will always be a rabble of disorderly soldiers slouching along with the spirit of despair."

Writing of this colleague when they arrived at the rear of the battlefield, the *Times* said that he "had come to his first battle, full of stories of fighting conjured up to the youthful mind by such experts as Fenimore Cooper, and was not backward in giving expression to his bitter disappointment at the non-realization of his youthful hopes. In fact, he became so bored at the monotony of the modern battlefield that he stretched himself out on a rug beside the motor-car and went off to sleep, invoking me to wake him if anything really interesting should occur."

In a subsequent review of the battle and with more details available, this latter correspondent, who so trounced his colleague, wrote that the Bulgarians had to thank their Christian God that, owing to the shortage of food and ammunition, the Turks were forced to evacuate their positions, which the Bulgarians were too exhausted to face again. And further, that "The Turks had nothing to be ashamed of, in spite of the brilliant word-painting of cor-

respondents, who let themselves go on the retreat-from-Moscow racket. It is curious how quickly the accomplished journalist can see red, and how difficult he finds it to draw the line between rout and retirement. Fortunately, there were no professional journalists with the Tirah Field Force when it scuttled down the Bara Valley in 1897. If there had been, the historical exactitude of the operations would have been as prostituted as has been the retirement of the Turkish armies from Lule Burgas."

During the first armistice a well-known British officer was given facilities by the Bulgarians (there was then no expectation of a renewal of the war) to examine the sphere of operations, and deriving his information through Bulgarian spectacles wrote: "For all practical purposes the Bulgarians were finished at Lule Burgas, there were no reserves, and all ranks were feeling the strain of three days continuous fighting, want of sleep, and soaked to the skin." He was told it commenced to rain on Tuesday morning, October 29, a pure invention of the Bulgarians to disguise their inability to follow up the retiring Turks. The respective armies were in contact on Monday, and during the battle of Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday the weather was exceptionally fine, and only with the general retirement on Friday, November 1, did it begin to rain.

Wagner himself, thinking the war over, wrote: "The result of the Battle of Lule Burgas was disappointing, and much less than had been at first anticipated. The Bulgars did not succeed in cutting off the Turkish army from its line of retreat, nor were they able to penetrate the lines of Tchataldja before the Turkish army was reformed."

Apparently not knowing how Turkey had been sold by the Powers, Lord Kitchener, in his report on Egypt, wrote: "Defective military arrangements appear to be responsible for the breakdown of one of the finest fighting armies that existed in the world." There was no breakdown of the fighting qualities of the troops. Some of the regiments

refusing to give way were almost annihilated, and by such fighting were the Bulgarians fought to a standstill.

War declared on October 17, with the Turks totally unprepared. The fighting on October 23 and 24, at Kirk Kilisse, delayed the Bulgarians, who at the Battle of Lule Burgas, October 28 to November 1, were brought up, fought out and exhausted, and the Turks, as subsequently chronicled by Wagner himself, had in the meantime been able to prepare the lines of Tchataldja for the defence of Constantinople. On passing through the vineyards before reaching Tchataldja the hungry mob, as might be expected, filled their emptiness with grapes, and it was an army writhing with colic that arrived at Tchataldja, and in truth they were scattered over the ground like wriggling worms, some 20,000 dying in three days. As the food supplies became available, the seizures stopped as though by magic, the number of cases dropping from over 4,000 one day to less than 400 the next. It was reported as cholera from Constantinople, and cholera it will be called so long as the incident is remembered. "At Tchataldja, soldiers stricken in thousands; *cholera havoc*," were the newspaper headlines, and the leader-writers were challenging the wisdom of King Ferdinand entering Constantinople and exposing his troops to the infection. Incidentally, it may be added, that by this time the Bulgars themselves had some 35,000 cases of sickness, another fact unknown to the world. The Bulgarians not only misled the world, but successfully deceived the foreign legations at Sofia, who privately communicated to their respective Embassy colleagues at Constantinople that the Turkish armies had been hopelessly routed, and that the Bulgarian cavalry were athwart their line of retreat. The fleeing and panic-stricken Turks, it was stated, would, on their way to Asia, wreak their vengeance, and Constantinople would be given over to an orgy of pillage, loot, rapine, and massacre; to circumvent this there was a call upon the fleets of Europe. Battleships were hurried to the Bosphorus, and thousands of its seamen

were landed to protect Constantinople. Telegrams sent from Constantinople were published saying that foreign officers had reported the situation at Tchataldja as hopeless. "The Doom of the Turk" is a sample of the headlines of the Press at that time. "Another foreign officer back from Tchataldja says he does not believe that the Turks had more than 40,000 troops manning the defences, and half of these were suffering from privation and disease," is a sample of the reports to which the Press gave currency.

The *Times*, according to its leading article on November 16, wrote that its local correspondent had "declared that three-fourths of the troops in the Tchataldja lines are demoralized and disorganized."

Other reports appearing in the Press stated that "official visitors to the Sublime Porte found nothing save the most abject depression, and an atmosphere of hopelessness." Reuter's agency issued a statement in London that "*the presence of the Bulgarian army will be required in Constantinople to protect the Christians,*" and, according to the Bulgarian war staff, *vide* Wagner, "its strategy was to rush the Tchataldja lines at the same time as the retreating Turks entered them." In the light of the final phases of the war, it was no doubt a wise provision to send the battleships to Constantinople, not for the purpose then contemplated, but to prevent the Bulgarian and other Christians from exterminating one another. In reply to a friendly request from London, the writer sent a lengthy telegram summarizing the situation, and emphatically stated that the Bulgarians would meet with a crushing defeat when they attacked Tchataldja. The telegram was sent round the London Press for publication: it was ignominiously rejected, for on the same day (November 14) had not Lieutenant Wagner cabled from the Bulgarian headquarters that "*after four days of murderous fighting the Bulgarian army has succeeded in breaking through the Turkish position at Tchataldja in the centre of the lines*";

and Reuter's agent at Constantinople cabled also on the same day: "*Reported capture of Turkish headquarters and surrender of Nazim Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief.*" The writer's telegram was returned to him in a friendly spirit, so that he should himself destroy the proof of his appalling stupidity; it reached him after the Bulgarians had been decisively beaten.

There are not a few in Constantinople who should blush with shame when they now think of their exaggerated fears at this time: when the ships leaving Constantinople were crowded, foreign residents laying in supplies of food, and the sand-bag and other defences erected at some of the Embassies. The panic feeling amongst the Levantines was excusable, for if they loved not the Turks, in their hearts they feared a Bulgarian invasion. "Is it conceivable," subsequently wrote the one war correspondent with a military training, "that the Bulgarians believed the sensational stories of the retreat from Lule Burgas published by the sensational journalist who never saw the Turks in action." As a matter of fact, if the Bulgarians deceived the world, they were equally misled by the reports from Constantinople of the supposed decimation of the Turkish Army, the utter demoralization of the remainder, the indefensible condition of the Tchataldja lines, the breakdown of the Turkish administration, and the chaos in Constantinople. Had they known the truth, and, in view of their own troubles, they would not have attacked Tchataldja, which they did before daybreak on Sunday morning, November 17, *three days after Reuter cabled the reported surrender of Nazim, and, according to Wagner, they had already broken through the lines.*

It has been frequently and circumstantially stated that the Bulgarians, acceding to the wishes of the Powers, had refrained from forcing an entrance into Constantinople. This is hardly compatible with the crushing defeat—with a loss of some 25,000 in killed and wounded—that the Bulgarians met with in their attack on the Tchataldja

lines. In view of the colourless report of the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, the Turks could not be accused of exaggerating their achievement. Their loss of prestige in the eyes of the world would not have been so great had they displayed a little more robust faith in themselves, and issued reports on the same lines as Lord Kitchener did in South Africa. Contrast the difference between the Turkish failure to inform the world of the truth, with an unreputed Greek contention published in a London newspaper, which held that "those who organized the Greek Press campaign against the Bulgars deserve to be honoured by their country far more than the brave men who have fallen on the battlefield. That the impression created throughout Europe was false only proves more clearly than ever the intellectual superiority of the Greeks." After the magnificent and successful efforts of the Bulgarians in this direction with the aid of their faithful Wagner, truly the Christianity of the Balkans is based on the statement of the psalmist that "All men are liars." The fact that an armistice had been proposed by the Turkish Government before the Bulgarian attack led the world, as also the people in Constantinople, to believe that no serious attack had been pushed home by the Bulgarians. In spite of the fears that the fleeing and demoralized Turkish troops would, before crossing the Bosphorus, loot and massacre, and although at the instance of the Ambassadors the public had been warned that, on the firing of certain signal guns, all were to seek places of safety, and with the universally expected appearance of the Bulgars, it may be placed on record that Constantinople's contingent of golfers played their usual Sunday golf to the reverberations of the continuous roar of the guns of the battlefield proclaiming that hell was let loose at Tchataldja. Surely never before has golf been played under such conditions.

On Tuesday morning, November 19, Mohamed Mukhtar at the Derkos end of the Tchataldja lines, proposed to take the offensive. Whilst making a personal reconnaissance with his staff, he blundered into a Bulgarian position, and

all were shot down. The majority of the staff were killed, and Mohamed Mukhtar was severely wounded. There is, indeed, a time in the affairs of nations which, if missed, cannot be retrieved. An irreparable blunder was made in not proceeding with this offensive movement. With Adrianople in the rear of the Bulgarian armies, which were more than exhausted, and without supplies; hampered by their heavy battle losses, and burdened with some 35,000 cases of sickness, the Turks had the Bulgarians in the hollow of their hand, and the course of the war could have been completely changed. Truly indeed the Turks were more than fools on this occasion. Their inaction was a crime, and had any combination of circumstances then ended their empire in Europe, by this great failure alone they would have richly deserved their fate. It is true that the Turkish Administration, in view of their unpreparedness for war, had appealed in the first instance to the Powers for a settlement, and then direct to Bulgaria, but a Cromwell would have said, "Yea, verily, if diplomacy is good, it is slow, and in the meantime the Lord has delivered the ungodly into mine hands." With such a let off, the Bulgars willingly assented to an armistice, and the poor old Grand Vizier would have been justified if the ideas of a confederation, unofficially submitted by the writer to the Balkan peace delegates, had been realized. The basis of this confederation was independent sovereignty for Turkey, Bulgaria, Roumania, Servia, Greece, and Montenegro; autonomy for Albania; self-government for those districts, where the population consisted of mixed races, under Governor-Generals jointly appointed by the Sovereign States for a period of four years. The committee for the settlement of all frontiers and boundaries to be the Commanders-in-Chief under an umpire like Lord Kitchener. The confederation to form customs, railways, and commercial unions, and in combination to take a status in international affairs as the seventh Power in Europe; but history is mostly a record of exploded ideas.

(To be Continued.)

OBITUARY

THE DEATH OF THE VICEROY OF WEST AND EAST.

THAT "the child is the father of the man" was perhaps never better illustrated than in the case of Lord Minto. In the early days of his life the qualities of sport and warfare had ample scope for development, and in after-life we find him riding five times in the Grand National, breaking his neck and still living, fighting for the Turks against Russia, and for his own country in Egypt and Afghanistan, and subsequently travelling through the remotest parts of the earth. He was appointed Governor of Canada during the South African War, and played a great part in fostering the love of the mother-country which impelled Canadians to help England in her hour of trial. But his most successful task was undoubtedly his administration in India, which began in the autumn of 1905. The difficulties which beset him at the outset would have been sufficient to overwhelm a man of smaller calibre. In the first place, his predecessor was a man of outstanding character amongst Indian Viceroys. Secondly, many of the innovations that had been introduced by Lord Curzon were either not yet mature, or at any rate not yet carried through. His first business, in fact, was to put the finishing touch to the work of another, before he could bring his influence to bear on any new problems that had sprung up in his own time. Though sent out by a Unionist Government, he was for the greater part of his rule in India under a Radical Ministry; yet, in spite of the criticism which was continually passed upon him, he never had any serious difference with the Home Government.

To these difficulties we must add a financial crisis, and the growing volume of unrest in India. He not only managed to grapple with all these problems—he never for a moment lost his presence of mind. And, indeed, to an unruffled calmness he added a welcome geniality of manner. He was one of Nature's noblemen, always perfectly natural, always willing to talk familiarly with everyone, always ready to see people and find out what were their real grievances or difficulties, and how these might be bettered. In his secret soul he objected to being hedged in and kept apart as Viceroy.

The reforms instituted by him and Lord Morley began the new era in India, and there can be no doubt that it is to him that we must be grateful for the general scheme, and for planning them out in detail. One of the

reforms for which he was especially enthusiastic was to open up to Indian gentlemen the opportunity of taking commissions in the Indian Army. We cannot do better than quote passages out of the speech he made to the East India Association on April 24, 1912, when, as Chairman, he responded to Sir William Plowden's paper on the "Problems of Indian Administration":

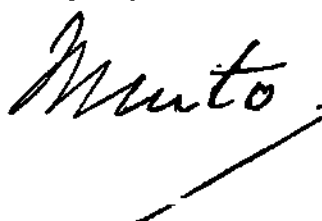
"It is curious that British opinion of to-day as regards the possibility of granting commissions is less advanced than it was a generations ago. The views of many people to-day are much behind the times in comparison with those of distinguished officers even before the Mutiny. As long ago as 1844 Sir Henry Lawrence dealt with the question. Subsequently, Lord Napier wrote a memorandum in 1885 on the same subject, stating that the Government of India had then the matter under consideration. Sir George Chesney, Sir Donald Stewart, and others, all held the same views. All these distinguished officers admitted that a great injustice was being perpetrated in withholding such commissions; they maintained that young Indian gentlemen should have greater opportunities for military distinction, but at the same time they all laid down that they must not command British troops, and that the solution of the difficulty was the raising of special Indian regiments, in which Indian gentlemen should receive commissions. I am afraid that racial antipathies, however narrow many of us may think them, are much stronger in India than they are at home. I do not know why. But, at any rate, we certainly cannot do away with these racial antipathies by word of command; the only way to lessen them is by example, and by constant sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects. Under existing conditions it would, in my opinion, be a grave mistake to appoint a young Indian of good family to a British regiment, or to a regiment of the Indian Army, against the wish of its British officers. It would only create friction, and we should be worse off than we were before. I fought this question in India over and over again—and before I came away, the Government of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and all my Council were in agreement with me that the commissions should be granted. We therefore framed a scheme for the raising of a regiment to be officered by selected Indian gentlemen who would generally have received a military education in the Cadet Corps. Our proposal was that the regiment should begin with a skeleton of a few British officers to give it a start, and that young Indian officers should be gazetted to it in the ordinary way, with *bona fide* commissions, who would rise in due course of promotion; whilst the British skeleton would gradually disappear, and an Indian officer would eventually obtain command of the regiment, which would be in the course of twenty years or so. The scheme was sent home, and it was my earnest hope that it would receive official sanction before I left India. I am sorry to say I do not know what has happened to it since then."

In conclusion, we may quote from a letter sent by his Lordship to the *Review* on January 14 of this year. He had been asked to write for us an article on the admission of Indian gentlemen to the Indian Army:—

"You will understand how impossible it is to write an article for the *Asiatic Review*, as the least exertion tires me at present. The subject you have proposed is one in which I was always interested in India, and will have to be finally dealt with some day. I hope the form the *Asiatic Review* has now adopted will prove a success.

"Believe me,

"Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Minto". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style. Below the signature is a long, diagonal stroke that extends from the bottom right of the signature towards the left.

This shows how, to the very last, Lord Minto maintained his close interest in Indian affairs. And all Indians will agree that in him they have lost a true, a tried, and a trusted friend.

OUR INDIAN MAIL

THE Indian Budget for 1914-15 was presented for consideration at a meeting of the Imperial Council at Delhi on the 2nd of March last. The revised estimates for 1913-14 showed a revenue of £84½ millions as against the Budget estimate of £82½ millions. The expenditure for 1913-14 was £83,675,000, instead of the estimated £83,911,000. The Budget estimate of the total revenue for 1914-15 is £85,033,000, and the estimated expenditure £86,962,000. Net deficit, £1,929,000.

During the meetings of the last session of the Imperial Council, five resolutions were proposed by non-official members. Four honorary members asked for commissions to inquire into the administration of gaols in India, Provincial Finance, Railway Management, and the causes of the recent Bank failures in India. One honorary member asked for opinions from the Provincial Governments upon the existing system of rural taxation. The Government of India accepted the resolution about gaol reform in India. The other resolutions were either lost or withdrawn.

A deputation representing the Indian National Congress will be in England this summer, to lay before the British public some of the more pressing grievances of their country. The deputation will probably include the Hon. Mr. Gokhale and Messrs. Lajpat Rai, Subba Rao, Bhupendranath Basu, Mazharul Haq, M. A. Jinnah, S. Sinha, V. M. Sainarth, Bishen Narayan Dhar, and C. P. R. Adiyar.

Lord Hardinge presided over a Conference held at Delhi to discuss the question of establishing a college for the higher education of sons of ruling chiefs and other noblemen in British India. The proposal was enthusiastically accepted. Rs. 2,800,000 has already been subscribed.

A sensation has been caused in Calcutta—in European circles—by the acquittal of the student Ray of the charge of murdering Inspector Ghose

of the Criminal Investigation Department. A fresh trial has been ordered with regard to the murder of a spectator.

A great revulsion of feeling is being manifested in Bengal against the system of exacting exorbitant dowries from parents of marriageable girls. According to the caste rules of a section of the Hindu community, parents have to suffer social ostracism if their daughters remain unmarried beyond a certain age. Snehalata Devi, a young Bengali girl, as a protest against this evil system, and to save her father from utter ruin in finding a dowry for her, burnt herself to death the other day in the most deliberate manner.

We hope the immolation of Snehalata will not have been in vain.

In connection with the discovery of anarchist plotting in Delhi, a series of house searches have taken place in Delhi, Lahore and Rawalpindi. Nine persons have so far been arrested, and inquiries are still proceeding.

HEDGES AND BUTLER LTD.

WINE MERCHANTS

to H.M. The King.

LONDON: 155, REGENT STREET.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

MAY 15, 1914

INDIA AND THE PRESENT LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

BY R. S. BAJPAI, B.A., B.C.L. (OXON.)

IN view of the next General Election, which may come off any time in the near future, and the part the British public plays, or ought to play, in the management of the Indian Empire, it is scarcely necessary to add an apology or an introduction to an article which is intended to state the task that awaited the Liberal party when they came to office in 1905, and to consider how they have faced it, in order that the British electorate may be enabled to realize their record in respect of Indian administration and to decide how far their return to power will be desirable.

Lord Curzon began his Viceroyalty by altering the constitution of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, which Lord Northbrook had granted, and by reducing the number of elected members from fifty to twenty-five, thereby equalizing the elected and the nominated, with the result that twenty-eight Indian members resigned as a protest. A number of commissions were appointed, some of which, the educated community consider, did them more harm than good. The Universities Commission, among other things, recommended that "Fees must not be fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a University career," and matters culminated in the passing of the Universities Act in the face of unanimous opposition by the elected members of the Supreme Legislative

Council, and under it the Universities were thoroughly "officialized." The Police Commission, whatever else it did, put an end even to the theoretical possibility of an Indian entering direct into the Imperial Police Service. The Official Secrets Act made any public criticism of a Government measure impossible until it has been made public, and, according to the *Pioneer*, "Russianized" the statute book. The demands for a larger employment of Indians in the higher public services in conformity with Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1888 were met with the strictest interpretation of the qualifying words in that Magna Charta of India. Lord Curzon's speech at the Calcutta University Convocation, in the course of which he had said: "Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth" and "undoubtedly truth took a higher place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and wile have always been held in much repute," created a great deal of bitter feeling. The ill-fated Partition of Bengal—the greatest political blunder since the Battle of Plassey, as Lord Macdonnell put it—robbed Lord Curzon of whatever credit was due to him for his support of the Civil power, as against the Military, which led to his controversy with Lord Kitchener. In the words of Lord Morley, "splendidly designed as was his work from the point of view of efficiency, he (Lord Curzon) still left in India a state of things . . . that could not be held a satisfactory crowning of a brilliant and ambitious career." The secret of this lay in the fact that "during his remarkable Viceroyalty, he did not accept the necessity for political concessions." And according to Dr. Rash Behari Ghose "that most brilliant Viceroy, who had nothing but gibes and sneers for our aspirations and prayers . . ., found India comparatively contented and left it fermenting with unrest," and his "reactionary policy . . . left behind it a burning sense of helplessness and humiliation" which drove some Indians,

"small in numbers, almost mad with indignation." Some of these men, though "small in numbers," heralded the advent of extremism in India which manifested itself in seditious speeches, inflammatory writing, and even anarchism. It would be unfair to deny that the reduction of the salt tax, the raising of the limit for the income tax, and several other items of Lord Curzon's policy were beneficial, but such useful measures were lost on the Indian public largely because they were sandwiched in between others which aroused the bitterest opposition that the educated community have ever offered throughout the history of British rule in India. If, therefore, Lord Curzon, with all his magnificent parts, failed in his administration of India (Mr. C. J. O'Donnell and several other authorities have openly said so), and if his Lordship's definition of the "efficiency of administration" as a "synonym for the contentment of the governed" has been falsified as a matter of fact, an analysis of the causes that led to it is well worth the making. Imputation of motives is never safe—the reasons, perhaps, lay in the popular belief (whether it was right or wrong is another matter) that Lord Curzon distrusted the educated Indians, that his Lordship did not consider them fit to be associated with the management of their own affairs, or to be entrusted with responsible offices under the State, and so long as the standard of "blistering efficiency" was maintained, and his Lordship was to be the judge of it, and no one else, the position of the bureaucracy must be kept intact, and popular demands and popular opinions, feelings, and sentiments could be safely ignored.

Lord Morley did not overstate the case when, speaking in the House of Commons on June 6, 1907, he said: "We did not come quite into a haven of serenity and peace. Very fierce monsoons had broken out on the Olympian heights at Simla, in the camps, and in the councils at Downing Street. This was the inheritance into which we came—rather a formidable inheritance." It may well be said that the situation was the most complicated that the

British democracy has ever been called upon to face. There was unrest, bitterness, despondency, and a growing belief in the indifference of the British Government towards India, and a strong feeling to boycott the British all round. Even the moderate Indian leaders were losing confidence, but, encouraged by the appearance of the Liberal party at the head of affairs, they persisted in checking the anti-English feeling; and in guarded terms at the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in December, 1906, Mr. Dadabhai Naroji exhorted his audience not to despond, and, speaking for himself, he said: "Not only that I have not despaired, but at this moment, you may think it strange, I stand before you with hopefulness," and he attributed his "hopefulness" to what he called "the present 'revival' of the true old spirit and instinct of liberty and free British institutions in the hearts of the leading statesmen of the day," meaning thereby the prominent leaders of the Liberal party. It must be pointed out that the hands of the Indian leaders were considerably strengthened by Lord Morley when he said: "You often hear people talk of the educated section of the people of India as a mere handful, an infinitesimal fraction. So they are in numbers, but it is fatally idle to say that this infinitesimal fraction does not count. The educated section is making, and will make, all the difference." How far the anticipations of the Indian leaders were justified, and what has been the attitude of the Liberal party towards the suggested causes of the failure of the preceding administration, the following pages are intended to show.

The Royal Decentralization Commission was appointed in 1907 to inquire into a series of questions, and to report how the executive power could be brought into closer touch with local conditions. It is impossible to give even a brief outline of the numerous recommendations it made, but there was not a question which was agitating the public mind in India to which the Commission did not refer either directly or indirectly; and it certainly stands in a class by

itself because of the richness of the material it collected, and the nature and extent of its recommendations, and also because it amounted to a frank recognition of the *prima facie* unsuitability of the machinery to the changed conditions of the country. It was the first attempt at "political concession," for which it prepared the ground. It was also the first blow at the infallibility of bureaucratic "efficiency."

Another measure which also stands in a class by itself was the Reform Scheme—in theory an extension of the system initiated by Lord Cross, but in reality so wide, liberal, and comprehensive an expansion of the various legislative councils, and an enlargement of their powers and functions, that it at once changed the atmosphere of suspicion, diffidence, and boycott, and was warmly welcomed throughout India. The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, referring to the sentiment it had aroused, observed: "It is one of high appreciation and of deep admiration for the statesmanship which has prompted a scheme of reform so comprehensive in its character, so far-reaching in its consequences, which I hope and trust will mark . . . a memorable epoch in the annals of British rule in India." Under the scheme provision has been made for a non-official majority in all the provincial councils; powers have been given to members to move resolutions and ask supplementary questions, and to take an important part in the expenditure of the Indian revenues when the Budget is under consideration. There is still an official majority in the Imperial Council, but otherwise the same extension of powers has been accorded to its members. These privileges appear to be something more than "a mere farce" when one remembers that formerly the Budget debate was the only day in the year on which matters of general concern could be brought before the Legislative Councils as they met to conduct an academic debate on a cut-and-dried Budget, neither a line nor a figure of which could be altered. There are some features in the Council

regulations to which the advanced school in India take exception, and some resentment is also felt in certain quarters at the remarks made in the House of Lords to the effect that India can never have self-government on colonial lines. But the constitutional importance of the private resolution carried in the Bengal Legislative Council a few months ago (in spite of the official vote being cast against it) in favour of the appointment of a mixed committee of that Council to advise the Government on sanitary expenditure cannot be ignored : for it affords an index of the possibilities the provision of a non-official majority holds out. Nor can one overlook the following words in which the present Secretary of State for India had defended this non-official majority when the India Councils Bill was before the House of Lords. Referring to a remark from the Opposition that there was no great hardship in being in a perpetual minority, and the possibility of the survival of such a party on the analogy of the Liberal minority in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe said : "Well, my Lords, appearances are sometimes deceptive. We may maintain a calm demeanour, and even attain at times to the appearance of a spurious joviality ; but the noble Lord will guess, if he does not know, the effect on our general character, our tempers, and our minds, of living in a state of being perpetually outvoted." And, "speaking quite seriously," he went on to assure the House that, were it not for the fiscal question, some of his party would have turned their attention to the "cultivation" of their "gardens"—so great was their growing lack of "interest in public life."

The following passage from the despatch of the Government of India, dated August 25, 1911, with which Lord Crewe fully concurred in his reply, dated November 1, 1911, also constitutes an important pronouncement on the subject : "Nevertheless, it is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be con-

ceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern. . . . It is generally recognized that the capital of a great central government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada, and Australia." These remarks were made deliberately, and Lord Crewe's observations, in the course of which he is said to have explained away the popular interpretation put upon these words, must be taken in conjunction with the circumstances under which they were made—after repeated attacks by Tory peers when a Government of India Bill was waiting to be passed through the House of Lords. After all, as Lord Courtney pointed out, there can be no finality in these matters; the first Irish Home Rule Bill came immediately after Mr. Gladstone's repeated denials that any such measure was under contemplation, and it was not so very long ago that the doctrine of the "settled fact" was exploded in connection with the Partition of Bengal. Besides, Mr. Montagu has not withdrawn the views he had expressed at Cambridge. Such promises are not lightly made, nor can they be lightly withdrawn or explained away.

The recommendations of the Royal Decentralization Commission relative to the powers of the village Panchayats, and the constitution and the functions of the Rural and District Boards and Municipalities are further indications of the policy of the Government to entrust to Indians larger shares in the management of their own affairs. Referring to the village Panchayats the Commission observed: "It is most desirable to constitute and develop village Pan-

chayats for the administration of certain local affairs within the village," and they recommended that these bodies "should have summary jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases, they should be allowed to incur expenditure on the cleaning of the village and minor village works," and they might "be entrusted with the construction and maintenance of village school houses, and with some local control in respect of school management, and the management of small fuel and fodder reserves." Sub-rural Boards are to be invested with "independent resources," and "should have the charge of minor roads in the district; of primary and (when they desire) of middle vernacular education; of medical work; of vaccination; and of sanitary work. . . ." The District Boards were also recommended for larger powers. And as regards the Municipalities the Commission noticed that "in present circumstances they can never become, as Lord Ripon intended them to be, effective instruments of local self-government;" and while recommending them for larger powers of taxation, control, etc., they added that they should have "substantial elective majority, and should usually elect their own chairman." The recommendations as regards the Municipalities have already been accepted by the Government, and proposals to embody these principles in the municipal government of Calcutta are already before the country preparatory to the introduction of formal legislation to carry them into law.

Coming to the question of the fitness of Indians to be entrusted with responsible offices under the State, it was indeed refreshing to turn to Lord Morley's remarks when, referring to the two Indians he had appointed to his Council, he said that in doing so he had intended to "teach all English officers and governors in India . . . that in the eyes of the ruling Government at home, the Indian is perfectly worthy of a place . . . in the counsels of those who make and carry on the laws and the administration of the community to which he belongs. We stand by this position not in words alone: we have shown it in act

and shall show it further." In addition to the presence of these two Indian members on the India Council in London, the appointment of one Indian member each to the Imperial as well as the Provincial Executive Councils, the substantial increase of Indians as High Court judges (the number has been nearly doubled since 1906), and the appointment of the Royal Commission on Public Services to inquire into and to report on the whole question are facts which may well bear out Lord Morley's attitude towards the Queen's Proclamation when he characterized it as "a promise of which every Englishman ought to be for ever proud if he tries to adhere to it, and ashamed if he tries to betray or to mock it."

As instances of the desire of the Government to meet popular demands one notices that the Indian National Congress itself was officially recognized in 1910, and then one turns to the appointment of a committee under Mr. K. L. Datta to inquire into the rise in prices in India, and of a Commission under Lord Nicholson to revise military expenditure, a substantial increase in the grants for education, the steps taken towards the provision of Free Primary Education, and a wider extension of sanitation with a number of Indians as Deputy Commissioners of Sanitation. Incidentally it is important to mention what, in 1908, Sir Harvey Adamson, the then Home Member of the Viceregal Council, said in announcing the sanction of an experimental scheme for the partial separation of the judicial and executive functions. "... The inevitable result of the present system is that criminal trials affecting the general peace of the district are not always conducted in that atmosphere of cool impartiality which should pervade a court of justice. Nor does this completely define the evil, which lies not so much in what is done, but in what may be suspected to be done; for it is not enough that the administration of justice should be pure: it can never be the bedrock of our rule unless it is also above suspicion. . . . Can any Government be strong whose

administration of justice is not entirely above suspicion? The answer must be in the negative." In the face of these words there can hardly be any doubt as to the fate of the demand for a further extension of this scheme which is already under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council.

