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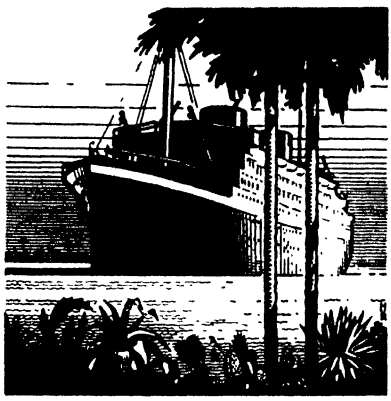
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CLIVE, THE MAN OF DESTINY*

By R. J. Minney
(Author of *Clive*, and joint-author of the play *Clive of India*.)

Clive regarded himself as a man of destiny. We know that very early in life, when he was little more than seventeen, he was so tired of it that he made repeated attempts at suicide—and it has been said that on the pistol missing fire when he held it twice to his head, he declared, with a sudden realization of what was to be, "I must be reserved for something. Fate must have some purpose in store." At any rate, from that time this casual, indifferent-to-study wastrel, expelled from school after school because of his pranks, the subject of complaint of almost every parent, an anxiety and a burden to his own, began suddenly to take himself seriously. He began to prepare for whatever destiny may have in store. He took to reading the biographies of great men. He began to pattern his life on theirs. He read Plutarch with diligence and care; and the little settlement of Madras, contemptuous of him so far, was startled at his industry and attempt at scholarship.

But even before this, fate snatched him from what seemed certain death when, in the presence of a terrified throng, he climbed the tower of the church at Market Drayton in order to fetch a ridiculous little stone he had espied in the mouth of a gargoyle. But somehow, although the little market town was in alarm, the schoolmaster danced with fury, and this troublesome boy's very angry father had to be fetched, Clive managed to survive. We have more definite record of a far greater peril and an escape that was little short of miraculous. It occurred during his long voyage out

* Based on an address at a discussion meeting of members of the East India Association on April 12, and also addressed by Professor Dodwell, Mr. Leslie Banks, Miss Gilan Lind, Sir William Foster, and others.

to India, when shipped out of sight by his disgusted father. The ship, as we know, was blown out of its course—hundreds of miles out of its course—it was blown right across the Atlantic to Brazil and ran aground just north of Pernambuco. As though this were not adventure enough, this troublesome and difficult youth, unable at all times to keep out of mischief, contrived one day to fall overboard. He has described this accident himself—in a rather timid letter he wrote his father, a letter which he would certainly not have written save for a purpose you will detect presently. He wrote: "It nigh cost me my life, having tumbled overboard while standing on the poop of the ship . . . and I would certainly have been drowned, there being a very great sea and much wind, had the Captain not accidentally met with a bucket and a rope tied on to it, which he threw out of the Balcony to me, I having the good fortune to lay hold of it." And now for the reason of this revelation: "I then lost my shoes off my feet, and with them my silver buckles, also a hat and wig."

Destiny was apparently intent on his preservation. It is really astounding what a variety and multitude of perils he survived. There was, for instance, the capture of Madras, when the entire white population of that settlement were made prisoners by the French, and the Governor and all the members of Council were led in chains through the streets of the French capital, Pondicherry. Clive, somehow, by assuming the disguise of an Indian, contrived to escape. He fled to Fort St. David, where, in a few weeks, he was involved in a fantastic duel for daring to tell a man that he had cheated at cards. This man was so incensed that he strode up to Clive, pressed a pistol to his head and asked him to repeat what he had said. Astonishingly, Clive did. But fate stayed the hand of the bully and Clive again survived. But he did not profit from his instruction. He seemed to know of the watching brief of destiny, for he was engaged in constant quarrels. During the advance on Pondicherry, in the very midst of the attack, he snatched up a cane and was about to thrash a fellow officer for making some disparaging remark. Not long afterwards he actually did thrash a clergyman of the Church of England in the streets of the bazaar.

But it is when he adopted a military career in earnest that he had the most remarkable escapes. At Dovicotah he charged the enemy fortifications with no more than thirty-three men, and although thirty of them were cut down, he went on fighting, with swords and bullets whistling about his head, again and again within an inch of death. He emerged from that encounter unhurt. He was waylaid by bandits and savage tribes, but escaped. At Arcot, during the fighting in the streets, when the enemy were blazing at him from every window, he exposed himself repeatedly. There were English dead and dying all around, and once the muzzle of a musket was thrust from a nearby window within a few inches of his head, aimed carefully, but just as the trigger was being pressed the Indian was noticed by a young English lieutenant, who promptly struck the musket aside. The bullet went wide, Clive's life was saved, but the native, mad for revenge, swung round and shot the young lieutenant dead.

There are also on record the fortunes of that famous night when, at Samiavoram, Clive's camp was suddenly invaded by the French. Clive was awakened from a deep sleep by a shot fired right into his tent. The bullet missed him by a hair's-breadth, shattering a box that lay at his feet and killing a servant asleep at his side. Clive dashed out in his nightshirt. The enemy fired from all sides and slashed at him with their swords, wounding him in two or three places. But Clive was not to be deterred. Despite the confusion, despite the darkness which was illumined only by death, despite the loss of blood that every minute left him weaker, he motioned to two sergeants to hold him up, one at each shoulder, and assist him round the camp—and by the morning, faint and exhausted, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the invaders were dead, dying, and in full flight.