How far the present Government has respected popular opinions, feelings, and sentiments is another important question, in answer to which the following facts may be cited: The King's visit to India in 1911 amidst endless political disaffection amongst a class of people hardly calls for any comment to emphasize its significance and political value. The abolition in all services, except the Indian Civil and a few others, of the Exchange Compensation Allowance (a percentage over their pay which only British-born servants of the Crown were allowed)—perhaps a small matter in itself—was a direct attempt to remove an anomaly and to do away with the preferential allowance to which Indians appointed under the same rules and conditions were not entitled even when drawing the same pay and doing the same work as their favoured European colleagues. Further instances may be found in Lord Morley's speech to the I.C.S. probationers at Oxford; his severe censure of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam (who was very unpopular with the Bengalis), because the sentence of death passed on one Udai Patni had been carried out while his appeal for mercy was on its way to the Government of India after having been rejected by the Local Government; his Lordship's remarks that "Bad manners, overbearing manners, are disagreeable in all countries: India is the only country where bad and overbearing manners are a political crime"; the recommendations of the Royal Decentralization Commission that the Government officials "should be made to realize that their value and prospects as Government officers depend not merely on their performance of their official duties, but on cultivating good and friendly

relations with the people among whom they move, and confidential reports on officers should lay stress on this point." And last but not the least, the modification of the Partition of Bengal which aroused the bitterest opposition from the Tory party as a whole (except from Lord Ampthill, who has consistently been more of a Radical than a Conservative in his outlook on Indian affairs), the substitution of the gubernatorial system of government in that province, the creation of Executive Councils in Bengal and Behar, and of Legislative Councils for Assam and the Central Provinces and Berar, the settlement of the Cawnpore Mosque trouble in August last, the release the other day of twenty-three out of the thirty persons who had been convicted of taking part in the cow-killing riots at Ajudhia, and the reduction of the sentences passed on the remaining seven, the prospective solution of the South African question, and the lengths to which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State went in their speeches to pour oil over the troubled waters, not only indicate how far the Government is anxious to respect popular opinions, feelings, and sentiments, but, some of them at any rate, define a new departure towards the bureaucracy and justify Mr. Montagu's observation: "We do not hold India by invoking this well-mouthed word (prestige). We must uphold it by just institutions, and more and more as time goes on by the consent of the governed."

The only blot on the Indian record of the Liberal Government, according to the advanced politicians in India, was the revival of the obnoxious and obsolete Deportation Regulation III. of 1818, and the enactment of certain well-known legislative measures of repression; but it is true to say that in the view of India as a whole these lapses from Liberalism were condoned by the policy of conciliation and sympathetic consideration which has been uniformly pursued since the advent of Lord Hardinge as Viceroy.

THE FUTURE OF THE CHIEFS OF INDIA

BY DEWAN

I

PERHAPS one of the most pressing questions now engaging the attention of the Government of India is that regarding the education of the Chiefs and Kumars (their sons) of Native States. Indeed, the question is in need of a speedy solution, for the present order of things is far from satisfactory, and the responsibility of delay in bringing about new conditions and a wider range of improved prospects daily becomes greater. With the appointment of the Royal Commission to investigate the conditions of the Indian services, it is to be hoped that the opportunity will be given of the aspect, from the chiefs' point of view, of the questions which come within the scope of their inquiries being thoroughly gone into and carefully considered.

The term "chiefs of India" is in need of definition, for it is generally understood to include both those who do not and will not rule (*i.e.*, younger sons) and those who do or will reign. But it has even a wider meaning than this, for it includes sons of minor branches of ruling houses, for whom some provision usually has to be made. The time has passed when these may spend their lives in dignified idleness. In former days, before the establishment of the *pax Britannica*, fighting and idleness alternated. But now the former amusement is not tolerated, and its place has, to a large extent, been taken by petty intrigue.

How, then, is India and the Empire to make the best of this material ? or, indeed, how should it perform its duty in providing occupations for those whom civilizing influences have deprived of a means of livelihood and recreation ?

For a variety of reasons, the Chiefs have till now, with a few rare exceptions, been unable, and probably unwilling, to compete in the open market of learning.

For one thing, heavy brain work was considered undignified, and their status entitled them to lead a life of idleness. But the vast strides in education and social reform made in British India have not left the States unaffected, and under the guidance of Government the old type of Chief is fast becoming non-existent, while comparative education is having certain marked results.

In education only lies the solution of the question. At present there are three well-known colleges at which Chiefs are for the most part educated. These are the Mayo College at Ajmere, the Daly College at Indore, and the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. In addition, there are several institutions of lesser status and importance. The curriculum at all these places is sufficient to give the boys a fair knowledge of English and how to behave as gentlemen.

With these boys, however, the influence of home is very strong, and this fact makes the task of those responsible for their education so much the more difficult. The influence of the zenana is in the large majority of cases very detrimental to a boy's progress, and it is unfortunately only too much in evidence. The zenana ladies do not as a rule look with favour upon education, and very naturally they do not like their sons or other male relations to be estranged from them. It is a fact not to be denied that after a boy has led a wholesome and well-ordered life for some time the zenana ideals become irksome and abhorrent to him, and estrangement from such strict upholders of these ideals follows as a natural result. This estrangement is feared, partly from natural feeling and partly from apprehension that something untoward might happen to the boys, in which case, if

the father is dead or dies, the ladies lose all their privileges. With the father dead and the son alive, they still have a certain position; but if left without either, they know they can command very little consideration.

Consequently, the attitude of the zenana ladies is partly natural and partly interested, and the only remedy appears to be in the education of women. Female education is making great strides in India; but the Native States are very conservative in this respect, and the realization of a condition of general female education among the ruling classes seems so far off that it cannot be considered. The policy of putting a boy wholly under an English tutor to a very large extent counteracts the zenana in making a new home for him. But to give a tutor to every boy is neither expedient nor possible. In the first place, a supply of qualified tutors would not be forthcoming; and, secondly, in the majority of cases, the cost is too great to be considered.

As I have mentioned above, the Chiefs may be divided into two groups—viz. :

1. Those who will rule; and—
2. Those who will not rule; and each group should be considered separately.

1. The prospects of those who will rule are fairly assured. The policy which governs the relations of the Government of India with the Native States is well known as being what Sir William Lee-Warner, in his book "*Protected Princes of India*," calls one of "subordinate union." The Chiefs and Government act together for the common good of both. It is not likely that the policy of annexation will ever again be resorted to, so that unless and until the British leave India, the continuance of the States as such is assured. All that is necessary for these Chiefs is a good system of education. For them the present curriculum at the Chiefs' colleges is fairly adequate. It goes as far as what is known as a "diploma course." For the diploma the topmost boys of the three colleges work annually. The course just falls short of the standard necessary for matricula-

tion at the Universities, and there do not appear to be any adequate reasons against the matriculation being substituted. At the Mayo College at Ajmere a post-diploma course has been started. But this is merely the patching up of an old garment.

The Chiefs themselves would on the whole prefer the removal of educational limitations. Of course it is open to them to send their sons elsewhere to be educated, and many have done so. But the result of wholesale disaffection of this nature would result in the closing of at least one of the colleges, and this is most undesirable.

One very necessary change is an increase in the staff of English masters. The present numbers—two or three—are much too small, and the Indian assistants are not always what they should be. Some of these make a point of indulging or compromising with certain boys, in the hope that when they “come to the gadi” (throne) some remunerative post in the State may be given them. Moral education thus suffers for the benefit of the master’s personal interests.

When it comes to the time for a boy to leave school, he arrives at perhaps the most critical period of his life. Should his father be alive, he returns for a time to his home, and learns, or does not learn, all about the administration of his father’s State and his own future heritage. Some Chiefs proceed almost at once to the Cadet Corps at Dehra Dun, there to learn military discipline. They stay for one, two, or three years, as the case may demand. Two years at the most are sufficient for a future ruling Chief, unless his State possesses Imperial Service troops, which it is his desire to command efficiently.

The Cadet Corps is a most excellent institution for those Chiefs, and, where practicable, all should be “encouraged” to undergo a one year’s course at least. At the end of a three years’ course they may qualify for a commission, but this is another question which chiefly affects those who are not destined to rule.

After passing through the College and the Cadet Corps, there is one very necessary portion of his education with which the prospective ruler has scarcely come in touch, and that is good administrative ideals on a Western basis. What is the result? If he is called upon to rule before he has widened his administrative horizon, he is left in his State more or less at the mercy of the officials. This means that the affairs are, more often than not, vested in an officer who is a sort of Prime Minister. If he be a good man, the Chief may be safe and the State progress. But if otherwise, corruption and inefficiency are soon the guiding features of the Administration. The result may be trouble, for the subjects will abide by the rule of a bad Chief where they would not tolerate a bad "Karbhári" (Prime Minister). Good Prime Ministers may be counted on the fingers. Why should not a prospective ruler be obliged to study practical administration by being attached to a Collectorate in British India for a year or so? The advantages of such a course are obvious. The Chief would start off with practical governing experience, whereas the time spent thus would not be too long for him to have formed fixed ideas of his own which might come in conflict with the principles underlying Native State Administration. He would also have the advantage of associating with European officials and getting to understand them.

Of late years the policy of sending boys to England to be educated has been tried, but not altogether with success. "The Broken Road" brought to light some of the abuses of the scheme. After being brought up in England a boy often becomes dissatisfied with the conditions of life in his State. He loses sympathy with his subjects, and finds himself in a position of splendid isolation. More often than not he comes in contact with Western vices, and develops a taste for extravagance. The comparative narrowness of his life at home, and the want of congenial and educated companionship, become most irksome to him. If he is made of the right "stuff," he may get over his

disappointment, but unfortunately only too many cases can be shown where indulgence in drink and other vices have led to an unhappy life or a premature death.

II

The case of those Chiefs who will not rule is of even more urgency. What prospects are open to them? At present very poor ones. They are practically debarred from entering the Indian Civil Service, while the Educational, Medical, Engineering, and Forest Departments are also hardly accessible to them. Their status does not permit of their becoming officers in the Indian Army, as the Indian officers are more of the nature of the French "Sous Officers," and, with only a few exceptions, they have risen from the ranks. They form, indeed, a class by themselves, with which the Chiefs have practically nothing in common. The Imperial Service troops offer an opening to some of them, but these are too few, and only exist in some of the larger States. With the primary object of officering these troops, Lord Curzon established the Imperial Cadet Corps. But this has not proved altogether a success. Indeed, its numbers were so small in 1911 that all past members were invited to rejoin for the Coronation Durbar. They responded nobly, with the result that an imposing body-guard of fifty members was formed. Another of its objects was to qualify Chiefs for commissions in the Regular Army after a period of three years' training. Of those who have got such commissions, some have since been called upon to rule their States. Some have gone into the Imperial Service troops, while a few have been attached to regular battalions of the Indian Army. One of these has been an A.D.C. for the last six years, and there appears to be every prospect of his remaining so for the rest of his life! Thus the Chiefs' military prospects are very limited.

The curriculum at the Chiefs' colleges obviously does not go sufficiently far for those who will not rule. They cannot matriculate at the Universities from them, and so

are not able to obtain degrees without having special tuition, or proceeding to a Government High School. What is the result? Many of them have to take up such secretarial or other positions as they may be sufficiently fortunate to obtain in some Native State. A very small number get appointments in the Indian Police, and a modicum of fortunate ones, whose fathers can bear the cost, go to the Cadet Corps, and pass thence to command or officer some unit of the Imperial Service troops. The remainder do practically nothing. Literature does not appeal to them. They live often in isolated places, with no educated companionship. Gradually they mix with inferiors, and indulge in listening to their flattery. By degrees the stricter habits of life formed at school become distasteful to them, and they even forget the English language. It does not take very long for them to lapse completely into conditions agreeable to their surroundings. They begin taking opium and indulging in other vices till death frees them from a life of uselessness.

This picture is not very pleasant to contemplate, but wherein lies the remedy?

III

There appears to be only one way of improving the future of those Chiefs who are likely to rule, and the prospects of those who are not. This lies in the improvement of educational facilities, and in making provisions for a good fighting chance. To this end the Indian Civil Service should be placed within the Chiefs' reach. There is no possibility of their adding materially to the chance of Indians flooding the Service, while they form the best class of Indian for that Service. Their status is such that they already possess the prestige of being of the ruling classes.

To render them fit to take their place in the Indian Civil Service, the colleges should be brought more strictly into line with the system obtaining in English public schools, and to this end there should be an increased staff of English masters at each of the seats of learning.

Matriculation should be made possible from the schools to a resident University, which should be under Government control, and situated, preferably, at Delhi. The University should be kept strictly for the class for which it is intended, and a three years' course should be necessary before a degree be obtained. Specialization should begin only after entering the University, and degrees might be given in arts, forestry, and engineering.

After obtaining their degrees, selected Chiefs should be sent to England for a period of two years to undergo a post-graduate course, in which there should be specialization in law and administration, etc., engineering or forestry, according to the degree taken at Delhi. For forestry candidates a sojourn in Germany or France—for part of the time at least—would probably be necessary. Now arises the first apparently real difficulty in such a scheme. What standard should be set for candidates? Engineering and forestry present no difficulties in this, for there is no reason why candidates should not be required to fulfil every qualification necessary for admission to the Forests and Public Works Departments. But for the Civil Service the question is different. The English candidate has to learn a lot that is useless to him afterwards, and after passing into the Service he is required to qualify for a riding test, and to take up an Indian vernacular. Both of these items should be omitted from his curriculum, and he should be required to pass, at the end of his two years, a stiff qualifying examination in his subjects for specialization. As all would be specially selected men, there is no reason why all should not fulfil the requirements; but a further extension of six months in England, with re-examination at the end of the period, might be allowed for any who might fail to qualify at the first attempt.

A period of two years in England at the age at which candidates would have arrived should be sufficient time in which to take full advantage of their opportunities for studying Western methods of administration, but not too

with them the religion of Islam, with its culture, its chivalry, its political and social systems, and chiefly its great doctrine of the brotherhood of Moslems irrespective of race or colour. Islam, in fact, acted as a general solvent of differences, and became the broad basis of the life and spirit of the peoples to whom, in the aggregate, we refer as Moors. Among the indigenous Berbers, traces of their ancient paganism and superstition are still to be found, and Morocco has produced some strange sects, such as the Aissowi and Hamduchi, whose sanguinary rites provoke the disgust of rational and cultured Moslems quite as much as of Christians—even of those Christians who, forgetting parallel cases among Christian sects, have plausibly but illogically cited these weird and exceptional practices as evidence against Islam in general.

To the pure original doctrine and practice of Islam many things have been added in Morocco—saints and their shrines abound, and strong side-cults, tending to eclipse the simple essentials of Islamic faith, have sprung up. The Moors may indeed have borrowed the idea of saint-worship from Christendom, as a means of showing that the Christians had no monopoly of holy men whose exemplary lives should be perpetuated in the memory of the living by the devotees who act as guardians of their shrines.

It must, however, be admitted that there is a financial side to this matter, for the establishment of a saint's shrine creates a more or less valuable vested interest for its promoters and their successors.

Apart from these deflections, the grand outstanding principles of Islam have considerably guided and influenced the Moors, whose spirit of independence has been carried so far as to isolate them from the outer world and its progress, with the result that their independence has been virtually lost, and as a nation they find themselves in the melting-pot instituted by the representatives of modern civilization.

Possibly, as a nation, the Moors (since they were driven
in
dev.

out of Europe) have not merely *stagnated*, but have even *retrograded*. That they had retrograded beyond the possibility of redemption, I will not admit. They have not found good leaders, and they have not had fair play from outside. Under fair conditions, I believe that there was enough of their old national virtue left to enable them, in the course of a generation or two, to make up much leeway.

A deep-rooted suspicion of Europeans is in their blood—and who having studied their history and the record of their treatment at the hands of Europeans can wonder at it? To-day they may interweave with visions of their great and glorious past the painful conviction, *galling and insistently assertive*, that such suspicion was but too well-founded.

"Civilization," *after almost inexplicable neglect*, has come to Morocco and the Moors! *Occidental Civilization in excelsis* has at last come to claim the near neighbour Morocco for its own! *Te Deum laudamus!*

Can there be any consolation to the Moors—many of whom retain their ancient pride and chivalry—to reflect on that day when their forefathers carried *Oriental* civilization and culture into barbarous Europe? or of the dignity with which their work was accomplished—the dignity of the simplicity in life, faith, and bearing, which is their inheritance even unto this day? or, if they have the power, to compare the methods of their forefathers with those of the *Roumis* who have recently taken charge of them and their country in the sacred name of CIVILIZATION?

How staggering the changes which have come about even while they have rested and dreamt for a period of nigh on five hundred years! Whether the Moors comprehend those changes and their meanings, or not, is of no importance: they are facts, stubborn facts which must be faced. *Mektub!*

Alas for the Moors! Though brave as ever, willing to fight and die for right and freedom as ever, it could no

longer be written of them that "the strength of the Moors lay in their perfect military discipline and absolute obedience to their generals."

So far have they retrograded apparently, that even the military instructions of Kaid Maclean (and the rest of them), the brass bands, blucher boots (and the rest of it), could make but very little impression on the raw material of to-day, which leads me to the view that the men have not changed so much as some suppose.

Is it not, rather, that the modern European methods of discipline and fighting have changed to such a degree that, *except at close quarters*, the Moor has about the same chance of winning a fight as a bull in a ring? The latter individual may perchance gore several horses and a toreador or two, but his end is certain: the *coup de grâce* will come to him.

And so to the Moors, who, with such disadvantage in armaments and lack of modern military science, are attempting to oppose the forces of the European interlopers. "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre." Mieux *la pénétration pacifique*—n'est-ce pas?

The promoters of civilization *à la mode* are overflowing with benevolence, and burstingly anxious to bestow its "blessings" upon my friend and brother the Moor, and they are also in a deadly hurry to get through with their self-imposed task; because, however unselfish and pure their motives may be, the execution of their adventurous *duty* is—*parbleu!*—very costly, in men and money, in its initial stages. But even from this point of view, there are some minor compensations. Does not Morocco afford a splendid training-ground for the army, and give officers a chance to gain distinction and promotion? Moreover, here is a field for the creation of a large force of coloured men possessed of an inbred instinct for fighting, and which, *à l'avenir*, when the hour strikes, will be hurled against France's European enemies. Such a force might, however, prove itself "a double-edged weapon."

Let us now take an honest look at the "civilizing mission" of France and Spain in Morocco.

Stripped of all cant and sentimental boasting as to the noble aims of these countries, the bare fact remains that they (like England, Germany, Russia, Italy, etc.) are simply out for fresh lands and peoples to be exploited economically, with all that this implies.

The welfare of the Moors is the very last consideration. What the Moors eat, drink, or believe, does not matter. But the wealth of Morocco is to be exploited, and the Moors are destined to furnish the necessary labour for its extraction. Meanwhile, "law and order" has to be "established." Judging by Algeria, the day of complete pacification in Morocco cannot be less than two generations ahead. Shade of Abd-el-Kadr!

Ostensibly the noble and beneficent work is being carried out by the Sultan and the Maghzen (Moorish Government), under the guidance of French brains and with the co-operation of French military forces. The Sultan, who but a few short years ago was *theoretically* "an absolute despot," is now a French puppet, whose individual freedom is so restricted that he may only converse with a European after permission has been granted by the French authorities, and then only in the presence of a French officer.

It follows that the Ministers of State and principal Moorish officials, within the area of pacific penetration, are puppets like their pseudo-lord the Sultan, and hold their positions on French sufferance.

Let it be duly remembered, however, that when the late Sultan yielded to the French demands, he had only the *right* to speak for one-fourth of Morocco, as shown on European-made maps. The remaining three-fourths, consisting of free and independent clans, had neither voice nor part in the contract. These latter are the people who have now to be conquered and subdued in piecemeal fashion. The problem of their pacification is obviously a

very difficult one, and sporadic warfare may be expected for many long years to come. It is too much to hope that these freedom-loving sons of Adam will yield to the inevitable, and give in without a long struggle against the invaders, especially when they realize the methods by which they are deprived of their lands and property without compensation, and that on the top of all other wrongs they will be taxed to pay the price of their own subjugation.

Of course the puppet Sultan, without the powerful aid of the French, could not have even attempted, with any chance of success, to deprive them of their freedom and independence. Hence their forcible introduction into the melting-pot, invented by modern civilization, for simple and backward races, whose countries show fair prospects of a rich return on capital invested for their economical exploitation.

The usual evidences of civilization *à la mode* are especially visible in the coast towns—officials, whose salaries absorb most of the increase in revenue, are there in superabundance; public works are in progress, and many Western monstrosities in the way of buildings have been, and are, being perpetrated. The European and quasi-European population has rapidly increased, and the cost of living has doubled itself. Trade is booming in consequence, and, thanks to the firm and just intervention of Germany, the Open Door, for traders of all nations on equal terms, still exists. For which reason the old-established enterprises of the British merchants on the coast have not suffered so far, and Britain still leads in imports by sea.

Railways, roads, wireless telegraphy, telephones, electric light, motor-cars, the "English w.c.," and many other modern innovations, have duly arrived. Harbour works are under construction and in contemplation—I fear too much of the latter, for the first essential to the rapid development of Morocco in a satisfactory manner is the provision of safe harbours. Though the difficulties and the cost prove enormous, they must be met.

Other evidences of the new civilization are prolific in the European-inhabited towns, where drink-shops, brothels, and gambling-hells flourish apace. Whether these institutions will convince the Moor of the superiority of the Western interlopers, or fill him with a greater loathing for the ways of the Nasarani (Christian), time alone can prove. Other instances in history indicate that the vices of civilization are more easily assimilated than its virtues, and that the improvement of indigenous races on Western lines has meant improving them off the face of the earth. -- May we assume that we have herein concrete proof of the law of the survival of the fittest—vices notwithstanding?

Or, is civilization moving rapidly towards a new phase—perhaps a social cataclysm, from which humanity will emerge purged of the vast frauds and fallacies, those fetishes by which the vast majority of the human race are held in bondage and sweated by the few?

If the Moor will hold fast to that (of his own) which is good, his faith, his temperance, his family life, his simplicity of living, and general virility, he may come safely out of the ordeal of the melting-pot—sadder but wiser. It is hard to believe that the Moor will follow in the footsteps of the apostles of the Economic Era, and that he will abandon his allegiance to Allah to transfer it to Mammon and the selfish pursuit of pleasure and luxury. But, *quién sabe?* The world may witness far greater changes in the next fifty years than it has done during the past century. The accused may become the accusers, and the victims of violence, robbery, and oppression may become the reformers and the guiders of the world's future progress. The Moor, aroused from dreams of the past, may some day leap from the melting-pot and reclaim his inheritance from the subtle-brained pigmies in whose cunning toils he now finds himself so suddenly and hopelessly enmeshed. *Inscha allah!*

Of course the puppet Sultan, without the powerful aid
of the Emperor.

THE MEMOIRS OF SHAH TAHMĀSP, KING OF PERSIA FROM 1524 TO 1576

BY H. BEVERIDGE

I FEEL grateful to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Colonel Phillott for having published these Memoirs in a separate form. A Persian gentleman, Muhammad Husain Khān, included them in a work which was lithographed at Teheran many years ago, and the late Dr. Paul Horn edited them excellently in the *Deutsche Morgenländische Zeitung* in 1890, but neither of these editions is cheap or readily accessible.

The Memoirs are brief, and somewhat dull and jejune, and Colonel Phillott is not wrong in saying that they are disappointing; but they are genuine, and they belong to a peculiar and important class of Oriental literature, that of the autobiographies of Muhammadan Princes, and are an interesting and even valuable contribution to Persian history. Certainly Tahmāsp was a far smaller man than the Emperor Bābur, and his life much less eventful, and so his Memoirs could bear no comparison with Bābur's, even if he had had Bābur's literary skill. Tahmāsp's one chance of writing a book not unworthy of Bābur's or Haidar Mirzā's Memoirs was to have told his readers about his childhood and about his heroic father, Ismā'il Safavī, who was by far the greatest man of the dynasty. But Tahmāsp says almost nothing

about his father, and he begins his autobiography with his own accession. In so beginning he may have been imitating Bābur, who begins by the statement that he became King of Ferghāna in the twelfth year of his age. But Tahmāsp should have gone on, as Bābur did, to tell us of his father, grandfather and grandmother, and of his brothers and sisters. Tahmāsp professes to be writing for the benefit of his dear children, and that they may thus possess a code of instructions for their guidance. Surely he could have told them much that was profitable and entertaining about that father who defeated Shaibānī the Uzbeg, and who made so gallant a fight against the Sultan of Turkey. But Tahmāsp was a bigot, and a believer in dreams, and he tells us more about them than even about his own prowess in his early years. He was not devoid of good qualities. He was a good Muhammadan of the Shiah persuasion, and early abandoned the bad habits of drinking and drug-taking, and he abolished brothels in his dominions. He was also much attached to his sister, and behaved with great generosity to Humāyūn, the father of Akbar, when he came to his dominions as a distressed fugitive. It is a curious circumstance that Tahmāsp says nothing in his Memoirs about his hospitality on this occasion, which is, perhaps, the most creditable act of his reign. On the other hand, he describes in some detail his conduct towards Bajazet, the fugitive Prince from Turkey, which is generally regarded as the greatest blot on his character, and which, even on his own showing, was cruel and cowardly.

Much praise is due to Tahmāsp for the simplicity of his style. In this respect he is not inferior to Bābur. He begins, indeed, with an extravagant laudation of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, saying: "Were the ocean ink, the trees of the forest pens, the seven heavens folios, and all the Jinns and all mankind to keep on writing till the resurrection day, they could not record a thousandth part of 'Alī's merits." This is poor bombast in comparison with the words of St. John: "Many other things Jesus did,

the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books which should be written." But it is only a preliminary flourish, and the rest of the Memoirs is in plain prose, with the occasional interruption of a verse or a line of poetry, which is sometimes his own composition. Two or three of his pages are little more than a catalogue of names.

After saying that he succeeded to the throne in 930 A.H., corresponding to the year of the Ape of the Turkish cycle (A.D. 1524), when he was ten years of age, he adds that he was born in 920 A.H., in the Turkish year of the Dog (February 1515). According to the 'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī of Iskandar Beg he was born a year earlier, viz., in 919 A.H., while the Habibu's-siyār, which was written in his father's lifetime, gives 918 A.H. (March 1513) as the date of his birth. The contemporary historian Khwūr Shāh (Rieu's Cat. Or. 153, vol. i., p. 110) gives the same date as the 'Alamārāi, so it seems certain that Tahmāsp has given a wrong date, and that he really was born in 919 A.H. Even then, he was only ten years and two or three months old when his father died and he became king. He reigned for fifty-two years, dying in the second month of 984 A.H. (May 1576).

After giving the dates of his birth and accession, he proceeds to record the names of his principal officers. In doing so, he tells us that one of them, Khwāja Jalālu'd-dīn by name, who had been his father's Vizier, did some improper acts, and was put to death by burning. According to the 'Alamārāi, p. 117, he was wrapped in a mat and then burnt. As Tahmāsp was but a boy then, he is probably not responsible for this murder, which the 'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī says was brought about by Deo Sultān. The unfortunate man was a poet, and Tahmāsp and the 'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī give a verse which he is said to have recited while being burnt. We are not told why such a horrid punishment was inflicted. Even if he had been accused of infidelity, punishment by fire was contrary to a precept of

Muhammad. Another man, who, according to Dr. Horn, was Jalālu'd-dīn's secretary, was also put to death.

Tahmāsp's troubles with his neighbours began early. The Uzbegs invaded his country three times, and twice laid siege to Herāt. In September of 1528, when he was only fourteen years old, he had a great battle with them near Tarbat-i-Jām. It resulted in a victory for the Persians, though Tahmāsp did not feel sure till the following morning that he had won the day. His account of the battle is simple and modest, and he says more about his dream on the following night, and the appearance to him of 'Alī, than about his own exploits. Bābur, who was of course pleased at the defeat of the Uzbegs, refers to the battle (Erskine's translation, 396), and Dr. Teufel justly remarks that Bābur's account is fuller and clearer than Tahmāsp's, though the latter took part in the battle. But there is one detail which Tahmāsp gives more correctly. Bābur understood that 'Ubaidu'l-lāh, the Uzbek chief and a nephew of Shaibānī, was killed, but Tahmāsp explains that 'Ubaidu'l-lāh was only wounded, and that the man who attacked him did not know who he was, and so passed on without killing him. Tahmāsp writes (p. 20) with great rancour about 'Ubaidu'l-lāh, who in Haidar Mīrzā's history appears as a hero and a model ruler. "I have neither seen nor heard speak of such an excellent ruler as he during the past hundred years. In the first place, he was a true Musalmān, religiously inclined, pious, and abstinent. . . . He wrote seven different styles of handwriting, he made several copies of the Koran, etc. He perfumed the world with the sweet breezes of justice and the scent of right dealing until the year 946 A.H. (1539), when he bade this transitory world adieu, and his pure soul passed to the regions of the blessed." This encomium may be partly due to the fact that 'Ubaidu'l-lāh was for a time Haidar's brother-in-law, but must be chiefly due to religious feelings. Haidar's sister was not long 'Ubaidu'l-lāh's wife, for she fell into other hands, and was eventually married to Sa'īd Khān. Tahmāsp

gives a very different character of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh. According to him, he was a great tyrant, and an accursed one, his special wickedness being that he spoke ill of 'Alī and said, while holding an orange in his hand, that no one could be a true Musalmān who did not cherish in his heart a hatred—"as big as this orange"—against the husband of Fātima. In his wrath Tahmāsp says something of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh which Akbar and Abū'l-fazl would have regarded as high praise: "In his estimation a Musalmān and a Kāfir were equal."

After Tahmāsp, as he says, had cleansed Khurāsān from the impurity of the Uzbeks, he marched against Bāghdād and laid siege to it. The siege lasted a long time, and the weather was terribly hot, but at last the city was taken.

Tahmāsp had much trouble with his own brothers and with the Taklū clan. Apparently this was, in part at least, his own fault, for he sided with the rival faction of the Shāmlūs, and tried to exterminate the Taklūs. He succeeded in killing a great number of them, but one chief, 'Ulamā by name, escaped to Turkey, and was for many years a thorn in the side of Persia. Tahmāsp is scornful of him, and says he was originally only a Yasāwal, or lictor. His father, Ismā'il, advanced him and made him Ishāk Agā, or Keeper of the Gate, and Tahmāsp made him Governor of Azarbāijān, in the year of the Leopard. At p. 16, in the description of 'Ulamā's enormities, we get a glimpse of Tahmāsp's endeavours to improve the arts and crafts of Persia. He had sent a number of girls (*kanizān*) to Tabriz to learn the art of embroidering under the craftsmen of that city, and 'Ulamā carried them off and distributed them among his followers. They were, however, recaptured.

One of the great troubles of Tahmāsp's reign was the invasions of the Turks. Solyman (Sulaimān) the Magnifi-

* Kāmran, the brother of Humāyūn, improved upon this, it was said, by declaring that the hatred should be as big as a pumpkin (Akbar-nāma, translation, i. 537).

cent entered his country four times, with the result that Western Persia was for many years almost a desert. On the whole, the land was in evil case during the sixteenth century. Persia was pressed on the north by the Uzbegs and the Turkomans, and on the west by the Turks, and all these troubles were augmented by internal dissensions and rebellions within her borders. It has often been said that the Persians are the Italians of the East, and there are some singular analogies between the characters of the Italians and the Persians, and also between the fates of the two countries. If Italy was the Niobe of nations in the West, Persia was so in the East. Her two great drawbacks have been the hostility of her neighbours and her want of rivers. Religious differences added to her sorrows, for it gave the thieving Turkomans an excuse for man-hunting raids, as they chose to say that the prohibition against enslaving Muhammadans did not apply to Shiahhs. It is only in recent times that the much-abused Russian has put a stop to the trade in human flesh.* Tahmāsp had either not the courage or had not the means to meet the Turk in the open field. The great disaster of his father at Chaldīrān in 1514 had sunk deep into his soul, and made him refuse all wager of battle. This refusal was probably in part the result of personal cowardice. His hypocritical excuse to Solyman, that he did not want to fight because the result would be to shed the blood of Muhammadans, does not tend to remove this suspicion. And yet it must be said for him that his policy of retiring before the invaders, and of making Western Persia a desert, was followed by his successor, 'Abbās the Great, who certainly cannot be accused of want of courage. 'Abbās even improved upon Tahmāsp's non-resistance policy, for he not only made the country waste, he also removed thousands of Armenians and others

* It has been well said by Major Herbert Wood, in the preface to his "The Shores of Lake Aral": "Humanity owes to Russia the cessation of brigandage and slavery, which from the earliest historical times have been the scourges of the Oxus countries."

to the interior. It is to these evil times that Milton refers when he tells how the

“Bactrian Sophi from the horns
Of Turkish Crescent leaves all waste beyond
The realm of Aladule, in his retreat
To Tauris or Casbeen.”

It must, too, be said for Tahmāsp that he felt bitterly the pang of having to abandon his country and his people to the foreign foe. The most touching passages in his Memoirs are where he laments the necessity for retreat, and curses his once beloved younger brother Ilqās for the evils which his treachery had brought upon his native land. Ilqās' conduct, indeed, was so base as to justify his execution, and the only wish we have in the matter is that Tahmāsp had avowed the deed, and not attempted, like Aurangzīb in a similar case, to ascribe Ilqās' end to a private act of retaliation.

At p. 22 Tahmāsp relates a wonderful dream which he professes to have had at a place three stages out from Herāt. He says that the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī) appeared to him, and laid three commands upon him. One was not to forget the business of a certain canal; the second was that, when he conquered Samarkand, he was to build for him there a mosque like that of the Imām Reza at Mashhad; and the third was to appoint an old servant of his father as guardian of the holy shrine. Tahmāsp also asked three questions of 'Alī about his campaign against the Uzbegs, etc., and received replies. Tahmāsp prefaces this account by saying that whatever 'Alī communicates in a dream "comes to pass." But certainly this did not happen with one of 'Alī's directions, for Tahmāsp never took Samarkand, and consequently never built a mosque there.

At p. 43 there begins a long account of Tahmāsp's younger brother Ilqās, and of the proceedings which ended in his capture and death. Tahmāsp says that he had loved him more than all his other brothers or his own children. He had even lent 250 tomans to the Saiyids of

Mashhad to say prayers for Ilqās, and promised that he would not demand back the money so long as Ilqās lived. He then discusses the question of why Ilqās turned against him, and decides that one reason was because Ilqās had misconducted himself with a boy, and was afraid that Tahmāsp would hear of this and remove the boy, and punish himself. On this account Ilqās turned rebel and fled to Turkey. This statement seems to be another version of Ilqās' story that Tahmāsp had separated him from his beloved. After this Tahmāsp expresses horror at the evils that Ilqās' treachery has brought upon his country, for he ascribes the Turkish invasion to his instigation. In a passage (p. 54) which does honour to his feelings as a sovereign, he prays to God, saying: "Thou hast said that Thou befriendest the broken-hearted. I am sorrowful and broken-hearted on account of the sufferings of the helpless peasantry. It is an occasion for mercy. Save Thy mercy, there is no other help." "Thereupon I wept much, and on the same night the saint Shaikh Shihā bu'-d-dīn appeared to me, and said: 'This day all the Shaikhs have been in prayer for thee. Undoubtedly their prayers will be heard.'" "Four days after this, His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey left Tabriz in fear and trembling, and marched homewards." Previous to this, Tahmāsp had sent for the heads of all the villages, and told them that it was necessary to burn the crops, etc., in front of the Turks. He begged them not to blame him or to imprecate evil on him for this, and promised that he would make good their losses. Later on he tells us that, though the Turks robbed the peasantry of their goods, he was careful to carry his stores of sheep and fowls and butter with him. One day, however, he went out on horseback to catch some fish, as that was a lawful thing to do. When he came to the river-bank, he saw some twenty people approaching on foot. He sent a courier to inquire who they were and where they were going. They said they were villagers, and had been plundered, and that if

they remained where they were they would die of hunger. So they were going off to Diyār-bakr (Mesopotamia). "On this, I, sitting on my horse, cursed Ilqās, and wept over their distress." In another place he finds a number of Armenian children whom his people had made prisoners. He has them put into baskets and left at the foot of a fort. At last Ilqās is delivered up by one Surkh-āb Sultān, and is conveyed to the Castle of Almūt. Six days afterwards, on a Friday, when the guards were careless (perhaps they had gone to the mosque), two or three local men, whose father had been put to death by Ilqās, took vengeance on him by flinging him over the battlements. "After his death the world was at peace, and I determined with myself that henceforth I would only war with infidels such as Georgians and Circassians" (p. 64). After this, it must have come as an unpleasant surprise to be told by his ambassador that the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs of Constantinople had decided that all the inhabitants of the East, whether soldiers, or peasants, or Musalmāns, or Armenians, or Jews, were on the same footing, and were lawful prey to the Turks, and that war against them was a holy war. "I said, 'this is a pretty decree; we who have the prayers, and the Fast, and the Pilgrimage, and the tithes, and all the other essentials of the Faith, are to be counted infidels! Let Almighty God judge between them and us!'" Some such surprise must the High Anglicans have felt when the Pope disallowed their Orders. At p. 67 *et seq.* Tahmāsp gives us some more of his dreams or visions. One that he beheld in 957 A.H. (1550) was of three moons: one in the east, one in the west, and one in the middle. The west one was very large, and the east one very small, and they were interpreted as referring to the Sultan of Turkey and 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Uzbeg. The one in the middle represented Tahmāsp. The east and west moons sank to the earth, and the middle one slowly floated down like a piece of paper in the air until it settled on the carpet where Tahmāsp was sitting. He saw another vision in

961 A.H. (1554). This was of a parti-coloured scroll in the heavens. Some of it was dust-coloured, but that in the zenith was clearer, and like the emblazoned writing which is seen on European documents. The scroll was, he says, $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and the writing on it was *Sir u nīm sir*. Colonel Phillott has found these words unintelligible, and Dr. Horn translates them by *dick und halb dick*. They are explained in the Bahār-i-‘Ajam and Vuller’s dictionaries as meaning partly crimson and partly pale red, “like the difference in greenness between the pistachio nut and grass.” Tahmāsp’s words are interesting, as they seem to show that he had scanned the letters addressed to him by Queen Elizabeth, and to his father by Charles V., though he treated Jenkinson, the Queen’s envoy, with contempt, and told him that he did not want amity with unbelievers. Anthony Jenkinson’s embassy was in 1561 (968-69 A.H.), and so took place about the time when Tahmāsp was writing his Memoirs. The ‘Alamārāi does not mention Jenkinson, but speaks of two embassies from the King of Portugal—one in 958 A.H. (1551), and the other in 982 A.H. (1574-75). Tahmāsp was displeased with this last embassy on account of the difference of religion, and of some interference with the mosques in Jarūn—that is, Ormuz—and it was not allowed to return till after his death. This happened in 984 A.H. (1576), so that the embassy must have remained at the Court for about two years. There ought to be valuable papers about this embassy in the Portuguese archives, for the envoys had plenty of time to make remarks.

At p. 74 of the Memoirs Tahmāsp tells us that the result of this Georgian campaign was the capture of 30,000 prisoners. What an amount of human misery is included in this sentence!

The Memoirs end with the story of Bayāzīd, the unfortunate younger son of Solyman the Magnificent. He quarrelled with his father and brother, rebelled and was defeated, and fled to Persia. Tahmāsp had promised that

he would not give him up to his father, and at first he treated him generously and with the lavish hospitality that he showed to the Emperor Humāyūn. But Bayāzīd would not, like Humāyūn, pretend he was a Shia, and behaved with arrogance and phlegm. The 'Alamārāi's account is that, in passing through the crowds of welcoming spectators at his entry into Qazwīn, he never once raised his eyes from between his horse's ears. The result showed that he had good reason to be gloomy, for his host surrendered him to the agents of Solyman and Salīm, and allowed them to murder Bayāzīd and his four sons in Qazwīn itself. Tahmāsp tries to excuse himself by saying that Bayāzīd behaved badly to him, and even tried to poison him by offering to him deadly sweetmeats. He says he tried these comfits on Bayāzīd's servants, and that all who were made to partake of them soon swelled up and died. But his Persian panegyrists do not support this story. He also tries to salve his conscience by telling us that he expressed a wish to the Turkish envoys that Solyman would do no injury to Bayāzīd. As we have seen, they solved the difficulty that this request might have caused by executing all five prisoners there and then. It even seems, from Tahmāsp's language, that he wanted to exonerate himself from the charge of breaking his word to Bayāzīd by the paltry quibble that he did not give him up to Solyman, but to Salīm. He also stoops to the plea that he was ill at the time, the suggestion being that he was not in a position to know that the executions took place. Evidently his motive was to secure Solyman's friendship, and to prevent his country from being further ravaged. The last motive was good, but for Tahmāsp's gross hypocrisy and lying there is no excuse. And yet such was the adulatory spirit of his courtiers that quatrains were composed, extolling Tahmāsp for his dexterity and for his good fortune in having a calamity turned into a benefit. A chronogram was composed: "Five were lessened from the number of the Ottomans." The

"number of Ottomans" yielded according to *abjad* 974, and 5 being taken from this figure, the result was 969 A.H. (1561-62), the date of the executions. "O Shāh, thy good fortune surpasses the power of thanks. By thy wisdom and justice thy people have been preserved in peace. The heads of the enemies of the Faith have been cut off without thy sword."

Tahmāsp's Memoirs end here. He reigned for many years after Bayāzīd's execution, but they were not marked by any striking events, except the conquest of Gilān, and the occurrence of plague and famine. The last occurred in 979 A.H. (1571-72), and was very severe. The author of the 'Alamārāi has a chapter on the remarkable things that happened in Tahmāsp's reign, and one of them is that wheat on one occasion fell from heaven and supplied food to the people. Sir John Malcolm refers to the tradition of this event, and describes the shower as being of manna. In 956 A.H. (1549) there was a great earthquake in the district of Qāin, and some 3,000 people were killed. This occurred within the period covered by Tahmāsp's Memoirs, but he says nothing of it. Apparently he wrote his Memoirs chiefly for the benefit of his children, and did not tell them anything that they knew otherwise. His special design was to speak to them of the war with the Turks, and of his dreams and visions. The 'Alamārāi, speaking of the earthquake, says that a certain Qāzī, who was also an astronomer, foretold it to the villagers, but they would not believe him. He then went out into the fields with his family, and stayed there till midnight. His children suffered from the cold, and at their entreaties he returned to his house, and immediately afterwards he and all his family were overwhelmed!

Tahmāsp's book of Memoirs has been very little noticed by Persian writers. Probably most of them did not know of its existence. Their silence supports the view that Tahmāsp meant the Memoirs to be a private document for the use of his children. He did, however, send a copy

to his co-religionist, the Nizām Shāh of the Deccan, or at least he gave it to his envoy Khwūr Shāh. It was to the Nizām Shāh also that he sent the Koh-i-Nūr which Humāyūn had given him. Apparently he did not know its value, or despised it as a trinket.

As regards the bibliography of the Memoirs, it appears that they have never been published separately until the Asiatic Society of Bengal did so in the present year. They were included many years ago in Teheran in a publication by Muhammad Husain Khān, the Persian Minister of Education, which he called the Matla'u-sh-shams (The Sunrising). Dr. Teufel contributed a valuable essay on them to vol. xxxvii. of the organ of the German Oriental Society in 1883, and in 1890 the late Paul Horn published an excellent edition of the text in vol. xlv. of the same work. He followed this up in 1891 by the publication at Strasburg of a German translation of the Memoirs, accompanied with useful notes. In preparing his text, Dr. Horn had the use of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's two manuscripts, which are the foundation of Colonel Phillott's edition. He also had Sprenger's copy of the Memoirs, and the Teheran lithograph.

Colonel Phillott states in his introduction that no copy of the manuscript of the Memoirs exists in the British Museum. This statement was correct at the time when Dr. Rieu's catalogue was prepared, but is not so now. The Museum has an excellent copy which once belonged to Tahmāsp's son, Muhammad Khudābanda.

YÜAN SHÍ-K'AI AND HIS TASKS ONCE MORE

BY E. H. PARKER

THE native Chinese newspapers are a dreary waste of words about personal ambitions, local rebellions, and inane arguments. Certainly the Empire was more picturesque as to individuals, and not a whit more corrupt. Still, the inherent self-governing capacity of the plain, work-a-day people enables them (except in provinces overrun by bandits) to forge ahead with their trade, education, and railways; and no general or organic failure is to be recorded of the Republic as yet, except in so far as the "young China" parliamentary aspirants for power and pelf have utterly discredited themselves and had their wings clipped pretty closely. In a word, the inert and shapeless mass goes on living, and even thriving, out of mere "'olo custom," whilst the one man with gumption continues to hold the international situation at least fairly well together. Meanwhile the unstable mud and water fault of greedy and jealous *babudom* separating these so far impregnable strata seems to be doing its best to ruin the country. It will be remembered that, from the beginning, Yüan Shí-k'ai thought it a great mistake precipitately to abolish the dynasty; not that the dynasty, already hopelessly undermined by the incorrigible eunuch and petticoat palace influence and corruption, deserved much sympathy, but

because it was, so to speak, a habit. It was an orthodox link, even if a worn and rusty one, with antiquity in the unbroken chain of history, and there was no other chain yet sufficiently ready to replace the old one. Better, said he, to work constitutionally *through* the Manchus. He (under compulsion) got rid of the dynasty at last in a loyal and generous way, and he has been loyal and generous to it ever since. Thus he is rewarded by having Manchu sympathies, and (as a last resource, if it ever comes to that) even Manchu forces on his side in case his own Chinese troops prove ineffective or insufficient. It will be noticed that, amid the general abolition of titles, the Manchu garrisons at Kwei-hwa (N. Shan S.) and Ts'ing-chou (N. Shan Tung)—not to mention innumerable places in Chih Li such as the Tombs, the Summer Palace, and so on—are not abolished, and are in many cases even left under Manchu command, with the old Manchu titles. Nothing is ever heard now of the "Banner" or Manchu populations at Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, Chinkiang, Kingchow (near Hankow), or Ch'êrztu (Sz Ch'wan). The soldier families at all these places always spoke the local dialects in addition to their own (more or less vitiated) Pekingese. Presumably, they have, like the late Mr. Bardell, "glided imperceptibly away," and quietly become a part of the ordinary local people, without any rice or money pension. Any native at a pinch can exist on five shillings a month in China, and every living person in that remarkable country is by temperament a "handy man," capable of earning at least that much, and of fending for himself as cook, tailor, etc. Even if they were all not so handy at living, in China no one makes much fuss about dying, whether it be by starvation or otherwise.

"Yüan Shī-k'ai, though successful with and trusted by the foreign diplomats, is by no means a backboneless milksop in their hands. He is that *rara avis in* (Chinese) *terris* a patriot, without being either a traitor or a partisan; an unscrupulous man (in the higher sense that Bismarck

was), without being in any way a self-seeker; a man of very easy "morals," without being exactly vicious; a shrewd and well-instructed man, without being a *grand seigneur* in manner or highly cultured in mind. The writer's own career, strange to say, has even been immediately affected by Yüan, whose manly and rugged honesty was experienced by him at first hand nearly thirty years ago. In fact, if the courtly and polished, but at the same time inane and vacuous, diplomacy of Europe had been as sensible and as honest as that of Yüan in 1886, it is quite possible, if not extremely probable, that there would have been no Sino-Japanese War in 1894, and no Russo-Japanese War in 1904. Yüan was not only able, but willing (so far as he had any say in the matter), to come to reasonable terms with both Russia and Japan at a moment when the United States were feebly represented and Great Britain was too busy, or floundering about at home in the "chow-chow water" of party changes to pay proper attention to Peking and Söul. But the chief actors in the wretched 1886 drama are dead now, and scarcely anyone survives who knows even half the truth, which Yüan at the time had the courage to write down with his own hand.

As the Chinese "blue books" (*i.e.*, Manchu Annals) for 1884-1894 are now published, it may be interesting to know what was Yüan's real position then in Corea. He *never* was "Resident" for a moment until 1887—*i.e.*, in the sense that Tibet had a Resident. He was never more than a *weiyüan* or removable "deputy" under Li Hung-chang, Viceroy at Tientsin, to whose exclusive care the foreign affairs of Corea were contemptuously intrusted by the Dowager and the Emperor's father, subject, of course, to his own memorializing the Throne in international or critical cases. Corea was left by Li Hung-chang absolutely independent to manage her own affairs, as she had from time immemorial been left. Thus in December, 1884, Yüan wired through Li about the attempted assassination of Min Yong-ik and the murders of other Corean Ministers.

Yüan was, in 1887, allowed to call himself a trade and diplomacy *ta-ch'ên* (*i.e.*, person of ministerial rank) in his correspondence with foreigners, but he always to the last had to "petition" Li Hung-chang as a petty subordinate masquerading for special purposes *in partibus infidelium* to "get face" with foreigners. At the end of April, 1887, Yüan recommended T'ang Shao-i, his assistant (then an obscure expectant of nearly the very lowest or the eighth nominal rank), for his services in connection with foreigners (*i.e.*, amongst other things the *fâcheuse situation* of 1886 above alluded to), and in September a decree was issued by the Emperor approving Yüan's view, wired to Peking by Li, that Corea should not be allowed to send envoys abroad except with Chinese approval. Li specially mentions what British advice had been confidentially given to Yüan on that occasion. At the end of September, 1889, Yüan warned Peking (through Li of course) of an attempt to get at the King, and to bribe the Peking Board of Rites to dispense with the usual tribute missions (inferentially, of course, at Japanese suggestion). In October, 1890, Yüan was censured by the Emperor (through Li) for suggesting that the Korean "condolence envoy" had wired to the King from China an incorrect and abbreviated version of the Emperor's gracious decree. Perhaps Yüan had reason to suspect such tamperings from his 1886 experiences. At the end of September, 1892, on his way back from home leave, Yüan stayed at Tientsin for a day or two and concocted a plan with Li Hung-chang for "squaring the Germans," who had been inducing the King to squander Korean money on useless steamers. China arranged a 6 per cent. loan (in the name of Chinese "merchants," not of the Chinese officials) in order to enable the Koreans to pay off the inconvenient Germans. Interest at 6 per cent. was charged, not because Li wanted it, but because Yüan said the Koreans *must* be made to pay, or else they would *go on* borrowing and squandering again. In June, 1894, the King, alarmed by the Tonghak (*i.e.*, "Eastern School," or

Japanese parts) rebellion in Chōlla province, got Yuan to wire to China for troops to quell the rebellion. China, in sending troops at this urgent request, duly notified Japan through the Chinese envoy there (in accordance with a previous agreement with Japan). But Japan did not quite see things in that light; she sent troops too (in accordance with her view of the same treaty). The Tonghaks were soon defeated by the Chinese, but the situation was now a "tiger-riding" one for China, as the Japanese troops "ordered China to go." Li said to the Emperor, "We must either go on with the war vigorously," or "we must withdraw our army and send it back by steamers at once." Li himself thought the latter course more "correct." The Emperor did not want open war, and yet he did not like to "show weakness" by withdrawing troops before the Japanese did. He wanted simultaneous withdrawal. Whilst the Chinese Government were thus hesitating, the Japanese Generals were defeating the incompetent Chinese Commanders. On July 25 the Japanese men-of-war sank a Chinese transport under British flag as it was hurrying over with reinforcements; 700 Chinese soldiers were drowned.

This was the class of work Yuan had to do in Corea from 1884 to 1894, and thus in a way was sealed the fate of the Manchu dynasty. It made several spirited spurts, both before and after the "Boxer" fiasco of 1900, and even after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5; but it was really the Japanese War of 1904 that destroyed the dynasty and roused the Chinese national feeling. It was the "shrewdness" of Li Hung-chang in giving notice to the Japanese that troops *had* been sent, instead of giving notice to them *before* they were sent, that really caused that war. Thus perished all Yuan Shi-k'ai's schemes in Corea for his country's good; and it is thus that the man who ultimately had a hand in saving the Manchu dynasty from ignominious butchery had also a hand, if an unconscious one, in encompassing its destruction.

What Yüan Shī-k'ai has to do now whilst his conceited and foolish countrymen—especially the southerners—are wrangling about "rights," "liberty," "constitutions," and indulging in other fanfaronades innumerable, is to save for the Republic as much as he can of the external situation. The internal situation is dangerous enough, in all conscience; but it can wait, for a few million Chinese raped and butchered in cold blood is a matter of minor importance from the point of view of Chinese main interests compared with foreign menaces and the murder of a single foreigner in hot blood. Manchuria is irretrievably gone so far as China is concerned. It may suit the Russians and the Japanese for the present to leave the three Chinese *tutuks* to amuse themselves by "administering" North, Central, and South Manchuria; but the rival railway systems are the true *tutuks*, and the matter must ultimately be arranged between the Russians and the Japanese. It is to be hoped that they will have the good sense to settle their respective rights by honest and straightforward negotiations, in friendly "conversation" with Great Britain, and not allow other interested Powers to weaken them and their respective friends or allies by involving them in a wasteful war. Both America and Germany had better keep out of the mess, which only concerns them remotely. America's experiences in Korea are an example of how little mere "moral" force counts for. Meanwhile Yuan Shī-k'ai is doing the best he can to establish a new province in Inner Mongolia, west of Manchuria, with T'ao-nan Fu as its northern centre. It is not against the true interests of either Russia or Japan that China should strengthen herself here, or that American capital should be employed here. It is only natural that China should protect herself by running this wedge up between the desert and Manchuria; if she did not, this new province would be a swooping ground for the Mongols, and instead of becoming a useful buffer to China against all three, would inevitably become,

sooner or later, the battlefield of Russian and Japanese ambitions. As to Northern Mongolia, there is no use talking about it now—it has gone for ever so far as the Chinese are concerned; it is only a question of *when* it may suit Russia to move in as formal masters. It is to be hoped that she will have the good sense not to weaken herself, but to keep quiet until the European situation becomes easier and clearer; she is bound to need all her men and all her money in Europe within the next few years. But, even supposing her hands were free, it depends upon her own self-restraint and good sense in humouring and not browbeating the Mongols whether she is to have a million splendid and willing properly trained horsemen at her command, or whether she is to waste her resources—as the Chinese have done over and over again—in pursuing these mobile and elusive nomads over their own trackless and waterless deserts. Northern Mongolia never at any time really belonged to China, or was directly ruled by China. So far as it has, since 1650, *seemed* to be part of the Chinese Empire, it was entirely owing to the combined prowess and prudence of the pure Manchus. The special and exclusive Manchu lien on Mongolia has now been rashly severed. The Mongols knew the Manchus, and did not know the Chinese—*i.e.*, they knew and acknowledged considerate aristocratic masters with many favours to bestow, but always suffered at the hands of usurious Chinese trespassers, traders, and squatters with plebeian ideas of honour and courtesy.

As to Tibet, the situation is much the same as with Mongolia. Tibet knew the Manchus as tolerant masters, often their protectors; as, for instance, 150 years ago against Nepal. They like Chinese tea, and will continue to have it, whatever may happen politically, for the Assam tea does not hit it off; but they loathe the Chinese trader, mandarin squeezer, and usurer. European, especially British, sympathy might well be with the Manchu dynasty, as indeed it was in spite of its shifty incompetence during

the Indian Expedition of 1904. And when the brilliant surprise conquests of Chao Êrh-fêng (who, of course, learnt a thing or two about Tibetan weakness from the British conquest) landed his lieutenant one fine morning unexpectedly in Lhasa, there was every chance for China to re-establish a reasonable suzerainty. But the whole Tibetan question, which has now been complicated by the P'ien-ma question, is now being threshed out at Simla, an ideal spot for keeping the ubiquitous press correspondent, Chinese or other, at arm's length—consequently we must "wait and see." As to Sikkim and Bhotan, the Chinese "blue books" for 1874 to 1908 are now published, and it is made abundantly clear that (though Tibet had certain customary and purely complimentary relations with these buffer States, *never* in the least interfering with their internal government) China at no time, Manchu time or other, had the slightest direct claim to influence over either of those two States, and their rulers *never* received "seal and sash" or vassal "title" from the Manchu Emperor. Moreover, the Manchu (or Mongol) Resident, Shêngt'ai, who put up such a good diplomatic fight with British India over twenty years ago, tells the Emperor plainly in his voluminous correspondence that the Tibetan claims to Lingtu and other places in Sikkim were fraudulent, and the result of concocted maps; moreover, that the British claims were reasonable, that Captain Bower was a just man, even to the prejudice of his own personal interests, and that *Lan-sz-tun* himself (Lord Lansdowne) turned out to be a "very good sort of fellow" when visited at Calcutta by the Resident in person.

The "P'ien-ma question" just alluded to really means the right to the control of the Upper Irrawaddy, which runs down (from the Snowy Mountains of Tsarong in Tibet) in two main branches, called (in the Kachin language of Upper Burma) the Malikha and the Nmaikha, which join together a few miles above the new North Burma

Deputy Commissionership centre of Myitkina to form the Ta Kin-sha (Great Golden Sand), or Irrawaddy. Curiously enough, the Chinese also call part of the Upper Yangtze in that latitude the Kin-sha, or "Golden Sand." The Salween and Mékong Rivers run down from Tibet into Burma and the Shan States *between* these two rival "Golden Sands," and when we took Upper Burma in 1885-86, neither we, nor the Chinese, nor, in fact, anyone else, exactly knew where the head waters of the Nmaikha were, and whether the Upper Salween was one of the Brahmaputra branches, or was in some mysterious way connected with the Nmaikha. However, in 1895 Prince Henry of Orleans, who crossed the whole of these six rivers from east to west, established clearly that the source of the Nmaikha *must* of necessity be in the lofty mountains clearly visible about fifty or sixty miles north of the point (about Lat. 27°40') where he crossed it. It was reserved for the charming *raconteur*, M. Jacques Bacot, in 1909, when travelling along a small by-road, actually to stumble across the first icy tricklings of the Nmaikha as it emerged from the glacier in the Lagen La, at a height of 16,000 to 17,000 feet above the level of the sea, as nearly as possible n Lat. 28°40'. It did not strike him until the next day that the mysterious and elusive river he was then following at different moments was the same as the insignificant rill he had struck the day before; still less that it was the long-sought-for extreme source of the Nmaikha. But it was, and this extreme source is known locally as the K'iu River, or River of the K'iu aborigines, where Captain Pritchard was drowned. It is also called the Tarong, and it runs down through independent "savage" territory, being separated all the way down its course from the Salween by a continuous lofty, precipitous mountain range, known to the Chinese as the Kaolikung, which range thus forms an absolutely natural and perfect boundary between British Burma and Yün Nan province, crossed by no Chinese trade route north of Tali Fu (unless it be a salt-smugglers' road

from Wei-si). The Salween takes its rise in Tibet, but a small branch of the Salween takes its rise a short distance west and even a trifle south of the Nmaikha-Irrawaddy source, but on the other or Tibetan side of the heights, at a place called Tila La; that is, this unlooked-for Salween branch sweeps north-eastwards *around* the source of the Eastern Irrawaddy, thus explaining clearly why the Upper Salween and the Upper Irrawaddy have always been confused together by occasional travellers in those remote regions. Captain Bailey went over much the same ground in 1911, but he passed south-west of the Lagen La source, and never saw it, as he followed yet another small source of the Nmaikha, called the Tarawan.

Besides the Chinese "blue books" (Manchu Annals), which record the negotiations touching the Burmese frontier between 1885 and 1908, and more especially those between Lord Rosebery and the Chinese Minister, Sieh Fuh-ch'êng in 1894, there is also full information to be gained from the native Chinese press which has quite recently published a *précis* of the whole Sino-British correspondence concerning the Hpi-maw or P'ien-ma question, including all the more important personal interviews at Peking with Sir Claude Macdonald, Sir Ernest Satow, Mr. Max Müller, Sir John Jordan, etc., and giving full particulars as to names of places, tribes, etc., in the contested Nmaikha region. P'ien-ma chief village itself (there are really five of them) is a little north (Lat. 26) of the direct high road from Ta-li Fu, across the Mékong and Salween rivers to the country of the Lissu "savages," and to a small river (tributary to the Nmaika, flowing east-north-east into it), called the Ngaw-chang Kha, or the Chinese Siao Kiang. The Chinese have always been anxious to possess navigation rights, even if only for "face" sake, over the Nmaikha, and thus over the main Irrawaddy down to Rangoon. But, just south of the above-mentioned Tali Fu high road, the Kaoli Kung range throws off a spur to the west, sometimes called the *Kaoliang*

Kung. The Chinese attempt to juggle diplomatically with this word and *Kaoli Kung*. All the maps, Chinese, Burmese, and European, mark the Sino-Burmese frontier, including the historical frontier gates, as being south of or at this *Kaoliang Kung* (or *Kaoli Kung* branch) watershed, which watershed divides off the *Nmaikha* from the admittedly Chinese Upper *Shwe-li*, Upper *Taping*, and Upper "*Tahor*" rivers. Moreover, every one of the Peking negotiators on both sides seems to have overlooked the important fact that Article 12 of the *Rosebery-Sieh Treaty* of 1894 expressly stipulated that, in return for certain British concessions in the *Wan-ting* and *Kokan* region (south-west of *Bhamo*), the Chinese would withdraw all claim to the "interstitial territory" (*K'ih-ti*) outside the *Momein* frontier—*i.e.*, precisely all claim to the *P'ien-ma* aboriginal district they are making such a fuss about now. The *Yun Nan* Viceroy, *Li King-hi*, nephew of *Li Hung-chang*, was the man who, to Prince *K'ing's* disgust, raised the great *P'ien-ma* hullaballoo in 1910-11. He was, however, summarily ejected by the republicans in the winter of 1911-12, and escaped via *Tonguin* to Japan. He is now *Yuan Shi-k'ai's* President of the Government Council, and also President of various other schemes at Peking—undoubtedly a very able and persistent man. Probably it is he who has sent all the correspondence about *P'ien-ma* to the native press, in order that Mr. *Ivan Chên* (*Ch'ên I-fan*, the Chinese Commissioner at *Simla*) might have his hands strengthened by "public opinion"; but there is no public opinion on the subject in China apart from the traders of *Ta-li Fu* and *Momein* (*i.e.*, the treaty-"port" of *T'êng-yüeh*). Moreover, the whole population of the Upper *Salween*, even in *Li-kiang Fu* and other genuinely Chinese places, consists of Tibetans, *Shans* (*Minkia*), *Mossus* (a peaceful Tibetoid tribe, with a hieroglyphical literature of their own), and *Lissus* (robber tribes mostly), none of whom do any caravan trade with the *Irrawaddy* basin. The chief danger to British India, if we

are foolish enough to give way, is the activity of the French in the Atuntse, Yetche, and general Upper Mékong region, where both travellers and missionaries are very industriously working. What with French railways and French "destiny" along the Mékong, they are certain sooner or later to make Franco-Chinese economic claims, unless we keep "all hands off" the Kaolikung watershed right up to Tibet.

Here, then, we have set before us Yuan Shi-k'ai's tasks in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet, quite apart from the internal troubles caused by "White Wolf"; the personal dissensions amongst his own chosen lieutenants; the selfish intrigues of the crazy Canton cabal headed by Hwang Hing and Sun Yat-sen; the obstacles placed in the way of Sir R. Dane by the local governments; the eager offers of money by syndicates "on the make"; the instability of all the armies; the tightness of money; the hesitancy on the part of the provinces to send revenue to Peking; and the clamourings of offended Powers for "compensation" and "satisfaction." Truly the poor man has his task before him with a vengeance. But, like Lord Salisbury the elder when he shut himself up to work in peace and quietness at Hatfield, he says: "A man can only do a certain amount of work a day;" and, again like old Lord Salisbury, he bravely attempts to accomplish day by day what little he can, ignoring the howls of the *profanum vulgus* outside.

THE INDIAN PERIL

BY IGNOTUS

UNDER this heading the *Times* has recently published a series of articles. The sub-heading of the last, which appeared on December 23, is "Duty and Policy of the Government." The writer emphasizes the necessity for combating any appearance of weakness in the British Raj. More especially is this of supreme importance in all that appertains to the administration of justice. Nor does he entertain any doubt as to the forces that are really hostile. "There is ample scope," he assures us, "for work which will benefit and uplift the toiling millions, but will never be pressed and may be strongly opposed by the lawyer politicians who pose as friends of the people." Considering the great and increasing influence of the legal caste in our Eastern dependency, the forecast that they will prefer their own interest to that of the toiling millions is very likely to be justified, and is all the more disquieting because they pose as friends of the people. Well we know that pose! It comes from the West. We recognize the voice of the Bar Council. They strenuously opposed the County Courts Bill (which was so ably supported by Lord Loreburn, Lord Gorell, and others) on the ground that "it would reduce the efficiency of the Bar in the service of the public." That is the sort of service which Mephistopheles

rendered to Faust.* The author of the article is outspoken as to the outcome of the veiled hostility of the lawyer politician. "There are parts of India," he tells us, "in which the primary duty of guarding life and property is not now adequately discharged, and some native states can show a higher standard of security than some British districts."

The explanation of this disastrous condition is immediately forthcoming; it is the true inwardness of the Indian peril: "The judicial system urgently needs to be overhauled. Established with the best of intentions, it operates in certain respects with real hardship upon a natural litigious people easily exploited by the superfluity of pleaders, and it too often fails to secure justice. 'Inexplicable acquittals,' wrote our most acute foreign critic, 'encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race.'"

The authority to whom the writer of the *Times'* article gives this testimonial is M. Joseph Chailley, member of the French Chamber of Deputies. There is an admirable translation of his work, "Administrative Problems of British India," by Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E. A careful perusal of Chapters IV. and V.—and they are the most important portion of a great work—will convince any unprejudiced reader that India has found in M. Chailley not only a remarkably acute, but a very friendly critic.† While admitting that we have made colossal errors, he says: "One is led to ask whether any other nation would have done better, or would even have sought to avoid the mistakes committed."

Our critic's prediction that things would grow worse has been realized to the letter. The subject is deserving of fuller treatment than was accorded to it in the leading journal. The history of the process under whose influence

* "Moi, je suis Méphisto,
Serviteur fidèle" (*Le Petit Duc*).

† An interesting article by this gentleman appears on page 17 of "Truths about India."

upright and honourable men can be found to pervert the function of the judge and countenance inexplicable acquittals which encourage crime and ruin the prestige of the dominant race, is assuredly a question of paramount interest. It betokens an insidious peril of no common order; a debilitating atmosphere; a deceptive environment.

Our author is lavish in praise of our untiring efforts to provide India with adequate Codes. And rarely, indeed, have lawgivers been confronted with a task presenting such vast and varied difficulties. "After the difficulty of enacting good laws," says our author, "comes the difficulty of finding good judges; and that is one of the most delicate problems which a ruling country has to deal with in a dependency." Home predilections in the form of infatuation for the jury system are a fertile source of uncertainty, delay and appeals. "A jury's opinion has to be accepted, unless the judge thinks fit to submit the case to the High Court, or other principal court of the province. Juries vary in number from three to nine, and it is often difficult to procure good and impartial juries, especially in cases where the accused is a Brahman, or a person of high position."

It is well known and thoroughly understood among our Continental neighbours that the greatest encouragement to litigation is uncertainty. When that condition prevails, a reference to a court of law assumes the attractive character of a gambling transaction. The worst possible cause has a chance of winning. The increase of litigation in India is a portentous feature. "In 1877 the tribunals of British India had to deal with 1,400,000 suits; in 1901 the total number of suits was 2,200,000. Nor are these large figures due to litigants receiving encouragement in the shape of facility and cheapness of procedure." On the contrary, fees are inordinately high; but the fact does not counterbalance the fascination of a game in which everyone hopes to win. "The complicated procedure which was formerly confined to the principal courts of the older provinces, has now penetrated everywhere, and brings with it complicated and

dilatory formalities which are regularly enforced by the judiciary. Macaulay, when he was in India, described the Supreme Court of Calcutta as the most costly in the world; and the costs of justice throughout British India are still very heavy. On every suit that comes before the courts the Government levies duties in the shape of stamp fees, which amount to from 6 to 8 per cent. *ad valorem*; so that with pleaders' fees and other costs the litigants must pay from 12 to 13 per cent."

Here we may well ask how it comes that the Government of India has nothing to learn from the valuable experience of our French and German neighbours, who have proved beyond the possibility of doubt that it is the certainty of the incidence of judicial decisions which tends to diminish litigation even when the courts are accessible to a degree unimagined in this country or in India. Cheapness does not encourage litigation, nor does great expense diminish it against other countervailing attractions. Our system has the twofold vice of excluding the poor but honest suitor and attracting the rich oppressor. Notwithstanding patent facts well known to all the world, such is the ascendancy of the legal profession in this country and in India that an exploded heresy is still accepted as orthodox doctrine. "The Government," says our author, "consoles itself for its relative powerlessness by the idea that dear justice prevents suits, and those of its officers who come into contact with the people are recommended to make them understand that litigation is ruinous and should be avoided." The people do not accept this reasoning, and an opinion is being gradually formed which is by no means favourable to British justice. "It is not the usurers," it is said, "who are ruining the country, but the courts with their fees, their pleaders, and their procedure. Matters have been arranged in the interest of the rich* whose

* "By these dilatory and expensive proceedings the wealthy litigant obtains more certain advantage than he could hope for from the accidental corruption of a judge" (Gibbon).

money can insure them the best lawyers and a favourable judgment." So much for the profound demoralization produced under the ægis of Government by the money test.

Another factor which aggravates the mischief by fomenting litigation and increasing appeal is our letter-worship : our enslavement to correct form in disregard of substantial justice. Exactly a century before our author's sojourn in India, we find the elder Mill putting this statement on record : "Although we possess force sufficient to exterminate every human being in a district where dacoit robberies are rampant, it is impossible to obtain convictions owing to the loopholes found by lawyers." It is lamentable to note that in the year 1910 this grave statement is recorded by our author : "The following figures for the Punjab show the increasing proportion of persons condemned to death by the Lower Courts who were acquitted by the Chief Court there. In 1867 the percentage was only 4 ; in 1880 it was 7 ; but in 1900 it had reached 14." The means of egress from the legal net can no longer be described as meshes, nor even loopholes. They are folding doors that open outwards under the slightest pressure. A trifling defect of form in the indictment or procedure is sufficient to secure acquittal. Our author continues : "A very intelligent native magistrate in the west of India wrote as follows, in March 1900, on the subject of offences which the official report on the administration of justice had classed as undetected : 'It is only technically that such cases can be classed as undetected, for the people know perfectly well who has committed these crimes and for what motive.'" The High Court sustains the objections of the Bar : throws out indictments that are defective in the smallest particular and orders acquittals and fresh trials right and left. The consequence is that, "the inferior tribunals, in turn, set up like exigencies, with the result that criminals profit and public security is menaced. The magistrates, and especially the native magistrates, are indignant ; and the executive, at any rate in the more

advanced provinces, asks for remedies. It is supported in this by the bulk of native opinion but not by the Babus, by the men of the University and the Bar, or by the Radical party in England ; and the evil will consequently increase."

Considering that Calcutta is second only to London as a stronghold of the Bar, the prediction was eminently safe ; and as we have remarked above, it has been justified to the letter. The progressive demoralization has been alarming. On July 23 1912, we find the leading journal declaring that : " The working of the Chartered High Courts of India, and more particularly of the Calcutta High Court, has been a secret ulcer in the Indian administration for more than a century. And nowhere have the symptoms been more virulent than in Calcutta." The nearer the citadel of the Bar, the farther from justice.

When we are told by a responsible writer in the leading journal that " some native states can show a higher standard of security than certain British districts," it is surely time to rid our minds of cant and our atmosphere of the incense which is such a marked feature of all great occasions when Bench and Bar fall on each other's necks and proclaim the unequalled excellence of English justice. Our judicial system, says the writer of the article on " The Indian Peril," stands in urgent need of being overhauled. Our most acute foreign critic has little hope of improvement ; on the contrary, he is pessimistic. " To-day," he says, " the Government would condemn itself and all that it has done for the last fifty years, if it were to simplify the procedure which it has deliberately evolved, while it would at once rouse the strong opposition of the most vocal element in the population, the lawyers and the so-called educated classes. . . . The High and Chief Courts have stereotyped a jurisprudence which rests on the strict and literal interpretation of the law. In the older provinces this evil is irremediable : legality and formalism have triumphed, and the people are resigned."

There we perceive the Indian variety of the " strict con-

structionism " which is responsible for the appalling lawlessness of the United States. This is a recent description of existing conditions by a high authority : " It is startling to hear American statesmen who have held posts of supreme responsibility passionately denouncing the administration of criminal law as a disgrace to their country."* Not less startling is it when we find competent observers, like those cited above, declaring that our prestige is being ruined by grave judicial defects in India.

" Strict constructionism " is a disease of law which originated in this country. It is still rampant here, but it occasions little comment. Under other skies it has become a dangerous instrument, which is being manipulated for our discomfiture. No moral stigma attaches to its indulgence. It is an intellectual ailment from which the most upright and honourable men enjoy no immunity. According to the late Mr. Lecky, " there is a sort of mind that grows so enamoured of the subtleties and technicalities of the law that it delights in the unexpected and unintended results to which they lead. I have heard an English judge say of another long deceased, that he had, through this feeling, a positive pleasure in injustice." Our readers will suggest that this is an extreme case. We agree, but the environment producing the extreme is obviously most prejudicial to a keen sense of justice ; and we may be excused for regarding its average product with profound mistrust. The environment is that of the Bar. The Bar in India is resolutely, unalterably opposed to simplifying and cheapening procedure. " Strict constructionism " is the chief asset of the Bar. The whole miscellany of uncertainties, blunders, defects of form, increase gambling chances and bring grist to the Bar. " The heads of the Bar," M. Chailley tells us, " make great fortunes and may earn up to Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000 a month in a city like Calcutta or Bombay, while even in places of less importance their earnings are large enough to give point to the saying

* Lord Morley's " Notes on Politics and History," 1913.

of the peasants of the Punjab that there are three great eaters of the profits of the land: the Treasury, the money-lender, and the lawyer."

Nor must it be imagined that the arrangement of our judicial system depends upon the evidence of two witnesses: an anonymous writer and a foreign observer. There is a cloud of witnesses of undoubted authority. Our space will only permit us to call three. The first in order of date is Mr. Carstairs, I.C.S., the author of "*The Little World of an Indian District Officer*" (1912). "A most discouraging feature," he explains, "is our singular want of success in getting anyone punished for the crime of dacoity. We had a judge prone to acquit. If I remember rightly, he acquitted in every case sent up except one, and in the one case where he convicted the accused were let off on appeal to the High Court. . . . When we saw the reasons for acquittal, it did seem as if no mortal evidence would have satisfied the Higher Courts. . . . Dacoity went on, impunity emboldened criminals, and the crimes ceased to be reported. For what did a reported case mean? To the victim, trouble and no satisfaction; to the police officer, a bad mark for a crime undetected, or for a case sent up and acquitted; to the committing magistrate, the disgrace of having believed evidence he ought not to have believed. The victims and the police, then, were alike interested in suppressing the facts, so that we might have—and I think we sometimes had—tranquillity on paper and a reign of terror in the villages."

Can we wonder at the increase of lawlessness and the powerlessness of police and magistrates under a system where the Bench (one in training, sentiment, and sympathy with the Bar, its progenitor) orders acquittals wholesale if Western chicane and Oriental astuteness can find a flaw in the indictment, an oversight in the procedure, or a contradiction in a witness's evidence? The Indian Peril proceeds from a régime of sophists.

"The authority of the Indian Civil Service has been

partly undermined by the Calcutta High Court," wrote Sir Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the *Times* of October 7.

"The courts are but collecting-agencies for money-lenders. The people despise them." That is the opinion of Mr. Fielding Hall after a lengthy sojourn in India, given in the *Nineteenth Century* for October.

In these untoward phenomena one and all, we perceive the effacement of the Bench and the proportionate strengthening of the Bar. Sir Henry Cotton, K.C.S.I., is under no illusion on this point. We find him writing in the October number of the *Contemporary*, "The Bar in India is daily becoming stronger than the Bench." Precisely the same phenomenon is observed in the United States. The Bar is quietly devouring its unreluctant children.

The testimony of all these unimpeachable witnesses indicates beyond the possibility of doubt that the Indian Peril is due largely, if not chiefly, to the grave defects of a judicial system which keeps this country—its home—a full century and a half behind our Continental neighbours in all that conduces to the cheapness, certainty, and accessibility of justice, and which is producing in the United States—the land of its adoption—disastrous results bearing the strongest possible analogy to those observed in our Eastern dependency.

These defects are, briefly, a mistaken attachment to the jury system; high court fees, which render justice inaccessible to those who most need protection, and offer overwhelming temptations to unjust, oppressive, and gambling litigants; a Bar-trained Bench, indefensible in theory, a mode of recruiting the judiciary condemned by practical experience. It is unnecessary to labour the outstanding and inevitable outcome, "a waxing Bar, a waning Bench," with all that such a condition connotes in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. As regards this country, one feature may be mentioned. Our

backwardness in legal matters as compared with our neighbours is directly traceable to the common interest—the vested interest—of Bar and Bench. As thus: the Bar naturally makes a fetish of Common Law and is unalterably opposed to an adequate scheme of codification, the great cheapening influence among our neighbours; the Bar endeavours continually to raise the scale of fees and succeeds to its heart's desire. When we are reminded that the natural proclivities of the Bar must not be visited upon the Bench, which is absolutely neutral and stands above all such manœuvres in icy aloofness, we are constrained to point out that a conclusive answer to this objection is the state of our legal chaos at this moment. *The traders of one generation who opposed codification and made a corner in justice were the judges of the next generation.* Those who oppose codification to-day are judges to-morrow. In this way a minimum of progress with a maximum of regard for the vested interest of the Bar is assured, and our legal system is doomed to relative, if not absolute stagnation. The true criterion of progress is not a reference to conditions which Lord Brougham denounced as the worst in Europe, but the notable advance made by our neighbours, whose garnered experience our legal mandarins affect to despise.

The Indian Peril is indubitably grave. But it is notorious that our public can only think of one subject at a time. And the Home Rule question leaves little thought for any other. Moreover, the public apathy to legal subjects at home is wellnigh insurmountable. Hence a worthy measure of attention to such subjects as affecting India is out of the question even were surrounding circumstances more favourable. For vested interest, however, the opportunity is tempting. Symptoms are not wanting that a strong movement is being engineered with the cry, "Complete Separation of Judicial from Executive Functions." This slogan has just that appearance of consistency which masks its real purpose. That purpose is to throw

the blame of the present discontent on the alleged defective legal knowledge of those occupants of the Bench who are not under the ægis of the Inns of Court. As these Inns are now the effective Government of this country, there is no little probability of this movement achieving success even in the face of the experience of ourselves and the equal and opposite experience of our neighbours. A few fuglemen of the Bar are already recommending a course which will aggravate the Indian Peril. Their remedy is well known to the toper. It is "a hair of the dog that bit him."

A JAPANESE CONCEPTION OF TRUTH

BY FELIX RUDOLPH

KINZE RINGE HARAI came
 From Japan's far distant land,
 To Chicago's city sent,
 By his brethren's fond command,
 To the world's great Parliament
 Of Religions sitting there,
 Where he found, together met,
 Eager each therein to share,
 Men of varied race and creed,
 Each one meeting some soul's need.

II

Long and eloquently spake
 Of his people's ways, and then
 Said the world misjudged them sore,
 When it deemed his countrymen
 Worshipped gods their hands had made—
 Finished thus his glowing speech :
 " As regards man's differing faiths,
 I will tell you what we teach
 By a simile so clear,
 All may understand who hear.

III

“When the moon’s pale radiance falls
Softly o’er earth’s sleeping face,
And old ocean, lovingly,
Folds her in a fond embrace,
Watchers, dotted on the shore,
Gazing seawards, from the strand,
Each will see a path of light,
Face the spot where he may stand,
Right athwart the waters thrown,
Broadening outwards, like a cone.

IV

“And, because each only sees
Just one rippling, radiant ray,
Like a shaft of shimmering sheen,
O’er the darkened waters play,
He thinks all else sunk in shade ;
Loudly to his fellow calls,
‘ Brother, why stay in the dark ?
Here alone the moonlight falls ;
Here alone, along with me,
You the moonlit waves may see.’

“Inland, on a lofty peak,
Gazing, from its height, below,
Stands one watching, and he sees
All the watery plane aglow,
Glittering with reflected light.
And he knows the moonbeans fall
Not in isolated rays
Here and there, but over all
Ocean’s rugged, restless space,
Lighting it with silvery grace.

VI

" These views, seen by differing eyes,
Seen from varied standpoints too,
Cannot *one* of them be false ;
All are relatively true.
Most times low upon the shore,
Bathed in its own special ray,
Rarely can the soul take wing
To some Pisgah far away,
Whence it sees with raptured sight
All rays merged in one great light."

THE ANDAMAN PENAL SYSTEM

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART., C.I.E.,

Formerly Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

I HAVE frequently had occasion during the last twenty years to discourse publicly on the Penal System at the Andamans, and my excuse for returning once more to the subject is that I understand that the system is again in the melting-pot, owing to ideas as to the treatment of the convict which have been vigorously propounded of late, and are, by reason of novelty, thought to be the best by only too many people. It seems to me, therefore, to be opportune to look back once again into the history of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair, and consider the growth of the system it represents.

There are certain things which the man in the street—urged thereto in democratic countries by his voting power—thinks he is qualified to do without any training. Such are the control of public affairs, the conduct of war, the administration of public services, and so on, and last but not least for the present purpose the management of prisoners and convicts. Every now and then he rises in his multitudes and takes up a subject of this kind with an enthusiasm which is often born of some opinion or view fashionable for the time being, and in the ardour of his pursuit thereof he invariably throws experience and history overboard, because of his hurry to do good. Convicts, being a perfectly helpless portion of humanity,

are peculiarly exposed to the consequences of the fads of the day, and it is probably not generally realized how entirely dependent on temporarily current popular ideas is the sort of time that any given convict has during his period of incarceration.

As one who has had the responsible charge of Port Blair for ten years, and has for an equal period since retirement kept up an interest in convict systems, I have watched many plans proposed and partially carried out on the body of the convict, and cannot help wondering, as I go over the experiments in my mind, how many of them are likely to have been beneficial. Very few of them seem to the student of experience to have been based on an historical knowledge of the subject. I do not claim to be any longer behind the scenes, but I understand that certain philanthropic representations have been impressed on the Government of India to an extent sufficient to make it dissatisfied with the whole existing penal system of the country, including that of Port Blair, as being insufficiently reformatory. So there is likely to be a fresh effort to introduce a system that shall, while recognizing that there are irreclaimables, make the bad good and the good better; the irreclaimables being graded off into degrees of irreclaimability. All this means that the notions of some one or other of the modern reforming schools of criminologists has got a grip on the official mind, and the school is to be given a chance of having its wicked way at the expense of the Port Blair convict. I say its "wicked" way advisedly, because students with practical experience know that criminology as a science is still in that dangerous condition, in which theories are being threshed out previous to getting into a fit state for practical application. Indeed, the extremely doubtful value of the present theories of the reforming criminologists has lately been well brought out in a new level-headed work on the subject—Heinrich Oppenheimer's "*Rationale of Punishment*."

However all this may be, the point for the present purpose is that if the Government has become obsessed with the idea of reform in a particular direction, it will proceed with the reform, whatever experts and experienced thinkers may say, and all that is possible practically is to try and bring certain matters to its notice. It is, therefore, worth while, on the part of those who care to think over such matters, before swelling the hazy crowd which form what all governments love to call "public opinion," to dwell for a while on the history of Port Blair and its system. They can then see what good there is, from the reformatory point of view of the situation, in the existing penal system ; how long it has been in existence ; what measure of success it has attained ; and what justification there is for drastic change.

Let me commence my remarks on these points with a little history. The Andaman Penal System is *sui generis*, has grown up on its own lines, and has been gradually adapted to the requirements of a penal settlement covering a large area of grazing and arable lands, swamps, dense forests, considerable hills, large harbours and inlets of the sea, in which are situated villages for ticket-of-leave convicts, ex-convicts, and free persons, as well as convict-stations, workshops, and gaols. This system has also been independent of, and was never at any time based on, the Indian prison system, and has been continually under development for over a hundred years. The fundamental principles on which the system is founded are now substantially what they were originally, and have stood the criticism, the repeated examination, and the modifications in detail of a century, without material alteration.

By direct unbroken historical descent the governing principles of the modern Andaman Penal System are derived from those of the Straits Settlements, which in their turn were those of the old Indian penal settlements system. This last was in its inception a new departure in the treatment of prisoners, its salient features being still

those of the Andamans—viz., the employment of convicts in any place desired on any and every kind of labour necessary to a self-supporting community, their control by convicts selected from amongst themselves, and permission to marry and settle down in the Penal Settlement after a given period. It arose thus : Indian convicts were at first transported to Bencoolen, in Sumatra, in 1787 to develop that place, then under the Indian Government. At Bencoolen the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, drew up a despatch in 1818 to the Government, explaining the principles he had already successfully adopted for their management, and in 1823 he sent the Government a copy of his Regulations. In 1825 Bencoolen was ceded to the Dutch, and the convicts there were transferred to Penang and Singapore. Sir Stamford Raffles took his Bencoolen Rules for the Management of Convicts with him, and these, with modifications, were applied by him to Penang and Singapore with further modifications, advisedly introduced into the Andaman Penal Settlement, on its foundation in 1868 by General Henry Man, who had been a Superintendent of Convicts in the Straits Penal Settlements. The subsequent history of the Andaman Penal Settlement is merely one of official development by constant amendment.

What have we here, then? A special method of managing convicts of many varieties unconnected with any other system, originally elaborated by the genius of a man, who had previously long watched men undergoing transportation on no conscious basis of treatment, and subsequently maintained with amendments by men of understanding for over a hundred years. The very names of those identified with the amendments—Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Clive Bayley, Lord Mayo, Mr. Justice Scarlett Campbell, Sir Henry Norman, and Sir Donald Stewart, and later Sir Charles Lyall and Sir Alfred Lethbridge—are a guarantee that administrative experience and hard-headed knowledge has long been brought to bear in order to make the original ideas work out beneficially

in practice. In addition to this, the system, as it practically stands to-day, is the result of rules thus evolved as modified by the Superintendent's By-laws or Settlement Standing Orders, issued under the authority of the Government of India from time to time as experience has dictated. Surely one ought to hesitate long before making, in any system with such a history as this, drastic changes which are based on novel theories as to the treatment of convicts. Especially if one remembers that the whole basis of the system is that the Penal Settlement is not a prison, but a place for the detention of a certain class of prisoners only—viz., transported convicts.

The full penal system when last I had anything to do with it was as follows: The first two years the convicts practically spent in gaols, subjected to a gradually lessening severity of discipline rather than to grinding toil. For the next three years the life-convict lived in barracks, locked up at night, and went out to labour under supervision. For his labour he received no reward, but his capabilities were studied. During the next five years he remained a labouring convict, but was eligible for the petty posts of supervision and the easier form of labour. He also received a very small allowance for little luxuries, or to save if he chose in a special savings' bank. When he had completed ten years in transportation he could receive a ticket-of-leave, and become what was known as a "self-supporter." In this condition he earned his own living in a village: he could farm, keep cattle, and marry or send for his family. But he was not free, had no civil rights, and could not leave the Settlement or be idle. After twenty to twenty-five years spent in the Settlement with approved conduct he could be absolutely released. While a self-supporter, he was at first assisted with house, food and tools, and paid no taxes or cesses, but after three to four years, according to certain conditions, he received no assistance, and was charged with every public payment which would have been demanded of him, had he been a free man.

The women life-convicts were similarly dealt with, but on altogether easier lines. The general principle with regard to them was to divide them into two main classes—those in and those out of the female gaol. Every woman had to remain in the female gaol, unless in domestic employ by permission, or married and living with her husband. Women were eligible for marriage or domestic employ after five years in the Settlement, and if married they could leave the Settlement after fifteen years with their husbands, all married couples having to wait for each other's full term under the rules, whichever came last, and they had to leave together. If unmarried, the women had to remain for twenty years. In the gaol they rose from class to class, and could become petty officers on terms similar to those for men. Convict marriages were carefully controlled so as to prevent degeneration into concubinage or irregular alliances.

Term-convicts were treated on the same general lines as the lifers, except that no term-convict could become a self-supporter, and, of course, every term-convict was released at once on the expiry of his term. In the general system the special local savings' bank proved to be of great value in inducing faith on the part of the convicts in the honesty of the Government, irrespective of its value in inducing habits of thrift, and diminishing the temptation to violence for the sake of money hoarded privately. Another point of great educational value in the system was that "convict offences," though punishable executively, were all tried, however trivial, by a fixed quasi-judicial procedure, including record and appeal, so that the convict was made to feel that justice was, at all times, as secure to him as to the free.

The whole drift of the treatment was that of a long education to useful citizenship, throughout which there ran continuous threads of practice in self-help and self-restraint, and of inducement to profit by the practice. Effort to behave well and submission to control alone guided the

convict's upward promotion in due course ; every lapse retarded it. And when he received his ticket-of-leave, it was only to himself that he could look to provide, out of his own earnings as a steady member of society, that money which was to secure for him a sufficient competence on his release. The aim of the Penal Settlement was to educate the outcasts it received into self-respecting citizens, habituated to find for themselves in an orderly way. The incorrigible were kept till death, the slow to learn till they mended their ways, and only those who proved to have good in them were returned to their homes. The root argument on which the system was based was that the acts of the convict spring from a constitutional want of self-control.

The system was primarily one of discipline, financial considerations giving way to this all-important consideration. The labour of the convicts was firstly disciplinary ; secondly, it provided for the wants of the Settlement so far as these could be supplied locally ; thirdly, it was expended on objects remunerative in money.

The main fact that comes out of all this is that Port Blair is a huge reformatory, aiming at turning the naturally uncontrolled into ordinary self-controlled members of society by continuous education over a long period in self-restraint, the method of education being the result of practical experience gained by the watchfulness of many capable men in succession. Surely one would hesitate long before one went any farther than amendment of such a system as this—before one forsook it in order to comply with the demands of any novel theory.

Before I close what are probably the last remarks I shall ever be called upon to make on this subject, let me go a little farther into certain essential points in support of the above suggestions to those who are engaged in the latest inquiry into the system, to go slowly in the matter of reform. The tacit argument on which the Port Blair system is based is that the convict is very like other men

except in one particular—self-control. Want of self-control is the fundamental characteristic of the convict temperament. It comes out in everything that convicts do. It is the root and origin of the vast majority of their offences against morality and society. It is always present. It must always be looked for and guarded against. There is also a certain number of human beings who are entirely vicious, but such are not very many, not even amongst life-convicts. While at Port Blair I calculated that only 2 per cent. of the lifers were positively dangerous, and that 2 per cent. more were sufficiently bad to make it a common-sense precaution to keep them permanently in a gaol. This gives 4 per cent. of lifers who should be always locked up. Of the rest, the majority I found to be not like this, and that they were capable of being brought to a considerable height of respectability. Many were not vicious at all, but merely liable to fits of unrestraint. But I would not be misunderstood here. I do not wish to speak as a theoretical enthusiast, but as a practical administrator, who has been burdened with serious common-place responsibilities, and desires to take a plain, common-sense view of the subject. I therefore wish to say that, in however kindly a light one may be disposed to look at his case, the clear fact is that the ordinary convict for life is not safe, and his liability to lose self-control on quite inadequate provocation should never be lost sight of.

It is on this experience and these observations that the advice I used to give to novices in the treatment of convicts was that they should remember that the convict is a born rebel, without self-control or right impulses. Therefore, if one would succeed with him and lead him on to orderly ways one must be firm without favour, never forgiving a fault, but at the same time never punishing vindictively. Giving this advice an epigrammatic form, I used to say: Be as just as you are able, and harden your heart.

It is the observation of the ways of convicts, of much that goes on perforce where they are congregated, that

constitutes a danger to would-be reformers, especially after a short experience. The fact is that there is a seamy side to Port Blair. It could not be otherwise. Life-convicts are not an honourable nor a scrupulous class. They are not ladies and gentlemen. Their manners are not mild, nor are their impulses repressed. Life and limb are by no means secure in Port Blair, and I could easily lay myself out to describe the life in a convict village or in convict barracks as I only too well knew it to be. I could easily describe the condition of perpetual irritation in which convicts live, arising out of their own mutual ill-will and distrust. It would indeed be very easy to paint a lurid picture of the inhabitants of Port Blair, to preach a scathing condemnation, of the envy, hatred, and malice, the uncharitableness, the evil-speaking, lying, and slandering, the murder and the cruel death, the amazing immorality, the callous depravity, the downright unabashed wickedness, constantly forced upon the view. But such is not my purpose.

Human faults are readily seen and as readily denounced, for such things are on the surface. The difficult thing always is to perceive aright the good that there is in bad men and bring that out. Nevertheless, that is the duty of the Port Blair officials and the object of the system above explained. At any rate, what we tried to do in my time was to look on the convict as physicians do on their patients. We could not help the existence of the disease, but we tried to diagnose it correctly, alleviating where we could, and curing where we could; but we did not lay any claim to the working of miracles.

But the obviousness of the evils inseparable from the life of a convict society constitutes a real danger. Those who first come upon it are shocked and disgusted and animated with an overwhelming desire to root up and cast aside any system that permits their existence for something that would seem, at first sight, to destroy it. Such a desire is, I understand, in the minds of influential reformers just now.

To those who would give way to this natural feeling I would most earnestly say : Go slowly, be careful that by drastic change you do not create as many evils as you seek to cure, remembering that the system you condemn is the growth of a century of the capable thought and observation of men who have had exactly the same aims as yourselves.

There is one point in the Port Blair system—that relating to marriages locally contracted between convicts—which has been frequently and persistently misunderstood, the same old misrepresentation being regularly reproduced about every ten years or so, partly by the facetiously mischievous and partly by the ill-informed though well-intentioned. I understand that this question is being again brought up in influential but prejudiced quarters. A local convict marriage as conducted in my time was, however, no concubinage, no temporary or irregular alliance. Every inquiry was made and every step was taken that was necessary to render convict marriages legal, according to the customary law of the contracting parties. Long was the wait in many cases between proposal and completion, and many were the disappointments when the conditions were found to bar completion. Once married, the husband and wife were clearly made to understand their legal condition, and if released had to depart together or not at all. The practice was that the Chief Commissioner personally inquired into each case, sanctioned each marriage himself, for without such sanction no convict marriage could take place. When a marriage took place after sanction, the Chief Commissioner registered it himself, and thus completed the precautions necessary for its legality.

The children of such marriages have been a serious difficulty, and will prove to be a stumbling-block in the way of any measure that involves an abandonment of the Penal Settlement. The convict marriage system has created in the Settlement a free population, now of some fifty years' standing, between whom and the free settlers introduced from India there is a marked social difference. Convicts' descendants are called at Port Blair th: "local born,"

and form a society of their own unlike anything in India—very interesting to the student of ethnology, but behind a barrier socially which it is difficult to break down. When it is broken down, and there is a marriage into a “local born” family tainted with convict blood, it is looked upon as degrading to an immigrant from India. There is much greater sympathy, in fact, on the part of the immigrants, temporary or permanent, with the actual convicts than with their descendants. Taken as a class, the “local born” are an intelligent body, not given to violence or inclination to theft, but of a distinctly low general morality, due no doubt to bad early associations, convict mothers not being a class likely to bring up children to a high morality. Their attitude is generally defiant, owing probably to the indeterminate nature of their social status, as has been observed of others unhappily situated socially elsewhere.

There is much, beyond doubt, that is undesirable in all this, but as long as human passions remain as they are, I for one would never dream of abandoning the system of convict marriages among lifers. The alternative would promote on a large scale conditions of life which one cannot even mention in ordinary society.

The special difference between the result of the Penal Settlement and that of the ordinary gaols appears to lie in this : While the Port Blair returned convict is a man fitted and habituated to support himself, the prisoner from a gaol is not only a pauper, but has become pauperized—that is, he has become unaccustomed to fend for himself, and this disability has grown upon him with the length of his imprisonment. At Port Blair no convict is parted with until there is good reason to believe that there is a fair hope of his living the rest of his life at home in an ordinary, orderly way.

This result is the measure of the success of the Penal Settlement. From first to last, what may be called the unconscious education of the convict is towards rendering himself fit for free life. There being no other source of labour in the Settlement, even while he is working without

pay, it is on one or other of the ordinary employments of life, and, of course, when he has his local ticket-of-leave he supports himself in the ordinary way. So that in the result, he that arrived an outcast, void of restraint, and unfit for association with his kind on equal terms, goes forth a useful citizen, broken to restraint, and not only fitted for human society, but well used to submit to the conventions by which alone that society can be maintained. Men so reformed are sent back to India, not by ones or twos, but by scores every year. As I have already said, the incorrigible are kept till they mend their ways, while those only who have good in them and are capable of reform are returned to the society they once disgraced.

In all systems devised by man for the control of men there are defects of theory and practice, and at attempts to correct them in the light of experience no one could desire to cavil. But it seems to me, at all events, that very serious and prolonged consideration is due before anything beyond improvement in detail is attempted in a penal system that aims so high, and has had so great a measure of practical success in its chief aim as that of Port Blair.

The besetting sins of reformers are obsession with a fixed philanthropic idea and ignorance of the history of the subject they are attacking, and of the efforts made in their own direction by those that have gone before. So important is it in this case to keep the mind clear on the principles that have guided forerunners for a century, and so constantly in reforming projects have they been overlooked, that I am tempted to close this discourse by a quotation from the despatch of Sir Stamford Raffles from Bencoolen in 1818 to the Government of India explaining the fundamental principles on which the Penal Settlement at Port Blair was conducted in later days.

Sir Stamford Raffles wrote : " But there is another class of people that call for immediate consideration. Since 1787 a number of persons have been transported to this place from Bengal for various crimes of which they have been found guilty.

“The object of the punishment, as far as it affects the parties, must be the reclaiming them from their bad habits, but I much question whether the practice hitherto has been productive of that effect. This I apprehend to be, in a great measure, in consequence of sufficient discrimination and encouragement not having been shown in favour of those most inclined to amendment, and perhaps to the want of a discretionary power in the chief authority to remit a portion of the punishment and disgrace which is at present the common lot of all. It frequently happens that men of notoriously bad conduct are liberated at the expiration of a limited period of transportation, whilst others, whose general conduct is perhaps unexceptional, are doomed to servitude till the end of their lives.

“As coercive measures are not likely to be attended with success, I conceive that some advantage would arise from affording inducements to good conduct by holding out the prospect of again becoming useful members of society and freeing themselves from the disabilities under which they labour. There are at present (1818) about 500 of these unfortunate people. However just the original sentence may have been, the crimes and characters of so numerous a body must necessarily be very unequal, and it is desirable that some discrimination should be exerted in favour of those who show a disposition to redeem their character. I would suggest the propriety of the chief authority being vested with a discretionary power of freeing such men as conduct themselves well from the obligation of service, and permitting them to settle in the place and resume the privileges of citizenship. The prospect of recovering their characters, of freeing themselves from their present disabilities, and the privileges of employing their industry for their own advantage, would become an object of ambition, and supply a stimulus to exertion and good conduct which is at present wanting.

“It rarely happens that any of those transported have any desire to leave the country. They form connections

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Sir Stamford Raffles wrote : " But there is another class of people that call for immediate consideration. Since 1787 a number of persons have been transported to this place from Bengal for various crimes of which they have been found guilty.

“The object of the punishment, as far as it affects the parties, must be the reclaiming them from their bad habits, but I much question whether the practice hitherto has been productive of that effect. This I apprehend to be, in a great measure, in consequence of sufficient discrimination and encouragement not having been shown in favour of those most inclined to amendment, and perhaps to the want of a discretionary power in the chief authority to remit a portion of the punishment and disgrace which is at present the common lot of all. It frequently happens that men of notoriously bad conduct are liberated at the expiration of a limited period of transportation, whilst others, whose general conduct is perhaps unexceptional, are doomed to servitude till the end of their lives.

“As coercive measures are not likely to be attended with success, I conceive that some advantage would arise from affording inducements to good conduct by holding out the prospect of again becoming useful members of society and freeing themselves from the disabilities under which they labour. There are at present (1818) about 500 of these unfortunate people. However just the original sentence may have been, the crimes and characters of so numerous a body must necessarily be very unequal, and it is desirable that some discrimination should be exerted in favour of those who show a disposition to redeem their character. I would suggest the propriety of the chief authority being vested with a discretionary power of freeing such men as conduct themselves well from the obligation of service, and permitting them to settle in the place and resume the privileges of citizenship. The prospect of recovering their characters, of freeing themselves from their present disabilities, and the privileges of employing their industry for their own advantage, would become an object of ambition, and supply a stimulus to exertion and good conduct which is at present wanting.

“It rarely happens that any of those transported have any desire to leave the country. They form connections

in the place and find so many inducements to remain that to be sent away is considered by most a severe punishment. [This is only partially true of Port Blair.] While a convict remains unmarried and kept to daily labour, very little confidence can be placed in him, and his services are rendered with such tardiness and dissatisfaction that they are of little or no value. But he no sooner marries and forms a small settlement than he becomes a kind of colonist, and if allowed to follow his inclinations, he seldom feels inclined to return to his native country.

"I propose to divide them into three classes. The first class to be allowed to give evidence in court, and permitted to settle on land secured to them and their children; but no one to be admitted to this class until he has been in Bencoolen three years [in Port Blair the term is ten years]. The second class to be employed in ordinary labour. The third class, or men of abandoned and profligate character, to be kept to the harder kinds of labour, and confined at night. In cases of particularly good conduct, a prospect may be held out of emancipating deserving convicts from further obligation of services on condition of their supporting themselves and not quitting the Settlement.

"Upon the abstract question of the advantage of this arrangement I believe there will be little difference of opinion. The advantage of holding out an adequate motive for exertion is sufficiently obvious, and here it would have the double tendency of diminishing the bad characters, and of increasing that of useful and industrious settlers, thereby facilitating the general police of the country, and diminishing the expenses of the Government."

Regulations on these lines were framed, and by December 20, 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles reported that they had been gradually introduced, and were attended with the best effects. Thus was started the Indian Penal Settlement system on a career which I submit has been successful and invaluable to the Indian Empire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held on Monday, April 6, 1914, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, a paper was read by Colonel Sir Richard C. Temple, Bart., C.I.E. (formerly Chief Commissioner Andaman and Nicobar Islands), entitled "The Andaman Penal System." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair. The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., Lady Lamington, Sir John and Lady Stanley, Lady Temple, the Hon. Victor A. B. W. Cochrane-Baillie, Sir William Ovens Clark, Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., Mr. S. Digby, C.I.E., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Arnold Nundy, Mrs. Hillman, Mr. R. W. S. Parmar, Mr. Magan Lal, Rai Bahadur R. N. Lahiri, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. G. Buckle, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mr. H. R. Cook, Miss Bashford, Colonel Forde, Mr. T. W. Mansukhan, Miss Webster, Mrs. Hartley, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. H. Rai, Mr. C. S. Rajindra, Mr. W. Coldstream, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mrs. Flora Sassoon, Mr. and Mrs. V. Dawson, Mr. J. S. Dhanjibhoy, Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. G. T. Miller, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Hedley V. Storey, Mr. F. D. Mulla, Colonel Browning, Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., Mrs. P. Forbes, Mrs. Temple, Miss Temple, Colonel H. D. Love, Mr. Reginald Murray, Captain A. St. John, Miss Margaret O'Brian, Mr. Ali Fahmi Mahomed, Mr. A. B. Vaux, Miss Wade, Mr. Nihal Singh, Mr. M. C. Ghose, Mr. K. P. Khaitan, Mr. F. P. Marchant, Mr. F. Biedermann, and Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Colonel Sir Richard Temple to read the paper he has promised us.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with applause) said: Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure we are all very grateful for the interesting and expert lecture we have just heard. I am one of the men in the street alluded to in the lecture, and therefore I must not attempt to express any opinion on a matter in which I have no experience whatever. I only hope there are some gentlemen here who will be able to give us their own views, and perhaps traverse some of the arguments so as to originate and participate

in a discussion which may be of considerable value. What does strike one in listening to the lecture is how very far-seeing Sir Stamford Raffles must have been to have been able to promulgate ideas of how convicts should be treated so far in advance of those prevalent in his time. The most interesting point to my mind was his description of the character of these convicts, and how very difficult it is for anyone outside the walls of an establishment of this kind to estimate the character and failings and habits of those who have to undergo penal servitude. Whilst we hear that the present system is under criticism and is liable to change, I rather wish we could have heard in what respects particularly these innovators propose to bring about what they term "reforms." I heartily concur with the lecturer in saying that it would seem a very dangerous thing indeed to introduce any violent changes in a system which has been tried for 100 years—not a cast-iron system, but one that has been moulded from time to time according to the light of experience, and according to changed ideas of society in respect of the treatment of convicts. It is in this regard that I repeat I hope there may be some people present who will be able to give us their views upon this question. I am sure that the lecturer, with his long experience of ten years in the Andaman Islands, will welcome any criticisms made in respect of his paper. I therefore now ask anyone present to give us their views on this subject.

CAPTAIN A. ST. JOHN said he would like to ask one or two questions: (1) What was the shortest term for convicts in the Settlement of Port Blair?

The LECTURER replied that in his time convicts were not received under sentences of fourteen years, but they formed only a small portion of the Settlement. The system was intended mainly for life convicts, but owing chiefly to the exigencies of labour, term convicts for fourteen years were received. The lecturer thought that they did not represent above 20 per cent. of the whole.

CAPTAIN ST. JOHN asked if there was any method of shortening that term. Could they gain any remission?

The LECTURER said that the theory was that a man or woman should be sent to Port Blair as a rule under a life sentence. The men could be released, subject to good conduct, under certain conditions, after twenty to twenty-five years, and the women after fifteen to twenty years, so that the life convict's term was from practically twenty to twenty-five years, depending upon what they were transported for; poisoners, for instance, were often not released at all. The great point of the system was that if a convict really behaved himself well, he did not do more than ten years of prison labour, and then he did another ten years as a self-supporter, that is, practically as a free man, before he was released, but if he did not behave himself he was kept all his life. It depended entirely on himself. It was one of Sir Stamford Raffles' great ideas, that it was a bad thing to give a man no hope at all. Every convict at Port Blair had a hope. (Hear, hear.) The term men would get a remittance of their term under rules; the system in their case being pretty much the same as that in

existence in England. They would be remitted a proportion of their terms for good conduct.

CAPTAIN ST. JOHN asked if that good conduct consisted solely in not misbehaving, and in their being able to do something to support themselves so as to enable them to earn a living when they got outside?

The LECTURER replied that good conduct consisted mainly in keeping off the "defaulter" sheets. Self-support was the reward for that good conduct. It had nothing to do with the term of release. If a man behaved well and saved his money in the Savings Bank, which was maintained, when he had done ten years with good conduct, he was made a self-supporter. At the end of the ten years an ordinary convict could save thirty rupees.

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said that he spoke without any special knowledge, and only as an average citizen; his army life had not made him a master of the question of prisons, but speaking as a man in the street he was entirely opposed to bringing together the prisoners of varied races from 300 millions of people into one place. He thought the prison atmosphere was a terrible atmosphere (hear, hear), and how anyone could breathe in it he did not know. As a result of education and teaching of the soldiers most of the army prisons were now empty; they must have a free atmosphere. To him personally the system had no attractions whatever. The convicts belonged to many races and creeds, and he suggested that they ought to be cared for in their own districts; the whole problem of prison care and sympathy was at present agitating the world. In years gone by we had had the most horrible experience in the world of prison colonies, and nothing more degrading ever existed under the British flag. He thanked Goodness the Cape rose in rebellion against the coming of the convicts there. Even if the angels came down from heaven to run the Andamans he would still think the atmosphere must be absolutely injurious and poisonous. He spoke as a non-specialist, and perhaps as a humanitarian. In his opinion the atmosphere of the old prisons was hellish—that was the only word to use. The soldier of to-day had his arms with him in prison and was drilled; it was the men who were not cared for in their regiments that became criminals. If his vote had any power he would turn the Andaman Islands into a free colony, and let other people go there, and break up that vast, pestilential, dangerous, and most injurious mass of crime. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COLDSTREAM asked whether there were in the Andaman Islands now any descendants of the convicts who went there near the beginning of the system, and if any large families had been in successive generations formed, and whether the convict families flourished and increased to any large extent?

Mr. REID said that he would like to refer to the incident of the building of a lighthouse by the convicts, where the man in charge went from Burma with a large body of convicts, mostly murderers, landed on the island, lived with them, and went about amongst them quite unharmed. The only trouble he had was with one man who was lazy; he happened to strike

this man one day, and the man rushed at him with a knife. That was the only difference he had with any of those murderers, and he erected the lighthouse with nothing but convict labour.

Dr. POLLEN said he too spoke merely as a "man in the street." He had never been to the Andamans, but he had met convicts from the Andaman Islands. He could recall an occasion when he met some convicts in very peculiar circumstances. He was going up the Red Sea to Bombay, not in a Convict ship, but in a ship which was almost as curiously equipped—viz., a Pilgrim ship—returning with some 700 or 800 pilgrims from Mecca, and one day, whilst picking his way amongst the crowds up and down the deck, he heard a voice behind saying in beautiful English, "You seem to have visited many countries, Sir, but I do not suppose you have ever seen the country I come from?" Dr. Pollen replied that he did not know what that country was. "Oh," said the pilgrim, "I come from the Andamans!" "Then I suppose you must have been a criminal of some sort?" Dr. Pollen rejoined, to which the reply was, "Yes, I was." This was from a patriarchal-looking Muhammadan, returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca! Dr. Pollen then inquired what crime he had committed, and was told "Murder!" "Indeed," said Dr. Pollen, "whom did you murder? and why did you murder?" It was then explained that the murder had occurred some forty years ago, and that the pilgrim had been concerned along with others in the murder of a little schoolfellow. They were instigated by a man to help him in the murder of the child for the sake of his ornaments. As a result the man was hanged, and the schoolboy accomplices were sent to the Andamans. On being asked how he liked the Andamans the quondam murderer said that he had been, and was, very happy there. He had learned his English there, where, he said, the officers took a great interest in him and taught him a trade and to speak English. He was a free man now and had land in the Andamans. He was married; his wife (who was on *board with him*) had also been a convict, and on being questioned as to what crime she had committed, his reply was: "Murder." She had murdered her first husband! On asking him had they any children, Dr. Pollen learned that they had nine girls and forty-nine grandchildren (laughter), and the grandfather and grandmother were quite happy and contented. This pilgrim murderer was a thoroughly well-educated man, and also a very devout man, and he did not seem to be at all spoiled by his experiences in the Andaman Islands, so the Settlement must be a very good place if it led to people being as happy and well behaved as these people were. (Hear, hear.)

A LADY asked if there were any political prisoners sent to the Andamans, and if they were subjected to the same treatment and associations as the ordinary prisoners?

ANOTHER SPEAKER asked if the lecturer could give them a brief outline of the proposed reforms, so that they could form some judgment on the matter, between the old and the new systems.

The LECTURER said, in reply to other questions: With reference to the

question of what is going to be done, he really did not know. No one could possibly know, except the Government of India. He only knew that there are certain things before the Government, but what they are exactly he did not know. As stated in his paper, he had endeavoured, not so much to deprecate any specific reforms as to put before the people interested in proposed reforms a clear statement of what the existing conditions are. One can only guess at what is going to be done, because of what one may hear, by the time the Government of India has thrashed out the points, the result may be something very different from the first proposals. He understood it was contemplated to do away with the system of convict marriage for one thing; and also that it is proposed to keep prisoners in India for ten years before they are sent to the Andamans. This last is an administrative measure which may have the most disastrous effect on the Settlement, because then there can be no local supplies for those who are not self-supporters in the Andamans. He was told also the idea is to make the Settlement more penal. He had further heard that it was proposed to substitute for the present permanent superior officials temporary untrained men from the Indian Services. This would throw the real control into the hands of subordinate officials, a step that is bound to prove disastrous.

The question of congregating convicts, which had been raised by a questioner, was one that is easily misunderstood. If the Government has on its hands 14,000 men and women, who are chiefly life-convicts, they have to be kept somewhere. The choice really lies between keeping them in a Penal Settlement or in a gaol, and the great difference between the two can be seen thus. When you put a man into a gaol you keep him a pauper as long as he is there. You do everything for him to such an extent that he becomes unable to look after himself, and the longer you keep him under those conditions the worse citizen he makes afterwards. It is a mistake to mix up the case of the man who comes out of a gaol with that of a man who comes out of the Penal Settlement. The man from a prison is entirely unfitted to look after himself, whereas a man was not let go into society from the Andamans until he had shown himself for a long while to be able to keep himself in the ordinary way. Then again, discipline in a gaol is often cruelly severe. It is very hard, and it is an awful life, whether in England or in India, or anywhere else. It is infinitely harder than life in a convict settlement.

In answer to another question, the lecturer said there were very few Europeans in the Andamans, but he remembered the case of one unfortunate man who had murdered his wife under very great provocation. He was an engineer, and a man of good education, and the lecturer found him running out his time of lifelong imprisonment in a Calcutta gaol. He had behaved well; but he never had a chance of doing anything for himself until he was transferred to the Andamans, where he was put in charge of a large quantity of machinery, which was used for forest purposes. Then this convict became a man again. He never misbehaved himself. He was told that as he was a European there would be no defaulter sheet

for him, and that he would be put under no special regulations; but that if he misbehaved and broke the rules of the place, he would be sent back to India, and the mere threat was sufficient to make him careful to mend his ways. That shows the difference between the Penal Settlement and a gaol.

SURGEON-GENERAL EVATT said it was the difference between a Penal Settlement and a badly organized, non-technical gaol such as the Indian gaols were.

The LECTURER said he could not say that the English gaols were any better. The systems were almost identical. There was no difference so far as he could see. Such remarks as that just made were a good illustration of the difficulty of managing such a technical matter as the treatment of convicts where the man in the street had a say in it, as he looked at the subject not according to pre-conceived ideas, but according to experience of the question.

In the Convict Settlement the officials tried to give as free an atmosphere as possible to people who were outcasts. The lecturer supposed that out of the 14,000 convicts there as many as 10,000 were murderers (practically every woman there was a murderer), some of whom were very bad, but others were not. It was a great mistake to think that because a man in a fit of anger, and sometimes under great provocation, had killed another, he was therefore a bad man. It was not at all necessarily so. Many murderers were quite the reverse, and some of the most honest people in the place were warders who were themselves convicts. But given a certain amount of provocation murderers were liable to commit murder again, and they were not therefore to be trusted not to use violence.

A LADY: Why do not you hang them?

The LECTURER thought that in some instances it would have been better if the murderers had been hanged in the first instance, because they committed another murder while in the Settlement. When they did so in the Andamans the punishment was always death; the law being that if anyone there, who had been sent there for murder, again committed or attempted to commit murder, he was hanged. There was no other punishment under the Indian Penal Code.

Then, again, it has been said during the afternoon that it is a mistake to mix up all the races of India in one Settlement. As a matter of fact, that constituted the safety of the place. What made the government of the Andamans so easily possible was the variety of races among the convicts. There had to be men in boats all day long, and variety of race was played on to such an extent that no two men of the same race were ever placed in the same boat. The result was, of course, that they often could not speak to each other, and they could never by any chance combine. If you are going to congregate a large number of prisoners together, experience of the Penal Settlement tells you to mix the races as much as possible.

The question of the Cape and Australia, which is often brought up as a reason for abandoning the Andamans, is not really applicable. In

Australia, and in other places where in former days they sent convicts, there was also a large number of free settlers, whereas in the Andamans the only free people besides the aborigines were those who have to deal with the prisoners. There is no population to be contaminated as there was in Australia. It is, of course, possible that in the course of another century or so a free population may arise which may make it inadvisable to send convicts there. The aboriginal savages of the country will do no civilized work, and they have no truck with the convicts, except when one tries to escape and steals their goods. Then they generally kill him.

The LECTURER was asked as to the size of convicts' families, and said that they were large, and that the reason was that it is the only part of the East where it is the rule to rear the whole of a family. The children of convicts were healthy because they were so well looked after by the authorities, who had done their best to rear a healthy, intelligent population, and to prevent the children from dying. There was free education for everyone.

The LECTURER said, in reply to another query: If you are dealing with a body of murderers, and nothing happens to create trouble between you and them, or each other, things will go on perfectly smoothly, and very often better than they would in a free society. But the moment a convict was seriously crossed out came his knife. The lecturer had seen that over and over again. He knew one man who had been in the Andamans for nineteen years, and had borne an excellent character, but he suddenly murdered a petty officer, on the ground that the other man had taken away his character to such an extent that an order had been issued to transfer him from one island to another. The real reason was that the other man had been bullying him, and the transfer was ordered in his interest. The lecturer went into the man's original crime, and found that he had murdered his sister-in-law twenty years before because he thought she was setting his wife against him. Otherwise that man was perfectly reliable.

In reply to a query as to political prisoners, the Lecturer replied that there were some in the Andamans, but they were not political in the ordinary sense of that term in England. They were sent under a special Act, and were treated in a certain special way.

SIR ARUNDEL ARUNDEL in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, and also to Lord Lamington for his kindness in presiding, said there was one remark he would like to make in reference to what they had heard as to the character of some of these prisoners. It did not follow that a man was utterly bad because he had committed murder; and there were cases of men who had been sent to the Andamans who ought never to have been sent there at all. He remembered a case of a man who was tried for murder on the West Coast of India. This man had murdered his wife and his wife's mother. At the trial it was found that the prisoner had been ill, and went to a local doctor, who at the same time was reputed to be a holy man, and who told him that the real cause of his fever was that he was haunted by the spirits of his deceased ancestors. This so preyed on the unfortunate man that he became finally to all intents and purposes

temporarily insane. He was afterwards put under observation in the gaol, where the surgeon declared there was no sign of insanity about him. The man was sentenced to death, but the sentence was not carried out, and he was sent to the Andamans. If anybody ought to have been sent to the Andamans in this case it was the reputed holy man, who put such nonsense into the offender's head. One could not help thinking that a man might commit a murder under some excitement, and yet his character for the whole of the rest of his life might be perfectly sound and good. You could not always make the punishment fit the crime.

In conclusion he thought that the most interesting information they had heard was in what the lecturer had told them in reply to the various questions put during the discussion; he had certainly thrown a great deal of light on the administration of the Andamans. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the lecturer and himself, thanked the meeting for the very hearty vote of thanks. He thought the story told by Dr. Pollen showed a very thorough reclamation of the convict, both in knowledge of infant rearing and in the ethics of life. He thought that in some parts of India the bringing up of nine *daughters* in a family would never be allowed for a moment! Curiously enough, only that very day, in reference to Mr. Reid's point as to the irresponsibility of criminals, Lord Cromer was telling him that the assassination of Lord Mayo was merely an act of vendetta; the assassin had been sent to the Andamans after having killed a man in a family feud. He regarded that as an unjust sentence, and as a mere act of vendetta he killed Lord Mayo during his visit. That showed how very irresponsible these people were. He would like to know what size these islands were, because there must be a large number of the people who had obtained their freedom. (The Lecturer replied that they were about 2,500 square miles in extent.)

In conclusion, he trusted that the lecture would be brought to the notice of those responsible for the maintenance of authority, and the carrying out of the present system, and that they might consider the views put forward before they introduced any change, which might possibly be unwise or destructive. (Hear, hear.)

The following letter has been received by the Hon. Secretary :

April 7, 1914.

DEAR DR. POLLEN,

Subjoined is a copy of Darwin's remarks on the Indian convicts in Mauritius, which I have taken from his most interesting book, "*A Naturalist's Voyage Round the World.*" The convicts he saw were "extremely dark." They, therefore, must have come from Bengal or Madras, and not from the Upper Provinces. I think you will agree with me that the subject is worth bringing to the notice of those who were present at yesterday's meeting of your Association. I was sorry not to find it in my old note-book.

Yours very truly,
D. A. REID.

DARWIN ON INDIAN CONVICTS IN MAURITIUS

"The various races of men walking in the streets afford the most interesting spectacle in Port Louis. Convicts from India are banished here for life; at present there are about 800, and they are employed in various public works. Before seeing these people I had no idea that the inhabitants of India were such noble-looking figures. Their skin is extremely dark, and many of the older men had large moustaches and beards of a snow-white colour; this, together with the fire of their expression, gave them quite an imposing aspect. The greater number had been banished for murder and the worst crimes; others for causes which can scarcely be considered as moral faults, such as for not obeying, from superstitious motives, the English laws. These men are generally quiet and well conducted; for their outward conduct, their cleanliness, and faithful observance of their strange religious rites, it was impossible to look at them with the same eyes as on our wretched convicts in New South Wales."

THE BATTLE OF THE GAUGES IN INDIA

BY SIR GUILFORD L. MOLESWORTH, K.C.I.E.

IN the early days of Indian railways, Lord Dalhousie, in an able minute, dwelt strongly on the mischievous mistake into which British legislation had fallen in permitting the introduction of two gauges into England. He urged that, however widely the railway system might be extended in time to come, the great evils inseparable from a break of gauge should be averted, and uniformity rigidly enforced from the first. He considered the question to be one of such moment as "to deserve authoritative and conclusive decision by the highest authorities."

Unfortunately, this wise counsel has been neglected, and India has committed the grave mistake of introducing a break of gauge.

The first battle of the gauges was fought in Great Britain, extending over an area of 88,000 square miles, and affecting, at that time, a population of about 20,000,000. The Indian battlefield extends over an area of 1,800,000 square miles, and affects a population of some 260,000,000.

The standard gauge of Great Britain (4 feet 8½ inches) was selected by George Stephenson as the average width apart of wheels of ordinary road vehicles, and it was adopted on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which was opened for traffic in 1830.

In 1833 Brunel persuaded the directors of the Great Western Railway to adopt a gauge of 7 feet on the railway

between London and Bristol, and all went well so long as each gauge kept to its respective district; but when the two gauges met at Bristol in 1844 the evils of a break of gauge became apparent. In 1866 a memorial, signed by a large number of manufacturers, merchants, colliery owners, and others, was addressed to the directors of the Great Western Railway, from which the following is an extract:

"The transfer of goods is expensive, tedious, entailing, moreover, constant delay in delivery, grievous disappointment, consequent annoyance, and often serious loss to both consignor and consignee; and as regards the staple of this district—viz., coal—such transfer (involving not only the expense of the operation, but the loss arising from depreciation and breakage) becomes positively prohibitive."

The break of gauge was generally denounced as a commercial evil of the first magnitude, and even the chairman of the broad gauge railway admitted it to be "an evil which would alone neutralize half the benefit of the railway system."

In consequence of this agitation, a Commission—consisting of Professor Airy, Professor Barlow, and Captain Smith, R.E., was appointed to inquire into the matter.

This Commission, while considering the advantages claimed for the broad gauge, agreed that the narrow gauge by no means precluded such improvements, and their verdict was entirely in favour of retaining 4 feet 8½ inches as the standard gauge.

The broad gauge lingered on for some years, during which attempts were made to minimize the evil by mixed gauge and other expedients, which were complicated and unsatisfactory, until finally the whole of the broad gauge system was changed to the standard gauge in 1872.

The ironmasters and others benefited greatly by the change. One firm—Messrs. Brogden—wrote: "The change of gauge made a difference to us in our business of fully £20,000 a year.

It is a mistake to suppose that the disadvantages of a break of gauge can be simply measured by the cost of

transfer from one railway to another, or by the loss and breakage thereby occasioned; these are insignificant when compared with the other disadvantages which Mr. Grierson, the General Manager of the Great Western Railway, has shown to be "of a more substantial character, although not so readily seen or understood."

Mr. Grierson has thus described his difficulties :

"Although during a portion of the year the traffic is tolerably regular, at other times it is fluctuating, and it is therefore frequently found that when this fluctuation arises, or when the traffic has to be carried over distances, sometimes short and sometimes long, it is impracticable to provide the rolling-stock with regularity, notwithstanding the large amount of stock owned by the Company, which is largely supplemented by private persons, and the transfer station becomes blocked; uncertainty, delay, and loss is thereby caused, and a check is given to progress and development, whereby the interests of the district, the Company, and the traders suffer."

All these difficulties apply with greater force to India, where the distances are much greater, the changes of season and monsoon more violent, drought, famine, and other contingencies throw greater strains on the resources of railways than in England.

The working expenses of the 7 feet gauge railway were not greater than those of the standard, and the abandonment of the former did not arise from any objection to the gauge itself, but simply from a desire to eliminate the evils of a break of gauge.

The standard gauge of India (5 feet 6 inches) was chosen after careful deliberation as better suited than the English gauge to the bulky agricultural produce that would form the principal amount of the traffic of railways in India, and past experience has fully justified the wisdom of that choice.

In order to understand the reasons that induced a break of gauge in that country, it is necessary to review briefly the circumstances which led to it.

Early in 1870 a series of plausible but misleading letters appeared in the *Times* respecting the Festiniog Railway, originally a tramway of a 2 feet gauge some thirteen or fourteen miles in length, for the conveyance of slates from

a group of quarries to the port of shipment. It had been very profitably worked for thirty years previously, and had then been converted into a railway worked by small locomotives. The letters in the *Times* claimed the most extraordinary advantages over ordinary standard gauge railways as being entirely due to the exceptionally narrow gauge. These claims were :

1. Working expenses only $44\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the receipts, as against an average of 48 per cent. on standard gauge railways.
2. A yield of 29 per cent. on the capital cost, as against 6 per cent. to nil on standard gauge railways.
3. Dead load of rolling-stock one-third, as against one-half on the standard gauge.
4. Saving in first cost of construction.
5. Saving by the use of sharp curves.
6. Saving in wear and tear by light loads.

These opinions, published under the ægis of the *Times*, had an extraordinary effect in misleading those who were not thoroughly conversant with the practical working of railways, and their influence was world-wide. In Canada and the United States a large number of railways were constructed on an exceptionally narrow gauge, only to be subsequently converted to the standard gauge (4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches), at a considerable cost.

In 1870, during my absence from Ceylon on furlough, the Governor wrote privately to me to the effect that he had decided on the adoption of a 3 feet 6 inch gauge, in extension of the existing railway of 5 feet 6 inch gauge. In reply I strongly urged a reconsideration of the question, requesting that, at all events, comparative estimates should be made of the cost of extension on both gauges, including the works and additional rolling-stock that a break of gauge would involve. This was done, and, subsequently, the Governor wrote again to me: "I have completely adopted your view, that a break of gauge would be a great mistake."

Other Colonies were also infected by the narrow gauge craze, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies requested me to visit the Festiniog Railway, and report upon it. The result of my visit of inspection was the complete demolition of the claims set up for the exceptionally narrow gauge. I showed in my Report that the comparisons which had been made between the Festiniog Railway and ordinary railways were absolutely absurd and untenable, all the conditions of the traffic being entirely different from those of ordinary railways.

The Festiniog Tramway, having been profitably worked by horses before it was converted into a railway, it would have been easy to establish by comparisons similar to those brought forward in the letters to the *Times* the superiority of a horse-worked tramway over the ordinary railway worked by locomotives.

The Festiniog Railway had a monopoly of the carriage of slates to the port, and, consequently, could charge a rate of 2½d. per ton mile, whereas the ordinary mineral rate on other railways varied from ¾d. to 1d. per ton mile.

If the freights prevailing on ordinary railways had been charged on the Festiniog Railway, the working expenses would have been greater than the receipts, and, instead of a dividend, there would have been a considerable deficit.

The claim for dead weight vanishes on examination. The little open trucks, specially designed for the carriage of slates, for slow speed, without springs, weigh 1 ton, and carry 3 tons of slate. These have been contrasted with the standard gauge ordinary waggon, solidly built for high speed, with springs, and designed to carry bulky, as well as dense articles of traffic. Agricultural produce requires ten or twelve times as much space as slate, and, to carry such produce, ten or twelve trucks of the 2 feet gauge would be required, as against one ordinary standard gauge waggon, thus practically entailing 10 or 12 tons dead load, as against 6 tons in the standard gauge.

If the question of cheap construction be analyzed, the

advantage to be gained by a decrease in gauge will be found to be very small. A large number of those items which make up the cost of a railway are unaffected by the gauge; for example, preliminary expenses, survey, land, fencing, level crossings, stations, workshops, staff-quarters, station machinery, and telegraphs, are the same in either case. The length of sidings and the cost of engines and rolling-stock of the narrow gauge will be rather higher for the same amount of traffic. Should, however, the line be isolated, as in a short branch, the break of gauge will entail a very much larger expenditure in rolling-stock and workshops than would be necessary if those of the main line could be used. In earthwork the only difference is that of the gauge, the slopes being the same in both cases. This difference is proportionally smaller in large earthworks, and, in the extreme case of an embankment 50 feet in height, with flat slopes, would only be about 3 per cent. In large bridges, the principal cost is in the piers, foundations, stone protection, and training works, which are not affected by the gauge. In culverts the faces and aprons will be the same for both gauges, the length of the barrel being only increased by the difference between the two gauges. The greatest difference is in the ballast and permanent way; with steel sleepers, however, the difference is small; and, with cast-iron sleepers, such as have been adopted on the principal standard gauge railways, the only increase would be in the length of the tie-bar, due to the difference of gauge. For equal axle loads the weight of rails is unaffected by the gauge.

During the English battle of the gauges the difference in cost per mile of railway between the 4 feet 8½ inch and the 7 feet gauge, actually due to gauge, was estimated at about 7 or 8 per cent.

The advantage claimed for the Festiniog gauge in saving of wear and tear by the use of light rolling-stock is illusory. Similar advantage might be obtained without break of

gauge by light railways of ordinary gauge. The great wear and tear on ordinary railways is almost entirely due to heavy engines running at high speed. Heavy traffic at high speed requires heavy engines, and there is no reason why light engines should not be used on light railways of ordinary gauge. The engines on the Festiniog Railway were heavier than those for many years used on the standard gauge of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and the southern division of the London and North-Western Railway, between London and Birmingham, was for many years worked by small engines, much lighter than the heavy engines of the Festiniog Railway. Moreover, the small size of the 2 feet gauge vehicles would require more waggons and engines to carry a given amount of traffic, and, consequently, there would be more wear and tear in the axle-boxes, axles, tires, and moving parts of the engines.

A 2 feet gauge might effect some saving by the adoption of very sharp curves in mountainous districts, but almost the whole of India is of such a character that no appreciable saving could be effected by the adoption of sharper curves.

The question of gauge is one that has given rise to more discussion, misunderstanding, and useless expense than any other subject connected with railways ; it is one on which every amateur feels fully qualified to express an authoritative opinion, although in reality it involves many very complex considerations.

India, like many other countries, was affected by the narrow gauge craze, and, in 1870, the metre gauge (3 feet 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches) was selected as the standard for the future in India.

It is necessary to discriminate between the evils of a break of gauge and the merits or demerits of any particular gauge ; it is a mistake to suppose that a metre gauge line is a "toy railway," for there is no doubt that a considerable traffic can be carried by it with economy and efficiency. Many, in their dislike of a break of gauge, have fallen

into the error of disparaging the obnoxious gauge ; and, although I consider the introduction of a break of gauge a very mistaken policy, it has often fallen to my lot to take up the cudgels and defend the metre gauge from the intemperate and unfair arguments of its opponents.

Apart from the question of a *break* of gauge, I consider that the 5 feet 6 inches gauge is better suited than the metre to the bulky agricultural produce which forms the chief part of railway traffic in India. It is, moreover, far better for the transport of artillery and munitions of war.

In India the mischief had been done before I arrived there to take up the post of Consulting Engineer for State Railways to the Government of India. There has been a general impression amongst engineers that I was the parent of the break of gauge—a paternity which I emphatically repudiate. In fact, before I went to India, I had, as Director-General of Ceylon Railways, successfully resisted a break of gauge in Ceylon ; and I have every reason to believe that my known antagonism to a break of gauge caused a postponement of my appointment to India for nearly a year, pending a settlement of the gauge question. Immediately after my arrival in India, Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, sent for me and said :

“ I wish you distinctly to understand that the question of the gauge of railways has been settled, and *must not* be re-opened.”

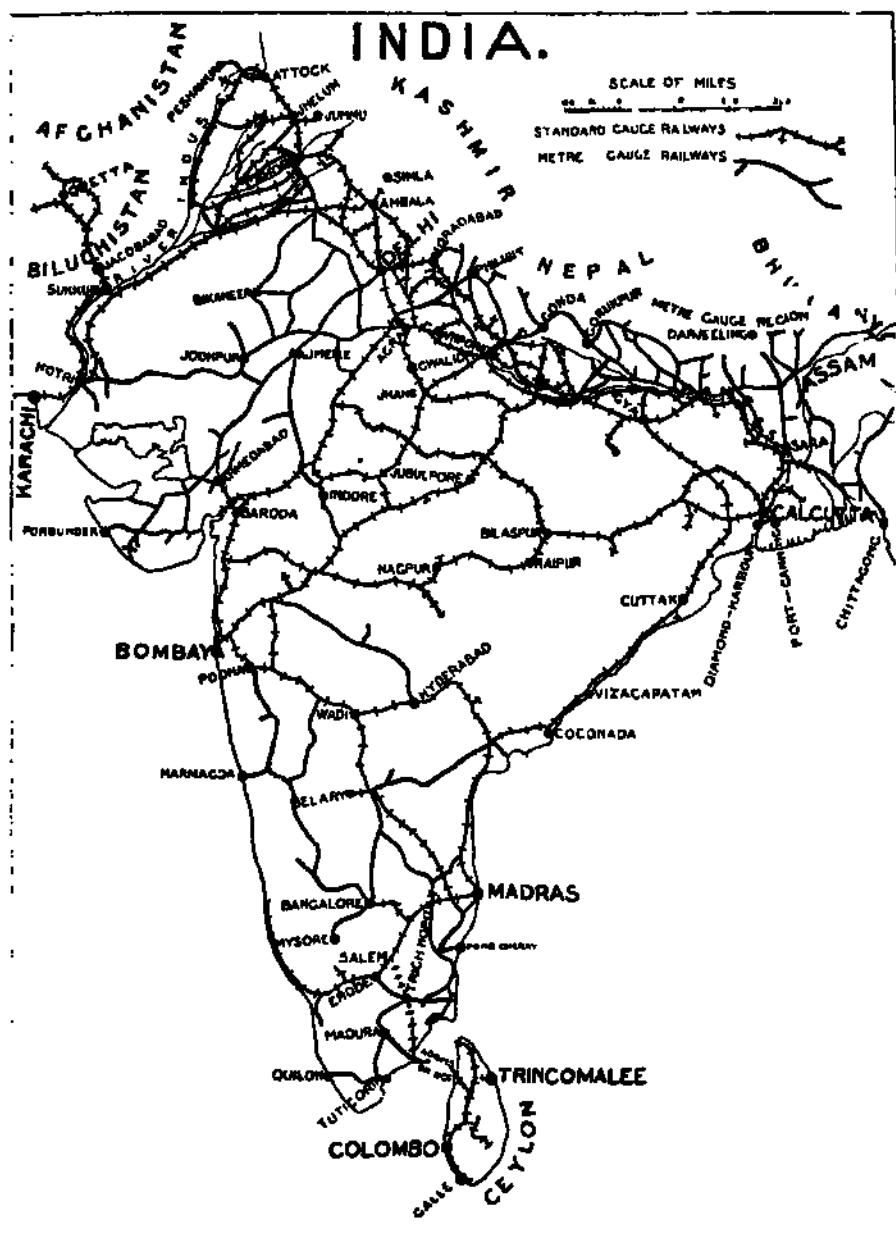
In 1873, however, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook, the gauge question was re-opened. Lord Roberts (then Colonel and Quartermaster-General), in a very able Minute, raised a strong protest against the break of gauge on the frontier railways, and drew a graphic picture of the confusion that would occur if the troops and munitions of war were brought on by the broad gauge more rapidly than they could be carried forward. Commenting upon his protest, I expressed the opinion that this picture would not be realized in practice, as it would be discreditable both to military and railway management to push on troops and munitions of war faster than they could be forwarded, and

thus add to what must necessarily be a source of great confusion and difficulty ; and I added :

“ But, even without this source of confusion, the difficulties which a break of gauge would entail on troops pressing rapidly on to the frontier would be very great, as the work of transfer would have to go on day and night ; stores would be mixed, broken and lost ; the men would be harassed, horses injured, and the delays would be very great.”

With regard to the realization of this picture, I must admit I was wrong and Lord Roberts was right. Six years afterwards, during the Afghan War, General Kennedy, Director of Military Transport, complained to the Government that the railways were not forwarding troops and military stores to the front with sufficient despatch, and I was ordered to go to Jhelum to see what could be done to relieve the situation. On my arrival there I found that the picture was more than realized : an enormous area of land, many acres in extent, was crowded with military stores, carts, baggage, tents, and war materials of every description, piled one on another in the utmost confusion. Sixteen trains a day were arriving, each train adding to the confusion. The Commissariat Officer in charge told me that it would be a relief to him if the railway service could be suspended for a month or six weeks, as he could not in that time send on the existing accumulation. I telegraphed to the Government that the action of the military authorities in sending on by railway more than the Commissariat could forward was causing much confusion and delay, and that the block had been caused by a want of properly concerted action between the Transport and Commissariat Departments.

Happily, the protest of Lord Roberts led to a complete change of policy with regard to the frontier railways. The Punjab-Northern Railway, the construction of which was originally commenced on the standard (5 feet 6 inches) gauge, and then altered to the metre gauge, had again to be changed to the standard, and, during the last change, temporary lines of the two gauges were working side by side.



The Indus Valley Railway, 500 miles in length, originally a metre gauge railway, had to be changed to the standard, and all the frontier lines have since been made on the standard gauge. Altogether, the change of policy involved the alteration of more than 1,000 miles of railway.

Lord Roberts, by his vigorous protest, has earned the gratitude of India by saving the frontier from disaster that might have been the result of a break of gauge between its frontier and all the important systems of the rest of India. His victory for the frontier railways will probably exert a more lasting effect on the future destinies of India than even his most brilliant military successes.

Nearly all the advantages claimed for the metre gauge might have been secured without break of gauge by the adoption of light standard gauge railways; and, in 1873, advising the Government of India to adopt this policy, I wrote :

"The construction of light, broad gauge railways on the 45 pounds principle would have entailed an increase of about 15 per cent. on the cost, and I am of opinion that—in consideration of the length of railway already constructed—the maintenance of uniform gauge in India is worth that additional expenditure."

It has been urged by advocates of the metre gauge that the adoption of light standard gauge railways would have the effect of a break of gauge, because the rolling-stock of ordinary railways could not be used upon them; but this argument could only apply to the heavy standard gauge engines, but not to the passenger or waggon stock, of which the axle loads would not be too great for the permanent way of the light railway.

In fact, the metre gauge railways have departed widely from those conditions which were originally claimed as their principal recommendation. They have passed out of the category of "light railways."

At the outset the weight of rails of the metre gauge railway was 35 pounds per yard. It has now been in-

creased to 60 pounds.* The weight of the engines was $12\frac{1}{2}$ tons. It has now been increased to $40\frac{1}{2}$ tons, and, including the weight of tender, to 64 tons.

In discussions of the gauge, statistics of the actual cost of groups of standard and metre gauge railways have been put forward, showing their capital expenditure to have been about £11,800 and £4,750 per mile respectively; and these figures have been accepted by some as representing the difference due to gauge.

Statistics, like mathematics, are valuable when rightly used; but, when used without full knowledge of all the conditions affecting them, they are apt to be misleading and mischievous.

The misuse of statistics in the Indian battle of the gauges has been a fertile source of error, and it is scarcely necessary to say that the acceptance of these figures as representing the difference due to gauge is grossly misleading.

The railway history of India may be divided into two epochs—the first commencing about 1850, and the second about 1870. The great majority of the standard gauge railways were made in the earlier period, when the conditions affecting the capital cost were absolutely different from those prevailing in the second period, during which the metre gauge railways were constructed.

In the first place, the changes of currency in 1873, by the demonetization of silver, altered its purchasing power to an extent of at least 30 per cent. The capital of a company always increases with age, and the standard gauge railways are for the most part at least twenty years older than the metre gauge railways. In 1867 Lord Lawrence, drawing attention to the great increase of the capital of Indian railways, wrote :

"I regard this danger with great concern, both in relation to the prospect of existing lines and our hopes of extending them. If the

* On some railways of 2 feet gauge the weight of rails per yard is 36 pounds, and occasionally, 50 pounds.

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.

"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."

Some years before my arrival in India, when Director-General of the Ceylon Railway, with the view of checking the inflation of capital, I practically closed the capital account of the railway, with the happiest results, and on my advent to India I endeavoured to carry out a similar policy on the metre gauge railways by meeting minor additions to them from revenue instead of from capital. This line of action undoubtedly burdened the revenue account, and gave an appearance of excessive working expenses, when compared with those of the older railways, on which this principle was not enforced. But, although this policy was admitted in principle to be sound, it was, after some time, discontinued, on account of the hopelessness of having comparisons made on the crude basis of bare results.

Again, the earlier railways had a very expensive type of permanent way, and the later railways have had advantages in the improvements in the design and execution of works, of cheaper bridgework, the substitution of steel for iron, and the fall of price in steel rails from £16 to £5 per ton—a most important item in the gauge question.

Another cause of disparity is found in the fact that the number of large rivers bridged on the metre gauge lines is quite insignificant compared with that on the standard gauge railways.

The cost of large bridges per mile forms a very large proportion of the total cost of any railway. Taking, for example, the extreme case of the Punjab-Northern Railway, 105 miles in length, on which there are three large bridges, aggregating nearly three miles in length, the cost of these, including training-works and protection, has added £14,000 per mile to the cost of that railway; and it must be borne

in mind that the difference in cost in such bridges is but very slightly affected by the gauge. A comparative estimate of the cost of these bridges, on the standard and metre gauge by the Engineer-in-Chief of that railway, showed a difference of only 3 per cent. ; the cost of abutments, piers, foundations, and training-works, which form the principal expense, being practically the same in both gauges.

Again, the capital of the earlier railways has been enormously increased by the huge premium paid on the purchase of these railways by the Government.

These facts show the absurdity of attempting to arrive at the comparative cost of standard and metre gauge railways by crude comparison of their respective capital accounts.

In 1882 I was asked by the Government of India to furnish them with a comparative estimate of the cost of the 5 feet 6 inches and metre gauge. In reply I wrote: "It is simply impossible to lay down anything like a proportion between the cost of the gauges. It will differ in every individual case."

In illustration of this impossibility I assumed two extreme cases, and in concluding my note I stated, "*It may vary between 5 and 33 per cent.*"

In passing on my note the Deputy Secretary wrote: "One might as well attempt to estimate the value of a horse by the height of its withers as to estimate the cost of a railway by the width of its gauge."

Two years afterwards I was horrified to find that a witness, giving evidence before the Railway Committee in the House of Commons, had given me as his authority for stating that the difference of cost between the gauges was 5 per cent. in heavy ghat lines and 33 per cent. in surface lines.

Eventually I traced this absurd statement to a Royal Engineer, who had carelessly read my note, and entirely misunderstood it.

A striking instance of the folly of such comparison may

be found in the case of that of the Northern Railway of Ceylon, and the Southern Kelani Valley Railway—lines built about the same time and by the same agency—the former, a light standard (5 feet 6 inches) gauge; the latter, 2 feet 6 inches gauge. The standard gauge line cost £3,617, while the narrow gauge cost £7,498 per mile. The cost of the permanent way per mile was practically the same in both cases; but the cost of the rolling-stock per mile of the standard gauge railway was only one-third of that of the narrow gauge line.

In 1884 the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Railway Communication expressed the following opinion on the subject of gauge, with a view to minimize the evils inseparable from a break of gauge:

“Your Committee are of opinion that all the leading trunk lines, with their principal feeders, should be on the broad gauge, the metre gauge being, as a rule, confined to tracks of country where that system is already in successful operation, and to local lines where the traffic is likely to be so light that cheapness of construction more than counterbalances the undoubted disadvantages of break of gauge.”

In regard to this opinion, Colonel Conway-Gordon, R.E., Director-General of Indian Railways, wrote:

“In the face of the fact that probably every railway man in India regards it as absolutely certain that when the railway system extends, and junctions become more numerous, the inconveniences of a break of gauge in the same district or province will become so serious that the Government will, sooner or later, have to make the gauge of all railways in the same districts uniform, I look upon it as remarkable that no attempt has hitherto been made to localize the two gauges, and thus reduce the evil as far as possible. . . . Briefly, it may be said that the Government of India, in the years from 1867 to 1869, against the advice of every professional man engaged in the working of railways who was consulted, introduced a new gauge in India, on assumed data, which subsequent experience has shown to be altogether incorrect. The only reason for introducing into India the inconvenience inseparable from a break of gauge was economy. I give the cost per mile of railways lately made to show how little difference there is now in the cost of the two gauges.”

This comparison of the average cost of the railways worked out at £4,803 for the standard and £4,976 for the metre gauge per mile. He added:

"From the above figures it might almost be supposed that the standard gauge lines were the cheaper of the two. The fact is that the recent fall in the price of iron has taken away the greater part of the saving claimed for the metre gauge. The sooner we reach the same conclusion as they have in England—to have but one gauge—the better it will be for the taxpayer in India. The attempt to burke the difficulties by 'thrusting our own heads into the sand' has already lasted too long. To evade the difficulties in connection with this question will prove an impossible problem."

The Indian break of gauge has several times been the subject of discussion in the Institution of Civil Engineers, and almost all engineers of eminence have denounced it. Airy, who was one of the Royal Commissioners on the English break of gauge, said :

"It does appear to me an act of extraordinary imprudence to introduce a break of gauge into India."

After thirty-six years' experience of the break of gauge in India, Sir Frederick Upcott, Chairman of the Indian Board of Railways, and formerly Director-General, brought the question before the Institution of Civil Engineers, in order to examine the possibilities of gradually obtaining uniformity of gauge. He suggested that uniformity might be brought about either by altering the metre to the standard gauge, or altering the standard to the metre gauge, or altering both to the English gauge (4 feet 8½ inches).

The first of these is alone worthy of consideration. It would involve less expenditure, less sacrifice of rolling-stock, and greater efficiency. Sir Frederick Upcott deduced from actual experience of the past a comparison between the efficiency of the standard and metre gauge railways, showing that, taking speed as one factor in the equation, the relative efficiency of the standard is twice that of the metre gauge for passengers carried one mile, and four and three-quarter times per ton of goods carried one mile.

The railway administration has been unable to grapple with the great congestion of traffic. The want of uni-

formity renders it impossible to draft the rolling-stock of one railway to another of different gauge, to meet those periods of stringency so common in India, owing to abnormal or deficient rainfall, flood, famine, sudden glut of traffic, concentration of troops, and other causes.

The traffic of the Rajputana-Malwa system has outstripped the capacities of the metre gauge, and the question has arisen whether the lines should be doubled or relaid to the standard gauge.

The mischief has assumed such gigantic proportions that any immediate or drastic action to restore uniformity is out of the question. There are now in India 18,266 miles of standard gauge, 14,750 miles of metre, and about 3,000 miles of 2 feet or 2 feet 6 inch gauge railway. The only practicable course is to minimize the evil by restricting the narrow gauge as far as possible to defined areas, and to adopt a fixed policy, the aim of which should be the gradual conversion of the metre to the standard gauge, when the traffic may outgrow the capacity of the narrow gauge, as opportunity or necessity may dictate.

Forty-one years ago, when urging on the Government the adoption of a fixed line of policy for restricting the metre gauge to defined areas, I wrote :

"Such a policy, if adopted, should be pursued with unwavering pertinacity, keeping it always in view, and completing the necessary works when opportunity may offer, either by the construction of new lines, where none exist, or by obtaining existing lines of railway through negotiation, or exercising the right of purchase when it occurs."

This policy, however, has not been maintained. Encroachments have been made by both gauges into the territory of each other, creating a confused network, in which both are inextricably mixed up, and unnecessary lines have been made.

The problem of minimizing the evil and preventing its increase presents enormous difficulty; but the attempt to solve it should be made without delay, as every year increases the evil.

Burma and Assam are pledged to the metre gauge ; but neither of them is affected by the break of gauge, for they have their respective ports of shipment at Rangoon and Chittagong. The region north of the Ganges must also retain the metre gauge ; but it is cut off from any port of shipment, except through transfer at numerous points along the 500 miles of its boundary on the Ganges. With a view of minimizing this difficulty, it has been suggested that the system should be connected by narrow gauge with Calcutta or its neighbourhood—bridging the Ganges at Sara, crossing the Eastern Bengal Railway, joining the Central Bengal Railway, and converting it into a metre gauge line. A great objection to this project would be the confusion and complexity that would be caused by the introduction of a mixed gauge in the sidings of the Port Commissioners at Calcutta. This, however, might be avoided by having the metre gauge terminus lower down the River Hooghly at Diamond Harbour or at Port Canning, so as to make either of these the port of shipment for the Trans-Gangetic system.

The growth of traffic beyond the capacity of the gauge of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway affords an opportunity for having it relaid on the standard gauge, instead of doubling it. This would avoid a break of gauge between Delhi, the new capital, and the port of Bombay. It would cost much less than doubling the line.

Another question requiring early consideration is that of the Indo-Ceylon Railway. Before long a connection between India and Ceylon must be made by a causeway over Adam's Bridge, twenty-two miles in length, to both ends of which railways are now completed ; on the Ceylon end by the Indian standard gauge, and on the Indian end by the metre gauge. It would be an act of extreme folly to introduce a break of gauge between Ceylon and India, more especially as this railway, if extended, would open to the trade of South India the port of Colombo, and the magnificent harbour of Trincomalie. To effect this without break of gauge, it would be necessary either to relay

the line from Erode, on the South Indian Railway system, to Rameseram on the standard gauge; or, preferably, by making a new standard gauge line from Salem to Rameseram, the Indian end of Adam's Bridge. The new line, though rather more expensive, would be shorter, and would develop fresh outlets for trade in South India. It would connect Ceylon, without break of gauge, with the 18,000 miles of standard gauge from the south to the most northern parts of India.

As an alternative to the direct line from Salem, I may state that it has been proposed to construct locomotive workshops at Trichinopoly, and these involve the laying of the standard gauge from Erode to Trichinopoly, in order to bring the standard gauge locomotives there.

From Trichinopoly to Rameseram the railway which I have delineated on the map has already been suggested, and if this were made as a light standard gauge line, uniformity of gauge would thereby be secured.

The bridge over the Paumben Strait has been designed for a metre gauge, but it is quite capable of taking the waggon stock of the standard gauge.

It may be thought that Ceylon is comparatively so small that a break of gauge is scarcely worth serious consideration; but it must be remembered that Ceylon is nearly as large as Ireland.

It is to be hoped that the Government will adopt some wise and comprehensive policy, which will tend to restore, in some degree, the advantages of uniformity of gauge in the railways of India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, April 20, 1914, at which a paper was read by Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., entitled, "The Battle of the Gauges in India." Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Lord Roberts, V.C., K.G., was in the Chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present : Sir Lesley Probyn, K.C.V.O., Sir Bradford Leslie, K.C.I.E., Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I., Sir Robert Fulton, LL.D., General Sir Edmund Barrow, K.C.B., Sir Lionel Dixon Spencer, K.C.B., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Frederick Robertson, Sir Lancelot Hare, K.C.S.I., Sir Stephen Finney, C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mrs. and Miss Pollen, Miss D. Pollen, Captain H. O. Mance, D.S.O., and Mrs. Mance, Mr. G. M. Buckland, R.A., Mr. J. S. Dhanjibhoy, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, Mr. W. Coldstream, Colonel Forde, Mrs. Coldstream, Mr. N. C. Sen, Mr. A. H. Wilson, Mr. E. Benedict, Miss Massey, Miss Harrison, Mrs. Davidson, Madame Hemmerlé, Miss Hemmerlé, Mr. Donald N. Reid, Mr. Nihal Singh, Mr. V. Raghunath, Mr. M. M. Gandevia, Miss Molesworth, Mr. R. Maitland, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. R. Money, Mr. Ali Fahmi Mohamed, Mrs. Beauchamp, Mrs. Boyle, Mrs. John Hullah, Mr. and Mrs. Larking, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Colonel Boughey, Mr. and Mrs. A. Mudie, Mr. Bolinbroke Mudie, Mr. E. A. Cumming, Mr. A. R. Bannerjee, C.I.E., Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. M. Yamin Khan, Dr. Abdul Majid, Mr. W. Lane, Mrs. Walsh, Miss M. Walsh, The Misses Maunder, Major Longridge, Mrs. Blaise, Mr. and Mrs. Sassoon, Mr. H. B. Molesworth, Lieutenant-Colonel F. S. Terry, Mrs. Wigley, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. Adams, Mr. A. Cadell, C.S.I., Mr. and Mrs. W. Corfield, Miss Corfield, Mr. E. M. Coppin, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Dawson, Mr. H. Kelway-Bamber, M.V.O., Mr. G. H. Beattie, Mr. R. O. Grant, Mr. F. Biedermann, Mr. M. E. Corrie, Mr. G. K. Wasey, General Lovett, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. H. Palmer, Mrs. Bird, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Miss Webster, Miss Ruth Tempest, Mr. Waring, Mr.

Colman P. Hyman, Mr. and Mrs. Hope Smith, Mr. E. Jackson, Mr. W. H. Copley, Mr. G. Service, Mr. Theodore Hance, Mr. Alexander Edmonds, Mr. J. Ballantyne, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Neville Priestley, the Rev. A. H. and Mrs. Lash, Colonel Evans Stuart, Mr. Hedley V. Storey, Mr. Cyril Hitchcock, Mr. Goodchild, Mr. Robert White, Mr. G. F. Sheppard, J.P., Mr. J. S. Haji, Mr. H. D. Cornish, Mrs. Preston Edwards, Mrs. Hastings, Mr. and Mrs. N. G. Hackney, Mrs. and Miss Creagh Osborne, Mr. J. F. G. Walton, Mr. C. C. Hall, Mr. C. R. T. Balston, Mr. F. Bickers, Colonel and Mrs. Kilgour, Mr. and Mrs. Hastings and friend, Mr. J. B. Braddon, Lady Spens, Mr. P. Mitter, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Mrs. Marsh, Captain H. Marsh, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mrs. Grigg, and Dr. Pollen, C.I.E., Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN: I will call upon Sir Guilford Molesworth to read his lecture.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN (who was received with loud applause) said: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had a very instructive lecture this afternoon, and I venture to endorse the last suggestion of the lecturer, "That the Government of India will adopt some wise and comprehensive policy which will tend to restore, in some degree, the advantages of uniformity of gauge in the railways of India."

I gladly accepted Sir Guilford Molesworth's invitation to preside at this lecture, partly because we were friends in bygone days in India, but also because the subject of the lecture is one in which, as Sir Guilford has pointed out, I had reason to be deeply interested. The question at issue—just forty years ago—so far as the military authorities were concerned was whether the main line of railway, which had been completed from the coast as far inland as Lahore on the standard (5 feet 6 inches) gauge, should be continued on that gauge towards the frontier, or whether it should be constructed on the metre gauge (3 feet 3½ inches)—a gauge which had been introduced some three years previously, and was strongly supported by the Public Works Department of the Government of India.

At the time of the battle I was Quartermaster-General of the Army in India, and had had considerable experience in the transport of troops both by railway and by route-marching. It was particularly fortunate for me that the then Commander-in-Chief in India happened to be the late Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala—a very talented officer of the Royal Engineers—better able than most soldiers to advise on the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems.

The only way, it seemed to me, by which the question could be properly considered was to take a concrete case. Accordingly, I imagined that a serious disturbance had broken out on the North-West Frontier, and that it was necessary to collect at, and despatch from, Lahore a large body of troops with the least possible delay.

I drew up a statement showing the dates on which a force of 10,000 men of all arms could be collected at Lahore, and in what time these same troops could be forwarded on to Rawul Pindi—a distance of

171 miles—beyond which place it was not then intended to take the line of railway :

1. By the broad gauge.
2. By the narrow gauge.
3. By route marching.

I was able to prove that by the broad gauge—that is to say, without any break of gauge at Lahore—the 10,000 men with guns, horses, tents, baggage, etc., complete, could be assembled at Rawal Pindi in 101 hours, or four days and five hours, after the first detachment had reached Lahore ; and that the last of the forty-three trains required for the force could be back at Lahore by 1 p.m. on the fifth day, ready for any further work that might be needed.

On the other hand, by the narrow gauge I was able to show that from the time of the arrival of the first detachment at Lahore—a period of 321 hours—or nearly thirteen and a half days—would be required to convey the same force of 10,000 men to Rawal Pindi.

And by route-marching I had no difficulty in explaining that the last division would reach Rawal Pindi at twelve noon on the fourteenth day after the arrival of the first detachment at Lahore, and only thirteen hours after the last troop train by the narrow gauge.

I need not refer to the confusion, delay, and extra work that would be caused to troops by a break of gauge. Sir Guilford Molesworth has referred very generously to the correctness of my forecast as to what would inevitably happen under such circumstances. I will only say that, in 1879-80, when I was in Afghanistan, and the force under my command was mainly dependent on India for supplies, I felt thankful that "the Battle of the Gauges in India" had been settled in favour of there being no break of gauge at Lahore. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

I now call upon Sir Bradford Leslie to open the discussion.

SIR BRADFORD LESLIE said that he was afraid he could not make any useful comments on the paper, as he had not heard it fully owing to his unfortunate deafness, but he might perhaps offer a few quite general remarks in respect of the difference of gauge. The field for the extension of the railway communication in India was so vast, and the conditions so varied in different parts of the country, that he considered the two gauges must go forward together ; it was a case of "the survival of the fittest." At some points he noticed that there was a tendency where the traffic was becoming heavy for the metre gauge to give way to the standard. Delhi having now been adopted as the capital of India, the direct communication between Karachi and Delhi had become of great importance. The metre gauge railway of the Jodhpore State was the shortest route between the two cities, but the traffic went round by the standard gauge ; in these circumstances, the Maharaja of Jodhpore had decided to convert his metre gauge railway to the standard gauge.

In Eastern Bengal hitherto the dividing line of the gauges had been the Ganges River, all the railways to the south being on the standard gauge, and to the north of the river on the metre gauge. As most of

them would know, there was approaching completion the Lower Ganges Bridge, about 125 miles north-east of Calcutta, which would effect direct communication between the railways north and south of the river. The proposal was that the standard gauge should invade the metre gauge country north of the Ganges. In many places the conversion of the metre gauge had been determined upon. New railways, such as the Sara Serajunge, were being made on the standard gauge, and other extensions were in contemplation, notably one from Santahar to Maldah, which was to be a light standard gauge railway. In his opinion, the standard gauge was able to cope with the work better, and it was most likely gradually to supplant the metre gauge; but he could not overlook one great illustration of what a metre gauge railway could do, which at present existed in the Bengal and North-Western Railway, which had not only filled up the map of Tirhoot and Behar, but had invaded the standard gauge sphere of Oudh and Rohilkund. Of course, no doubt each system was adapted to its own particular locality, although it should be pointed out that the standard gauge being capable of much higher speeds than the metre gauge, in case of a great amount of traffic at a higher speed, it would require less rolling stock. The standard gauge would also require less siding accommodation for that rolling stock to stand upon, and so on; but those were really only mere details. Then, again, as to transhipment, it had now been reduced to such a minor matter that it was of small importance; as a matter of fact, transhipment to a considerable extent had to be done on all railways at repacking stations and at junctions, in order to prevent light running of partially loaded waggons, quite irrespective of difference of gauge. Although in some instances transhipment did involve delay, it was now accepted as an ordinary routine affair of minor importance, and no extra charge was made by the railways for the service of transhipment.

MR. NEVILLE PRIESTLEY: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, it is difficult to deal with so large a subject as the "Battle of the Gauges in India" in the few words I feel entitled to speak, but I will endeavour to be as brief as possible.

While I think that every one will agree with Sir Guilford Molesworth that a multiplicity of gauges is in itself undesirable, I do not think that many who have had to do with the providing of money for railways in India will agree with him that the evil was, or is, avoidable. The deficit in the revenue account because of the cost of the earlier railways which had been constructed on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge was very high, the country which it was desired to open up did not suggest a large amount of traffic, and the amount of money which was or could be made available for railway construction was very limited.

The Government were, therefore, faced with the alternatives of opening only a few miles of railway each year on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge and increasing, largely, the deficit; or adopting a narrower gauge and opening a much larger mileage of railways with, perhaps, a chance of not adding to the deficit at all. They chose the latter course then, and they choose the latter course still; and, if they had not had the courage to follow this

course India would not to-day have as much country opened up by railways as she has, nor would she be as wealthy as she is.

Sir Guilford suggests that the same result could have been obtained by substituting for the metre gauge light broad gauge railways, and that this would have entailed an increase of only 15 per cent. in the cost. My own experience does not bear out this conclusion, nor does it seem practicable to the Government of India at the present time, since in the last few years they have built or have authorized the construction on the 2 feet 6 inches gauge of many miles of branches off the 5 feet 6 inches gauge railways. While, therefore, the expediency, if not the necessity, for the adoption of different gauges must be admitted by the Administrator, if it is not also admitted by the Engineer, there can be no doubt that the intention, originally, was to build the metre gauge railways to a very light standard, and to convert them to the broad gauge when the traffic had developed sufficiently to justify conversion. That intention has never, except in a rare instance or two, been carried out, and for the same reason that led to the adoption of the narrower gauges. The Government were still short of money. The metre gauge line could be strengthened up to carry all the traffic of the districts traversed by it at far less cost than conversion to the broad gauge would involve—the Government, therefore, again adopted the course which expediency suggested, and they allowed the gauge to remain which was adequate for the needs of the district, even though it did mean some inconvenience when it came into contact with a broader gauge.

The lecturer suggests that the Rajputana-Malwa metre gauge line has outstripped the capacities of the metre gauge, and that the question has arisen whether the lines should be doubled or relaid to the standard gauge. The same opinion was expressed of its capacity twenty-five years ago, but the traffic, which has considerably increased in the meantime, is still carried by a single metre gauge line, and when it does exceed the capacity of a single line it might be safe to predict that the line will be doubled because doubling will cost less than conversion.

While, therefore, ample justification can be found for the policy which has been pursued by the Government, there still remains the broad proposition, with which no one can disagree, that a break of gauge in itself is undesirable; and that the aim should be the gradual conversion of the narrower to the standard or 5 feet 6 inches gauge. The difficulty lies in achieving that object.

Sir Guilford refers to what was done in America, but he has not told us how America secured uniformity of gauges. Up to the year 1886 there were more than seven different gauges of railways in the United States. In the summer of 1885 a conference of the Presidents of the different railways was held, and it was decided to adopt the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge as the standard, and to convert all railways to this gauge at the end of May of the following year.

The change was duly made in 1886, and 13,000 miles of main line and 1,500 miles of siding were converted to the 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, and, incredible though it may appear, the operation was carried

out in just two days. That would be an impossible feat in India under present conditions. All that made it possible in America was that the necessity for uniformity had been foreseen for years, and all new engines, carriages, and wagons had been built so as to facilitate the change. But no amount of foresight or preparation would have brought the change within the range of practical politics but for two factors. Those two factors were the universal adoption of central fixed couplings without side buffers, and the bogie truck which was detached from the body of the car and the gauge of which was capable of expansion or contraction by easy expedients without interference with or being interfered with by the body. Those two factors are absent in India. The 5 feet 6 inches railways have side buffers with flexible couplings, while the metre gauge lines have fixed central couplings without side buffers. All railways are now building their passenger stock on bogie trucks, but the goods stock on the broad gauge railways still almost entirely consist of four wheelers. On the metre gauge lines the position is better, but not very much so.

The universal adoption of the bogie truck and the prohibition of the construction of any more four-wheeled vehicles is a simple matter. An executive order by the Government of India, similar to that issued in regard to passenger stock, is all that is needed. But the adoption of a uniform type of coupling for all gauges is much more difficult. The problem has, for other reasons, been under examination lately, and it is found not to be easy of solution. At the present time the inconvenience from break of gauge is not really *serious*, since much, if not all of it, can be overcome by proper organization; but as time goes on and traffic develops, and labour difficulties increase, it might well become so on some railways.

The conversion of a railway to another gauge is not at any time a simple proposition, and in India at this time, and under present conditions, it is a problem full of difficulty; but, while the problem is difficult, its solution is not beyond the wit of man, and it is desirable, as the lecturer suggests, that some wise and comprehensive policy should be adopted, now, while there is yet time, if enormous outlay and serious dislocation of business is to be avoided hereafter when the change does become necessary. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, unfortunately, I have to leave early, but I am glad to inform you that Sir Arundel Arundel will take my place in the chair. I beg to thank you all very much for your kind reception this afternoon.

Before Lord Roberts left a very hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Sir Arundel Arundel, and was carried unanimously, amidst loud applause.

MR. H. J. BAMBER: Ladies and gentlemen, what I have to say will not occupy more than a few minutes.

Sir Guilford L. Molesworth, in his most interesting and valuable paper now under discussion, laments the evils inseparable from a break of gauge, and hopes that something will be done to restore, in some degree, the advantages of uniformity of gauge on the railways of India.

Since the change of policy which in 1870 permitted the introduction of metre, and later of smaller gauge systems, 18,000 miles of those gauges have been constructed, compared with 9,000 miles of 5 feet 6 inches gauge, or exactly twice as many.

At the beginning of this year the mileage of metre and smaller gauge-lines sanctioned for construction greatly exceeded that of prospective broad-gauge lines; there is, therefore, at present, no indication of any intention to change the existing policy, and it seems necessary to look elsewhere for relief.

I venture to think that it can, in a large measure, be effected by increasing the maximum permissible loads of metre gauge axles.

Twenty years ago the maximum gross permissible axle load on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge railways of India was ten tons, it has since risen by steps of one ton to sixteen tons, at which it seems likely to remain. Meanwhile the metre gauge axle load has only increased by one ton, from seven to eight tons. There seems no reason why a maximum of twelve tons should not be aimed at; on the 3 feet 6 inches gauge lines of South Africa the maximum is sixteen and a half tons.

From 50 to 60 per cent. of all the goods handled on Indian metre gauge railways is of such a weight as would yield full wagon loads for the twelve-ton axle.

But for the increased axle load on the Indian broad gauge lines above referred to, the position to-day would, indeed, have been serious.

MR. ERNEST BENEDICT said that his only right to speak was his age, but after the lecturer and Sir Bradford Leslie had spoken he might be considered more or less as a boy. Nevertheless, he had had some experience of Indian railways, having gone out to India on them as early as 1865. As to the controversy between the two gauges, he agreed that there was no reason why, because they wanted to make a light railway, they should reduce the gauge; there was very little difference in the cost. With regard to the transfer from one system to another, the difficulties of which some speakers had minimized, he regarded it as serious. When they had two distinct and independent systems meeting in one place the difficulty was enormously increased; one railway would bring great quantities of goods, which the other railway was not ready to despatch. That required unusual co-ordination between the systems, in order to avoid a glut of goods at the transfer station.

With regard to the Festiniog Railway, which had always been a *bête noir* to him, he did not think they could compare a railway like that with one in the Indian plains. Lord Mayo was a clever man, but he did not think he was an engineer. Another thing the lecturer did not make a point of, owing, no doubt, to his modesty, was that, notwithstanding the idea that a mountain railway on the 5 feet 6 inches gauge could not be constructed within reasonable cost, Sir Guilford had constructed a 5 feet 6 inches railway in Ceylon, which was an essentially mountain railway, at a low cost. It was a question entirely of engineering. The Royal Engineers were very charming people in India, but when he first went out to India they told him they were learning their business at the expense of the

Government, for at the beginning they did not know very much about railways. They have had more experience since then. One Royal Engineer, when told to make a certain line, and to make it cheaply, simply took the contour map and ran the railway along a contour line, thus putting down an enormous amount of permanent way which he could have avoided by making a few cuttings and an embankment. (Laughter.)

Then, again, the question of speed was important; they realized that in America, where they ran their goods traffic almost as fast as their passenger traffic, if they got uniformity they could get along, but if they did not, it was very much like the problem of the London street traffic. On the narrow gauge they could not go as fast as on the broad gauge, and, in his opinion, the widening of the gauge would largely increase the advantages of the railway system in India.

He was sorry Lord Roberts was not present, because no one had alluded to the laying down of the 2 feet 6 inch gauge on all the recent frontier lines; thus introducing on a large scale a third standard. He would like to have asked Lord Roberts why that was. If the gauges throughout the Empire had been uniform, for instance, during the late war in South Africa, they could have sent out spare stock, but at present that was impossible. Australia was a country that had not been alluded to, where they had yet the same difficulty of too many systems of gauge; the same remark applied to Spain, where they had now found they would like to have inter-communication with the rest of Europe.

As to the statement of the short period of time in which the United States converted the whole of their system into one uniform gauge, he would like to ask how long they were in preparing for the change? He would undertake to convert all the Indian railways in two days if they gave him a year or two in which to prepare. (Hear, hear.)

CAPTAIN MANCE said that he must begin by confessing that he was one of the Royal Engineers, but he pleaded not guilty to having obtained his railway experience in India. After the costly experiment of different gauges in England, and the increasing difficulties resulting from this cause in India—happily modified, as regards the frontier lines, by Lord Roberts' action—it was surprising in how many countries these different gauges had been and were being allowed to exist. As a further example, he might mention Algeria, where there were three different gauges. It was interesting to note that in the railway from Oran to Becher, which he understood was now designated for eventual extension across the Sahara, they had a 1'05 metre gauge as compared with a one metre gauge in French West Africa.

Then in Australia, where they had the 5 feet 3 inches, 4 feet 8½ inches, and 3 feet 6 inches gauges, he understood they had recently decided to convert the whole of the Government Railways to 4 feet 8½ inches. Yet in spite of that, in 1912, in the infancy of what would be a great system of railways in Nigeria, our richest tropical possession after India, the same mistake had been made by the construction of some ninety miles of the 2 feet 6 inches gauge, for the sake of a paltry saving. In the

following year there were plans on foot for converting at least part of the newly-laid line to the 3 feet 6 inches gauge, which was the standard gauge of Nigeria, but again, in 1914, it was announced that that project had been abandoned, and the narrow gauge was to be extended. Surely, what they had heard to-day pointed conclusively to the necessity for re-laying the 2 feet 6 inches section with the 3 feet 6 inches gauge, and banishing the 2 feet 6 inches material out of the country, probably to Sierra Leone, where all the railways are 2 feet 6 inches. No doubt, so soon after the construction of the railway, it was rather against the grain to spend on converting it an amount somewhat greater than the original difference in cost between the two gauges, yet the error had been admitted, and the cost would be comparatively trivial, and if the opportunity was missed now, the cost and difficulty of eliminating the second gauge would undoubtedly increase as years went on. He urged that this pointed to the advisability of the Administration grasping the nettle whilst it was still easily uprooted! The initial fault of allowing two gauges must be classified, he was afraid amongst those things which ought not to be done, but which were done. Unfortunately, alas! the visitation of evil consequences was not limited to the third or fourth generation. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the lecturer to reply.

SIR GUILFORD MOLESWORTH: I can understand that Mr. Priestley must loyally defend the financial policy into which his Board has been driven, by the short-sighted and mistaken idea that railway development would have been checked by the difficulty of raising funds except for cheap metre-gauge railways; but this argument is inapplicable to the period when the break of gauge was introduced into India, for the construction of all new railways was then in the hands of the Government, with whom no such financial difficulty existed. In fact, most of the State railways were made for strategical and political, not for financial, purposes.

With reference to Mr. Priestley's statement that his experience was opposed to my view, expressed thirty-nine years ago, that the construction of light standard gauge would have entailed a cost of about 15 per cent. beyond that of the metre gauge. I am convinced that I overrated, rather than underrated, the difference; and that, in the light of more recent experience, I should now place it at a far lower figure—10 per cent. at the outside.

The great mistake the Government made at that time was in over-estimating the difference of the cost of the standard and metre-gauge railways. I am convinced that, taking into account the cost of conversions—the unnecessary lines that have been made—the increase of rolling stock and workshops, the cost and loss in transfer, etc., far more money has been expended than would have been the case if uniformity of gauge had been maintained.

The conversion of 13,000 miles of railway in the United States, in order to remedy the evils caused by the narrow gauge craze, proves how severely the evils of a break of gauge must have been felt.

SIR ARUNDEL T. ARUNDEL, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to Lord Roberts, said they were very much indebted to them

both for the trouble they had taken, and for opening their stores of knowledge that afternoon in such an interesting way.

There was one little personal reminiscence of Lord Roberts he would like to mention. Forty years ago the people of Madras determined to erect a town hall by public subscription on an admirable design by the distinguished architect, Mr. Chisholm, and they were anxious to get the Governor of Madras to preside at the laying of the foundation-stone. He, however, thought they ought to have a system of drainage before a town hall, though the former would be paid out of the rates and the latter by subscription, and he therefore did not consent to preside. In their perplexity the committee turned to Lord Roberts (then Sir Frederick Roberts) to help them, and he consented with pleasure; gave a handsome donation, and proposed the vote of thanks to the Maharaja of Vizianagram, who laid the foundation-stone, and who munificently met the excess cost of the building over the amount subscribed by the public.

In conclusion, he felt sure they all agreed with him in wishing Lord Roberts many more years of health and vigour to devote to the welfare of the country. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

COLONEL YATE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said that when he looked at the map and saw the enormous stretch of metre-gauge railways stretching up through Rajputana, he would like to ask why these metre-gauge lines had not been allowed to have their natural outlet on the sea. He asked, from an engineering point of view, whether it would be sufficient to have a third rail on the present standard gauge from Hyderabad to Karachi, so as to allow the metre gauge to run without break of bulk to its natural harbour at Karachi, or would an entirely new line have to be run alongside the present lines?

The LECTURER said that the line went through a flat desert and sparsely inhabited district, and there would be little difficulty or expense in adding a third line. He thanked them very much for so patiently listening to that which must necessarily have been a very dry subject.

With regard to the remarks that had been made regarding Royal Engineers, he thought that they had learned their lesson remarkably well. He had been in constant personal and official touch with them, and his relations with them had, with very few exceptions, been most cordial and satisfactory. They had often been placed in a difficult position, being supposed to be "Sab-janta-wallahs" (Know-everything-fellows), and to possess by intuition that special experience which can only be acquired in actual practice. In his opinion they had surmounted such difficulties admirably. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

THE IMPORTANCE OF CRICKET IN INDIA

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

THE Editor of the *Review* asks me for a few notes on my personal experience of cricket in India, and of its effects on the population of the Presidency of Bombay.

The best cricket of the year in the Bombay Presidency when I arrived there was undoubtedly the match between the Poona Gymkhana and the Parsees; this was played on the Maidan at Bombay during the rains. I fancy I did not see the match the first year, but it was fully described to me by my lamented friend, Colonel Frank Rhodes. I certainly saw it in the second year, and was very much impressed with the bowling of a Parsee named Writer. He struck me as very much like the celebrated Nottingham bowler, George Wootton, who flourished in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Wootton and Grundy were as well known in their day as were Morley and Shaw subsequently, so that it was classing Writer very high indeed for me to think that he was anything like as good; but that he was as good as Wootton for some six or seven overs, I am pretty sure, although I do not think he had anything like the stamina. It seemed to me that the Parsee eleven were too good for the eleven that went down to play them from Poona, and I suggested to some of the Europeans that I thought they ought to try and put the best eleven from the Presidency they could in the field. I gathered that some of them thought it a little *infra dig*, but they very soon gave way, and the result was some first-class cricket and some most interesting matches. If I remember aright, the Europeans quite held their own; but they were specially lucky at that time in having some really good amateur cricketers, Mr. Raikes in particular being (when he bowled at Bombay) quite equal to the best amateur bowler in Gentlemen *v.* Players in England. Perhaps I may have done some little good in ameliorating the relation between the two races that prevailed before I arrived by having a luncheon, at which the members of both elevens were present. It was one of the first instances of Indians and Europeans sitting down to a meal together. If the Europeans had had any reluctance previously, though I do not remember that they had, they "sank it" at my request. On the other hand,

the Parsees (some of whom had adopted the customs of high caste Hindoos) "sank" whatever objection they may have had to taking a meal with beef-eating Englishmen. There was rather a strong feeling that I myself ought to have played in these matches, but I was quite convinced from the first that I should be altogether "detached," and I have never regretted that decision. In another direction I endeavoured to arouse interest amongst the Europeans in cricket, by getting together a team to visit Ootacamund to play against a Madras eleven selected by my lamented friend, Lord Wenlock. It required a good deal of getting together, but we made the trip and were successful. Meantime I was not idle myself in Bombay. Frank Rhodes had set the Government House establishment at work blasting out a quantity of rock from the plateau outside Government House at Ganeskhind, and had made a pitch which was playable, although I should hardly call it safe; and should think that some English cricketers, who are very much afraid of their fingers nowadays, would not have cared to stand up to the very fast bowling of Bandsman Sharpe; but I organized some very delightful cricket there against European and Indian teams once a week. Guests were asked out for the afternoon, the band played, everything during the rains in the Presidency was green, and the cricket was quite good, so that the scene and surroundings were quite English, if the temperature was rather high. I had really got together an excellent eleven in one or two years at Government House, with the help of the band, Colonel Rhodes, Colonel Robert Poore (as he now is), Colonel Fowle, and Colonel Cox. These were all capital cricketers, and in that warm climate with the bright sun I could myself be depended upon for a high average. Besides our regular bowlers, who were quite decent, we had an excellent underhand, left-hand sneak bowler, who was almost invariably successful when we had to put him on.

Now I think even the severest critics of the British officials generally, and of the Governor in particular, could not have found anything very wrong in a match one day a week, taking up perhaps four or five hours in the day. But it is a fact that because I took part in an honest, open-air, athletic game, I was taken to task and abused like a pickpocket by the great majority of the Native Press. I might have reclined on my back three days a week smoking cigarettes and reading French novels, and they would have known nothing about it. In that case I should have probably escaped their animadversions, but because I had endeavoured to set an example of healthy, wholesome activity to the youth of Bombay—many of whom in their leisure moments had nothing to do, and probably spent that time not nearly so healthfully as I did—I was held up as a thoroughly bad example. I am happy to say that from all I hear, it is now recognized on all sides that it is really good for the youth of the country to have some healthy, outdoor, active occupation in their leisure moments, and if it is thought that the example I set had anything to do with the change of sentiment in the Presidency, I am amply compensated for the abuse I experienced at the hands of the Native Press.

I think it is likely that Indians will always be able to produce some fine

bats. They have good eyes, and are very supple, and will occasionally, of course, produce a good bowler. But, curiously enough, even in their own climate, I have never seen that they were any better in the field than Englishmen, and they were certainly not in the same category with Australians, who, owing to climatic surroundings, have a far greater capacity for throwing long distances than have their brothers in Great Britain. Indian cricketers will probably for a long time have difficulty in combining together so as to send about the world teams composed of mixed religions. That is the weakness of India, but this is a minor difficulty, and of but small importance as compared with giving the youth of India some healthy occupation in their leisure hours. That Indians appreciate the great merits of cricket is a great compliment to the Mother-country. If they remember me in connection with the spread of interest in cricket out there I am very grateful, for I bear in the happiest recollection what my old friend Mr. Framji Patel once said of me, that "in cricket matters I was their 'guru.'"

HARRIS.

THE DARKNESS OVER EGYPT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

SIR,

Will you kindly allow me to express my appreciation of the reasonable and sensible article in your last issue, and to offer some explanation as to the report that £60,000 was spent to build a road from Sakhara to Cairo merely to convey the statue of Ramses II. to the new square at Cairo Station. That statement was, doubtless, based on wrong information for two obvious reasons; first, there is no "room" to construct such a road between Sakhara and Cairo, and, secondly, it is quite easy to convey any monument a dozen times as heavy as the statue of Ramses II., either by boat on the Nile or by the existing railways. If an "agricultural road" has been constructed in that locality it would not cost more than £6,000, whereas Sakhara is only a short distance from the Pyramids of Giza, where there is already an excellent road direct to Cairo. The need for a road to Helouan (spelt in the article Heaouan) has been very badly felt by Cairenes and the inhabitants of that beautiful suburb (which is a winter invalid residence).

Other statements in the article are put in a very sensible and, in fact, authoritative style that is worthy of admiration as grasping the truth and hinting at certain delicate matters that make the Egyptian situation so obscure, and have resulted in a misconception of recent reforms.

Yours very truly,

ALI FAHMI MOHAMED.

EPIRUS: EUROPE'S LATEST CRUX

DEAR SIR,

In view of the splendid work done by the ASIATIC REVIEW at all times, and especially during the Balkan War, on behalf of oppressed nationalities, I feel I cannot do better than to ask for space in your corre-

spondence columns for the publication of some first-hand information on the demands of Epirus for autonomy and the Articles of the Constitution submitted by her.

When I was a child I lived in a beautiful district among the Surrey hills, and I remember delightful shuddering sensations caused by tales told of an eccentric astronomer who had his observatory in the heart of the "Devil's Nose," one of these "mountains," and kept his coffin beside him, as his sole companion by day and by night.

But the most vivid memory is associated with the reptiles of the neighbourhood. I used to lie awake in speechless wonderment trying to interpret in human language the conversations of the myriads of frogs, whose croakings made the night—to me at least—musical. And my joy was to steal away, all alone, and to dig deep pits in the sandy soil—no easy task, as the earth was so dry and friable. But when I had successfully banked up the sides of my pit, then I sought for occupants. My victims were small toads and frogs. I loved the little beings immensely, and would tenderly place half a dozen of them at the bottom of my pit, and watch with an ecstasy of delight the poor prisoners, sisyphus-like, slowly climb the elusive sides, only to be put back, with gentle determination, in order to go through the whole wearisome process over and over again. Their only chance of escape was when I was summoned to the inevitable meals.

I do not think anyone suspected this pastime of mine. Our nurse, appropriately nicknamed "Noodle," was a most superstitious person. She would not have touched one of my pets to save her life. "They spit poison!" she would cry; "and some day we shall find you all swollen and black, poisoned to death by the wicked things!" Indeed, my early demise was often predicted, because, except for loving lizards and other uncanny creatures, I was a "good" child—that is, I never cried when she unduly pulled my wind-tangled hair, and took reasonable care of my white frocks. So "Noodle" turned her attention to her younger charges, and left me to enjoy a delightful lack of supervision.

Since those days I have often asked myself: Are there, perchance, baby World-Powers who play with the destinies of planets and peoples as thoughtless humans trifle with human and sub-human life? And the knowledge that there was nothing but love in my childish heart for the fascinating creatures which I unwittingly tormented has helped me to hope that the same may be true on the higher levels of existence.

I rarely come into touch with diplomacy and *la haute politique* without living through that childish experience once more. And its memory keeps me from cynicism and bitterness, from wanting to follow the rash advice given to Job "to curse God and die."*

* Here is one item told me by a trustworthy witness. When a cottage is visited in search of rifles, if none are found, the woman in charge is asked where they are concealed. There may be no rifles, or she may know nothing about them. A pot is put on the fire, and eggs are boiled hard. Two of the scalding hot eggs are put under the armpits of the poor woman, and her arms are held tightly down. The eggs are replaced by fresh ones as they cool, and my informant told me he had seen many women with the armpits and breasts ulcerated as a result of this torture.

Looking round Europe to-day, my old amusement seems to be in full swing. Like "Noodle," Dame Europa insists that her charges, her representatives, shall be "good." If Englishmen, they must be assiduous "five-o'clockers," and in all cases they must be faultlessly groomed, colourless, gentle-mannered persons. Given these provisors, Dame Europa leaves them to work their own sweet wills with the hapless minor nationalities, just as "Noodle" left the poor froggies to my tender mercies a generation ago.

The daily Press keeps the general public informed as to Europe's view of the revolution in Epirus. Therefore, in order to judge justly, it is essential to know what the Epirotes think and demand.

They ask why the Albanians should be permitted—nay, encouraged—to drive the people of Epirus from their rightful position. Why should they be used as pawns in the conflicting interests of the Powers? They complain bitterly that the Greek Government, which fought for their liberation, now readily sells them in order to obtain something of greater value in exchange. That is their simple point of view, and it fills their hearts with misery and despair.

When it was found that the "iniquitous" frontier lines drawn by Sir Edward Grey, with a fine oblivion of natural and racial differences, would be adhered to, they refused to credit the fact. They could not believe that the army would be withdrawn, and only with the departure of the last remnants of that army did they realize that they were to be abandoned to their cruel fate.

Then, to use the words of one who was present, "as one man, stung to their feet, the Epirotes received that peculiar inspiration which is ever breathed into mankind when a step forward is to be taken in the sacred cause of freedom, and Epirus, the cradle of the Hellenic arts and culture which have blessed the whole human race, agonizing, alone, unsupported, without money, determined to fight for the right to live her own life, or to die in the attempt."

Before passing on to the political aspect, I should like to give a brief account of the relief work organized at Santi Quaranta by Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Duncan. It forms the one bright spot in the lurid picture of suffering and horror, and restores faith in human love and goodness.

I am indebted for some of the details to the Greek Review, *Eretna*, the editor of which received them at first hand from Mr. Duncan, whom I, too, had the privilege of meeting before I left England.

The beginning of this work was very simple. Around Santi Quaranta are forty burnt villages, and a list has been made of about 16,000 people, the inhabitants of these villages, who are without any possible means of support or of earning their livelihood. They cultivate the land on the sharing principle, receiving two-thirds of the products, and the proprietor one-third, but for the last two years have been unable to work their fields. All the men of the district have been doing military service, thus preventing them from cultivating the land, even had it been otherwise possible, for they have no plough animals—these having all been consumed in the war—and no seed. No attempt has been made to assist these people, except

that during some four or five months the Government distributed rations of Indian corn, and when these rations were stopped, the duties on foodstuffs were raised to as much as 15, 40, and 100 per cent. of their value.

When Mr. Raymond Duncan and his wife went over to Santi Quaranta, they found the people without bread and the children needing care. Bread is the staple food of the country. Despite the fact that the people were starving, and that it was well known that Mr. Duncan was there to help them, not one person begged assistance, no one ever asked for a single thing during the whole year. Thus, in order to assist them, work and not charity must be given. His intention from the beginning was to help, not a single group, but the entire country. His first step, therefore, was to buy up all the wool that the people had to sell. That provided them with money. This enabled him to distribute the wool among 750 odd women to spin. These were paid for their spinning as they brought their work in. Then a great quantity of canvas was purchased, and some 115 women were employed in sewing tents. They did not know how to use a needle, so a tailor was brought from Corfu to teach them. These tents were then used for schools and dormitories for the children. Teachers were employed to gather the children together as far as possible, and carpenters were brought over and set to making blackboards, benches, and other necessary articles, including weaving-looms. Then Mrs. Duncan taught the women to weave the threads they had spun. Although clever, these women learnt with difficulty. They seemed afraid of doing things that were new and strange to them.

But with all these efforts, relief did not reach a large enough proportion of the people, so it was declared that all wood, branches, and rushes found in the country should be regarded as money, and very soon men, women, and children were seen returning from the mountains laden with the precious spoil which was to purchase for them the needed food and shelter. These branches and rushes were used to build houses. The locality chosen for the erection of tents and thatched houses was the site of the ancient city of Onchismos, of which the original walls were still standing. In order to give employment to the old men, the work of excavating and of laying foundations for permanent buildings was started. All these people were invited to a common table as long as they were thus employed.

As before stated, bread is the staple food. It was being bought at the price of fifty centimes an oka (about 2½ pounds), and as even each child would eat an oka of bread a day, the expense was heavy. One of the ancient ruins, therefore, was turned into a bakery. Then discovering that the price paid for flour was too high (forty-seven centimes an oka), it was decided to import it direct from the mills, likewise rice and other staple food. This resulted in the starting of a store. The flour was imported from Russia and Italy, and was sold at cost price, as well as the bread. Later, on account of the enormous spread of the business, it was found that the attempt to sell at cost price was impossible. For, in order to avoid loss, also to make the price even, some slight difference, either above

or below actual cost, was necessary, and during the three months before the outbreak of the revolutionary movement the profits from the bakery and store paid for the food of the entire colony; but after that event the distress became so acute that goods were given away as well as sold, so all the profits were eaten up.

The social and financial value of this experiment is so great that it is worth while to go a little further into the details. Things were made for the use of the colony, sold to others at cost price, sometimes given away, and later on sold at a slight profit. This made the transfer of goods so large and so rapid that they could be obtained at a cheaper rate. Merchants from the interior came to buy from the store, and had to pay slightly above the actual cost. This was one of the sources of profit. Again, bread was at first sold at twenty-five centimes the oka; later, on account of the tremendous increase in the sales, necessitating the building of a second and much larger bakery, the price was raised to thirty centimes an oka. This turned the loss into profit. The capacity of the bakeries was now 1,740 okas a day, which gave a profit of fifty-two francs. The profit from the flour rose in this way: The merchants bought it by caravan lots—twenty to forty sacks, each horse carrying one sack—which produced an immediate profit of from thirty to sixty francs a caravan. Dr. Duncan then started exporting yarn to the various groups of his weaving pupils in Europe, and through those centres found a ready sale for rugs, divan-covers, and other articles.

It may now be asked, Why, with all this success, are funds needed at this moment to carry on the work? As a matter of fact, for every penny of the money that has been spent in whatever manner during the year of relief work, more than double its value can be shown to-day in stock and in buildings. In the warehouses are thousands of francs' worth of lumber, tiles, and other materials. Also many thousand francs' worth of woven goods and threads are at this moment prevented being exported on account of the blockade. And Mr. Raymond Duncan was compelled to come to Europe because he has not a penny left. His flour and foodstuffs are rotting at the Customs office, and the people are dying of cold and hunger. One of the principal objects of this colony is the starting of a school for people of all ages—a school that shall include the entire population; and the teaching of this school has not as its aim the training of the people to make their living, but it gives them the living itself. This is its basic principle, and the living thus given will be provided in such a way that it can be as easily obtained in the farthest village as in the central school itself.

Most important and final in the object is the bringing to life activities and occupations or methods of relaxation and repose which shall become a reward for living—a recompense for life's activities. The students in this school are not working to live, they are living to work.

In the life of the village, the pastoral and village life, there are no theatres, no cinematographs, no concerts, no libraries, but it is the thing itself, of which all these things are but poor imitations. The problem of

the employment of that time which is not necessary to the production of things for use will not be studied in the school.

The life of the school will be the life of the village. The students will not be taught what to do, but will be given a habit. The school will be an ideal village, where all of the time is occupied in the most practical manner for production, recreation, and repose. Here is a simple illustration of what this means : At school children learn to read and write. They leave the school, and read or write bad or good things according to their opportunities. In a perfect school, where the student never leaves school, opportunities are organized. In a technical school children learn trades and occupations, and after leaving school succeed or fail in life according to opportunities. In a fully organized school, where the pupils never leave, there is a single, unbroken line of organized labours, occupations, and recreations.

The chief Articles of the Constitution demanded by Epirus are as follows :

Article I.—The Articles of the Constitution, being the expression of justice and the inspiration of the spirit of the revolution, cannot be changed.

Article II.—All the laws and the Governors shall be submitted to the direct vote of the whole people, without distinction of race, nationality, religion, or position, and shall be able to be withdrawn as readily as they have been agreed upon, without the observation of any fixed period.

Article III.—The same treatment for all, without distinction of race, nationality, religion, or position.

Article IV.—Autonomy of the villages, limited only by the Constitution. Departmental Government under the direction of the Village Government. General Government under the direction of the Village Government, but with the right of supreme control for the protection of the Constitution.

Article V.—Taxes levied on values, and groups of values, and not on individuals.

Article VI.—The Law Courts and the police shall be engaged only in criminal questions. There shall be a special system of arbitration for questions referring to values.

Articles V. and VI. are of special interest. Mr. Duncan has been for eleven months in friendly relations with the villages of Epirus and "Southern Albania," and these articles of a Constitution, drawn up by him, embody the aspirations and desires of all their inhabitants, Christian and Mussulman. Before starting for Europe to seek support for the movement in favour of autonomy, he laid the plan before the Members of the Provisional Government, who declared that it formulated their convictions and the true aim of the revolution in Epirus.

I conclude with an interesting letter from President Zographos, which shows that the movement in Epirus is not a war of religion or nationality, but a veritable rising of a whole people, demanding the just right of self-government.

ARGYROCASTRO,

March 13-26, 1914

DEAR MR. DUNCAN,

I have gone through your brief statement of principles with great interest, and am happy to be able to say that the ideas you express are just those invoked by our autonomy. We are attempting, in fact, to give to this unhappy people of Epirus a local life which will permit them to develop an individual life of their own, without its existence depending on the fortunes of the new Albanian State, without them being animated by an unfriendly feeling against their neighbours.

Accept the assurance of my best wishes,

(Signed) I, CHRISTAKI ZOGRAPOS.

This brief sketch is designed to show how extensive is the relief work undertaken on behalf of Epirus, and how worthy of greater encouragement.

Yours truly,

F. R. SCAFFERD.

"TRUTHS ABOUT INDIA"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "ASIATIC REVIEW"

April 24, 1914.

SIR,

My attention has been called to certain correspondence in your columns about the above book between Mr. J. D. Bede and Mr. Charles Rosher, in which the former refers to a criticism of it in *India*, the organ of the British India Congress Committee.

As far as I know, that is the only really unfavourable criticism the book has met with (as you may see from the Press notices, of which I enclose a copy), and the chief sting of it is almost neutralized by the fact that Sir William Wedderburn occupies an equally prominent place on the back page of the cover, and he is, perhaps, the chief supporter of the British India Congress Committee.

I may just add that he is still, I am happy to say, a Member of our Council and Sir J. D. Ross is not.

Yours truly,

J. B. PLUNNINGTON.

SUPPLEMENT

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

THE LIFE OF JOHN EDWARD ELLIS. By A. Tilney Bassett (*Macmillan and Co.*). Price 7s. 6d.

"A man should make it a part of his religion to see that his country is well governed." These words spoken by J. E. Ellis in an address may well be applied to his own career. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and his political opinions were inspired by his religious convictions. Viscount Bryce, in his preface to the book, says: "His nature was a kindly one—large in its charity, and his hatred of oppression or wrong was rooted in his own tenderness and took on no type of self-righteousness." We may add that he knew to blend with these qualities a sound business judgment. This was the man who represented Rushcliffe in Parliament from 1886 to 1910, and in 1906 filled the post of under-Secretary for India. On his appointment he was said to declare that the India Office was held by its staff to be second to none of the great departments in efficiency, unless it were that of the Revenue as remodelled by Mr. Gladstone. All his life through Ellis had laboured to suppress the Opium Trade, and he now used his influence in that cause.

This book will be read by everybody interested in the proceedings at Westminster during the last twenty-five years. The graphic notes in his diary and the descriptions in his letters bring before us very vividly scenes and situations, which, though matters of the past, are full of bearing on present issues. Ireland, South Africa, and the question of armaments have had his especial attention, and his opinions will be the more valued as not only because it was honest, but also because it was never given lightly. He was a seeker no less than a speaker of truth. Lord Morley has well expressed the effect which personal contact with him produced in the hearts and minds of men of affairs. "For so many years he had been a true and close friend of mine and I of his. We travelled over many a rough place together, and one bit of the journey might well have made a strain if he had been less unselfish, less single-minded. Yet we never parted company for an hour. Among my crowded memories, none can move me more than my unbroken friendship with so true-hearted and faithful a comrade. He was one of those who made political life tolerable, and when he left my room at the India Office, but a few days before I left it myself, he carried with him nothing but affectionate

thoughts from me, and I am sure he felt just the same. We little thought it was the final farewell, and that we should see one another no more. I shall regret him as long as I live."

2. **ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN; or, The Central and Western Rajpoot States of India.** By Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod. Popular edition, London. (*George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.* 1914.) 2 vols, 8vo. Price 10s. net.

Of the many books which have been written upon the history, archaeology, and antiquities of India, few until lately have shown the amount of research and devoted enthusiasm evinced by the writings of English officers during the early part of the nineteenth century. Noble books, well printed and illustrated, lacking, perhaps, here and there in the qualities of hypercriticism found in later works for which they paved the way, they remain to this day valuable tomes filled with information gathered at first hand. They command a high price when, perchance, some copy strays into the auction room, and the work of which Messrs. Routledge have just published a popular reprint is a striking illustration of that rise in venal value. The scarce original quarto edition of 1829-1832, together with the later volume of *Travels*, are quoted in a recent catalogue £34. To students such a price for a book leaves but one alternative—to read it in the stifling atmosphere of the British Museum. Luck, however, lay await in the versatility of Dr. Douglas Sladen, who, finding it difficult to secure a copy as a work of reference in his preparation of a biography of Zalimsing the Great, enlisted the generous financial help of H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar, descendant of Zalim Sing the Great, thanks to which Messrs. Routledge were enabled to reprint in two thick volumes the whole work, a mere excerpt of which had been available before at a popular price. Now, close on 1,250 pages, a map, sundries, tables, and two large folding charts of the genealogies from the semi-mythical period to the eighth century, completed by a lengthy index, are available at a price which makes of the book a gift, for which the thanks of all interested readers are due to Dr. Sladen, to H. H. the Maharaj Rana of Jhalawar and to the publishers. May their example be followed!—H. L. JOLI.

3. **THE PEOPLE OF ARMENIA.** By Archag Tchobanian. Translated by G. M. Gregory. (*Dent.*) Price 1s. 6d.

We welcome the appearance of a translation by Mr. G. Marcon Gregory of Archag Tchobanian's book on Armenia. The subject of Armenia is familiar to Englishmen owing to its association with the name of Mr. Gladstone; but it must be confessed that most of our fellow-countrymen are profoundly ignorant of the country and its inhabitants. The book contains a short history of the Armenian people, an account of its poetry and art, and the philosophic conceptions which underlie them, and the personalities which created them, and concludes with an eloquent appeal to the sympathies of English people.—P. S. C.

4. **THE IMMOVABLE EAST.** By P. J. Baldensperger. (*Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd.*) Edited by Frederic Lees.

As one closes Mr. Baldensperger's interesting volume, one's thoughts return instinctively to Mr. Lees' neat biographical introduction, to endorse most cordially his opinion that "books descriptive of the East may be roughly divided into three classes: First, the "impressions" of literary men who set themselves the difficult task, after a more or less lengthy stay in the Orient, of faithfully representing Oriental scenes, manners and customs. Secondly, those written by professional Orientalists whose special linguistic studies and extensive travels entitle them to be ranked as authorities." Thirdly, we must add the necessarily small class of works where the writer has both the inner knowledge of life in all its phases in his adopted country, and the rare and delicate humanizing touch which sets in easy motion and brilliant colours, the everyday figures of its people—and to this class these essays and stories of our author certainly belong.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances of his career—in itself a stirring romance—Mr. Baldensperger is able to tell us the story of the Fellahin and Bedawin as an Oriental would do, for, as his collaborator, the late Claude Regnier Conder (the author of "Tent-Work in Palestine"), once said, "He is a voice from the East," an accurate witness to many an almost unknown side of things in the Holy Land. The son of a missionary-agriculturist in Judæa, he passed his early days in wandering among its wild tribes, and his later youth in the rather original occupation of bee-farming, finally taking to the pen on his retirement to Europe—with the pleasant results now before us.

For those who have eyes to see there is infinite fascination in the discovery of how small is the change from Biblical days, in the racy tales of modern Bedawi thought and action—real allurements in the pictures of the Djinn-seeing Dervishes, who differ so slightly from the men like Saul at Endor, and the antiphonal songs and the dances of Miriam, the living counterpart of the Mosaic heroine of chants and psalms.

Also there is much glamour in the fantastic Vision of Ehnad Imhamad—as vivid as anything in the very Arabian Nights—and the tale of Hassan and Sabha, whose love, awakened by the song of the wandering bard, grew till they eloped from Jerusalem; while the saga of the Lady of Her Brethren—a Deborah of to-day—reach the highest level of romance founded upon fact.

The sketches of the Life of Dogs, and the Council of Creatures, and Life in the Thicket, are delightful Nature-studies, while we never lose the thread of able comparison of Old with New, thus binding together the Eternally Immovable East in a most scholarly and instructive web.

There are admirable photographs of places and people throughout, so that the book should certainly lie in the valise of every intelligent tourist who braves the surf at Jaffa en route for Jerusalem.—FRANCES G. KNOWLES-FOSTER.

LITERARY GOSSIP

The long promised book of Mr. Sidney Whitman entitled "Turkish Memories" was published on May 6 by Mr. Heinemann. Himself a personal friend of Abdul Hamid, and with the additional advantage of a knowledge of Turkey extending over the last twelve years, he will give to the public an authoritative book which will differ from the many hastily written volumes which have come before our notice since the war.

Messrs. Cassell are publishing another book from the sensational pen of Count Paul Vassili, entitled "France from behind the Veil." It extends from the reign of the last Napoleon to the present day. Another authority on France, Sir Thomas Barclay, is to give us a work on the inner development of Anglo-French relations for the last thirty years.

Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, the famous Indian poet, will issue translations into English of two of his plays, under the titles of "Chitra" and "The Post-Office." These volumes will be published by Messrs. Macmillan, who have also on their list Professor James Ten Broeke's work, "A Constructive Basis for Theology," and "Mysticism and the Creed," by the Rev. W. F. Cobb.

This month three new Reviews of interest to our readers have been started. *The Chinese Review* will deal exclusively with far Eastern affairs, and will be published monthly in London. In view of the increasing interest which the reformed—or reforming—China is bound to command, we welcome it and wish it every success. Wider in its scope and its appeal is the *Britannic Review*, of which the first number has just been issued. And then there is the *Indiaman*, which will be a weekly, issued from the same offices as that exceedingly valuable and authoritative periodical, *The Near East*.

The general programme of the Third International Congress of Tropical Agriculture, containing detailed information in regard to arrangements for the Congress, will be issued on or before May 30.

The African Times and Oriental Review is now being issued as a weekly, and a meeting was held under its auspices on April 22 at the Caxton Hall.

The Egypt Exploration Fund has issued "The Oxyrhynchus Papyri," Part X., edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Fragments from a collection of sayings of Jesus are included in this part.

The same publisher also issues "The Cemeteries of Abydos," Part III., by T. E. Peet and W. L. S. Loat. This volume gives the results of excavations made in two hitherto unexplored cities of the dead at Abydos.

Ararat, the organ of the Armenian United Association of London, contains in the current number an account of the recent Kurdish raid into Armenia. By special request the article by F. R. Scatcherd on Armenia, which was published in the April number of the *Asiatic Review*, has been reprinted therein.

MEETING AT THE MANSION HOUSE IN SUPPORT OF A SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

ON May 6 a meeting was held, with the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor (Sir Vansittart Bowater) in the chair, and the following motions were put to the house and carried unanimously :

(1) Proposed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I., seconded by Lord Reay, K.T. :

" That in view of the great Imperial and commercial interests dependent on adequate provision being made for instruction in the languages, the literature, and the social customs of Oriental and African countries, this meeting desires heartily to support the scheme for the foundation of a School of Oriental Studies in the City of London.

(2) Proposed by Lord Inchcape, seconded by Mr. Faithfull Begg :

" That this meeting desires to commend to the commercial community of the City of London and to the general public an appeal for the funds necessary to enable the School of Oriental Studies to be opened in 1915 on a satisfactory basis.

(3) Vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, proposed by the Marquess of Crewe, K.G., Secretary of State for India, seconded by Sir Montagu Turner.

The importance of the establishment of a School for Oriental Studies in England was, as our readers will remember, recognized very early by the late Dr. G. W. Leitner, who founded an Oriental University at the end of last century at Woking, Surrey. His sudden death unfortunately put an end to a scheme which had every promise of success. But we agree that the establishment of such a school in the very heart of London—at the London Institute—would be far more suitable, and in view of the eloquent appeals of Earl Curzon, Lord Reay, Lord Crewe, and others, we trust that this great need will be filled. A list has been given to us enumerating the principal languages to be taught in the school, and contains seven groups, under the following headings: The Near East, North and Eastern India, Western India, Southern India, Further India, the Far East, and Africa.

Donations may be made in one or more of the following ways :

1. Capital sums for the general endowment of the school. (It is hoped that the Endowment Fund may amount to not less than £100,000.)
2. Capital sums for the endowment of particular professorships or readerships.
3. Capital sums for the endowment of the library.
4. Annual subscriptions for a term of years.

Cheques are to be made payable to Sir Montagu Turner, c/o the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, 38, Bishopsgate Street, E.C.

OBITUARY

MR. CHARLES W. McMINN

ANOTHER distinguished Irishman has passed away from the rolls of the Indian Civil Service in the person of Mr. Charles W. McMinn, who died in Calcutta on March 25. Mr. McMinn was a graduate of Queen's College, Belfast and entered the Civil Service in 1863, serving first in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and subsequently in the Central Provinces. He retired in 1891, and undertook the management of the estates of the Raja of Hill Tippera. He was a devoted student of the history of British India, especially on its economic side, and will be chiefly remembered as the compiler of the first Gazetteer of Oudh, and as having contributed to the East India Association an exhaustive paper on "The Wealth and Progress of India," setting forth salient facts, and exposing serious fictions in connection therewith. He has left behind him, we understand, ample material for an Economic History of British India. As a friend and companion he had all the genial warmth of the Irish nature, and was the most amusing of story-tellers, making his points with boyish impulsiveness. His handwriting used to be the terror of his correspondents, but his letters were well worth deciphering on account of their wit and wisdom. With the Indians he was, like most Irishmen, usually a favourite, and he had considerable tact and patience in listening to their complaints. He was a brother of Stephen McMinn, a Bombay civilian, who died many years ago, but whose memory still lives amongst the people of Western India; and he and a numerous band of brothers were brought up by a maiden aunt—a lady of sterling worth and high accomplishments once well-known in Belfast.

MR. ROBERT FORREST

The death took place recently at West Bournemouth of Mr. Robert Edward Treston Forrest; late of the Indian Public Works Department, in his eightieth year. He was the eldest son of Captain George Forrest, of the East India Company's Army, who won the Victoria Cross for sharing in the gallant deed whereby, on the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut, the Delhi Arsenal was held by half a dozen Englishmen, and then blown up to prevent the stores falling into the hands of the enemy. A younger brother is Sir George Forrest, the Anglo-Indian historian.

Mr. Forrest, after being educated in this country, went out to the Public Works Department, and served for a quarter of a century in the Irrigation Branch. He prepared the design for the Lower Ganges Canal—an important work, serving the southern and eastern portions of the Doab, or land between the two great rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna. The canal, which was opened in 1878, holds a conspicuous place among the snow-fed irrigation streams of Northern India, and irrigates some 830,000 acres. In the course of his surveys, Mr. Forrest discovered (1860) one of the rock-cut edicts of Asoka, the great Buddhist monarch, which is well known to scholars as the Khalsi inscription.

As a writer Mr. Forrest is best known for his "Eight Days"—a wonderful story of experiences in the Mutiny, which, originally published in three volumes, had a great sale in a cheap edition not many years ago. His numerous contributions to periodicals showed a remarkable knowledge of India and her peoples, kept fresh by constant study and by diligent attendance at Indian lectures and discussions. His contributions over a long series of years to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (now the *Asiatic Review*) were very numerous. Both in appearance and manner he was typical of the hardy Anglo-Indian accustomed to an outdoor life in the sweltering plains of Hindustan.

OUR INDIAN MAIL

THE National Congress Deputation to this country has arrived. Amongst other grievances, the existing Press Laws in India need urgent attention, and will be placed before the Secretary of State for India and the British public. We hope the visit of the deputation will result in lasting good to India.

The mystery surrounding the outbreaks of fire on the Cotton Green, Bombay, remains unsolved. In spite of all preventive and protective measures fresh cotton fires continue to be reported almost every week. No fewer than thirty-two fires occurred between January 28 and April 9 last, causing damage to the extent of over £400,000. A special committee has been appointed by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to inquire into the causes of these fires, and to recommend measures to guard against outbreaks in the future.

April is the month of Political, Social, Industrial, and Educational Conferences in India, and one or more of these were held in every province of the Indian Empire. Leaving aside the political conferences—these, for some time to come, must need consist of mere protests and protestations, prayers and petitions—one looks in vain for any actual result, out of so much activity in educational, social, and industrial thought!

The appeal by Mrs. Annie Besant, President of the Theosophical Society, from a judgment of the High Court of Madras, respecting the guardianship of two Hindu boys, was allowed on the question of jurisdiction. Mr. Narayaniab, the father of these two youths, had appointed Mrs. Besant their guardian in 1910; they accompanied her to England, and have been prosecuting their studies since then. In 1912, the respondent wrote to Mrs. Besant, cancelling her guardianship and requiring her to hand over the boys to him in Madras. Mrs. Besant refused, and hence this litigation.

Judgment of the district court against Mrs. Besant was upheld by the High Court of Madras, but has been reversed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Mr. Younger, K.C., Sir Erle Richards K.C., Mr. R. W.

Turnbull, and Mr. S. Siuh from Behar, appeared for the appellant; Mr. Kenworthy Brown for the respondent; and the Lord Advocate, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Ingram for the two youths.

THE DRAMA

THE MELTING-POT

WHEN a dramatist takes the dominating ideal of his chief character as the title of his play, the spectator's dramatic sense demands that that ideal shall to some extent be articulated throughout the action of the play, apart from its particular association with one character. What makes Ibsen's "Master Builder" such an amazing artistic achievement is the union of dramatic and literary content, the whole action, nay the form itself, of the play being charged with ideal significance. In such a case, the idea in very truth becomes flesh and inhabits the stage.

The idea of the "Melting-Pot" is a fine one, and from the dramatic point of view it would seem to us irrelevant to discuss whether America is worthy of it or not. America supplies us imaginatively with all the scenic essentials to the conception of a vast new country as a crucible wherein from the heterogeneous migrating races, from the stained outcasts of innumerable yesterdays, there shall issue at last, through the purging fires, the splendid citizen of to-morrow. But, except for the expression of this ideal as an ideal by the young Jew, David Quixano, "The Melting Pot" does not realize this. It is a very big exception, we grant, for Mr. White-side's David Quixano is quite extraordinary and wonderful, conveying to us not only his own particular tragedy but the universal aspect of it, and so quietly relating the two that there is never a trace, as there so easily might have been, of an inflated self-consciousness.

It is, after all, because of the vitality, the flesh and blood qualities with which David invests his ideal, that we are disappointed with the texture of the rest of the play.

Perhaps it is unreasonable, having regard to stage limitations, to expect to see America on the stage and to want to realize something of the vast welter of forces that inspired the young Jewish idealist. But, on the other hand, the dramatist is imposing a great strain on our imagination when he obliges us to focus upon a tiny area of Jewish life in New York, and one so little in touch with the hum and stir of existence in general that even a footfall in the street outside awakens our curiosity. Also the rather highly marked individualities, as acted, of three out of the five other characters (the two remaining being in considerably lower relief), while extremely creditable to the actors concerned, demand, we think, a more spacious background than actually is provided. Space and depth are what the play needs, for just as much as the real America defies stage-representation, so the ideal of the "Melting-Pot" is cramped within the boundaries of an intensely personal drama.

For all that in the last act the material outlook widens to a view from a roof-terrace of the city by night with the statue of Liberty twinkling very

solidly in the shallow distance, we had a sense—not a little stifling to our appreciation—of the material situation being uppermost, the practical present facts, including a most matter-of-fact elevator, being in control of the Ideal and assisting at its triumph. The purging fires took rather too commonplace a shape for us to believe in them entirely.—I. C. W.

KISMET—GLOBE THEATRE

The revival of "Kismet," the play that created a great sensation in London a few years ago, goes to prove, if any further proof were needed, the popularity of Eastern subjects on the London stage. "Kismet" is not a drama in the modern sense, but Mr. Knoblauch has succeeded in giving in a series of scenes a better insight into the Eastern mind than can be attained after long personal experience. To Hajj everything is fated. He accepts with equal complaisance the good and evil of life, attributing it both to the Divine will. Hence his enjoyment of life is in a manner beyond the dreams of the most fortunate of Western mortals.

Great praise is due to Mr Oscar Asche for not only looking his part, but also *feeling* it in a most convincing manner. Miss Lily Brayton's charm is unabated, and gives full scope to the possibilities of her part as an Eastern lady. We left the theatre feeling happy, and with the conviction that the East can help us more in the problems and struggles of our daily life than the "advanced dramas" dealing with the lurid side of Western life, which by some "Kismet and unkind fate" we are more accustomed to see.

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