Clive's letters proclaim how conscious he was of his destiny. After his capture of Arcot, his relief of Trichinopoly, and the series of triumphs that made him the hero of Southern India at the youthful age of twenty-seven, he glowed with so much enthusiasm of his successes in letters to his father, that the old man forgot all the early anxieties the boy had caused, forgot even that not ten years before the wastrel had been packed off to die

on the Madras coast of a fever for all it mattered, and was conscious only of pride in being the parent of a hero. The gouty old country solicitor hurried to town, popped his head into the clubs and coffee rooms to inform the world at large that his boy Bob was not such a nincompoop after all. He began to compare his son already with the greatest conquerors of all time, even with Alexander the Great. He hustled off to see the directors of the East India Company to demand that suitable honour should be done his boy on his home-coming, and was gratified when assured that a public dinner was being especially arranged to toast young Clive's health and pay tribute to his achievements. But to Clive's mother the workings of destiny were of small account. Her son's successes meant no more than that he would be coming home at last. "This gives me great hope," she wrote, "of seeing you much sooner than I could possibly have expected." That is all. The letter instantly passes to other things. "Your relations are all well; four of your sisters are with me; the youngest and your two brothers are at school; your cousin Ben has no employ . . . and lives with his father. We are removed to a large house in Swithin's Lane near the Post House. . . . May a kind Providence attend and bless you and bring you safe to your native country is the most sincere wish and prayer of your affectionate mother—Rebecca Clive."

But for all his triumphs, Clive left India a bitterly disappointed man. As he confessed in a letter: "I think, in justice to the military in general, I cannot leave this coast without leaving a paper behind me representing the little notice taken of people of our profession. I hope the world will not accuse me of vanity, or be of opinion that I think too highly of my own successes, as I seldom or never open my lips upon the subject. All that I ever expected was a letter of thanks, and that, I am informed, is usual on such occasions."

After his recapture of Calcutta, following the sack of that city by Suraj-ud-Dowlah and the ghastly horror of the Black Hole, Clive, conscious as ever of what he had achieved, wrote innumerable letters to describe his victories. He sent detailed accounts of his successes to the Prime Minister, the Duke of Newcastle, to

Henry Fox, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Secretary of State for War, to the Lord Chancellor, and to several other men, who were asked, "If you think me deserving, recommend me to the court of directors of the East India Company." He wanted to be made Governor-General (he confided this ambition to his father), for in that way only, he felt, could he give full scope to his destiny. After the battle of Plassey, Clive's despatch was one of the briefest ever written. It consists of barely ten lines. "This morning," he stated, "at one o'clock we arrived at Placis Grove, and early in the morning the Nabob's whole army appeared in sight and cannonaded us for several hours, and about noon returned to a very strong camp in sight. . . . We advanced and stormed the Nabob's camp, which we have taken with all his cannon and pursued him six miles. . . . Meer Muddun and five hundred horses are killed and three elephants. Our loss is trifling, not above twenty Europeans killed and wounded."

But to Orme, the historian, who was at Madras, Clive spoke of the engagement at far greater length. He described the battle of Plassey as "scarcely paralleled in history." He informed Orme that, as an historian, it was Orme's duty to obtain all the facts at first hand from Clive himself. "I am possessed," he wrote, "of volumes of material for the continuance of your history, in which will appear fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics, and the Lord knows what; in short, there will be a fine field for you to display your genius in. I have many particulars to explain to you relating to the said history which must be published."

Happily, his country *was* appreciative during his lifetime of what he had achieved. The elder Pitt, Secretary for War at the time, amid the distress of the many disasters that attended the opening phases of the Seven Years' War, saw in the East the bright star of Clive. It was the one light on that dark, encircling horizon. Pitt said: "We have lost our glory, honour, and reputation everywhere but in India. There the country has a heaven-born General who has never learnt the art of war, nor is his name enrolled among the great officers who have for many years received their country's pay. Yet he was not afraid to attack a numerous army with a handful of men."

Encouraged by this tribute, Clive, conscious that besides his own destiny the destinies of our own country and of India were involved, wrote to Pitt to urge him that the control of India was far too big a project to be left in the hands of a trading company. That men engaged in scrambling for profits from muslins and spices should, as a subordinate interest, trifle with the lives and fortunes of the teeming millions in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay seemed to Clive a deplorable situation. He urged Pitt to take control of India in the name of the British Government. He was conscious that a vast Indian Empire was in birth. He visualized the glory that must enrich our history from, not an annexation, but a trust, a sacred trust, in shouldering the destiny of India.

But Pitt, though he regarded the proposition as sound, felt it was as yet impracticable. His chief difficulty was the charter of the East India Company, which had a further twenty years to run; and he was aware, Pitt was aware, of the recent ruling of the courts that the Crown had no legal claim on any lands acquired by the Company. Yet, before long, just what Clive had foreseen and advised, the Government had to do. Actually, it was this letter to Pitt that was largely responsible for Clive's undoing. The East India Company viewed it as an act of gross insubordination that a man in their employ, a servant of the Company, should seek to destroy their power and profits by the transfer of these rich lands from the Company to the Crown. In the end we know that, because of Pitt's hesitancy, conditions in India drifted to so low and deplorable a level that Clive, sacrificing his leisure and his health, had to return to that country to put the house in order, to consolidate with the pen what he had won with the sword.

Let us look for a moment at how Clive's achievements have affected the destinies of both England and India. So far as this country is concerned, we acquired an empire. The many rivals who battled with us for dominance in that Eastern cockpit were driven out—the French, the Dutch, and the rest. From the three initial provinces that Clive took over in 1765, we spread by stages right across the country, enjoying trading opportunities that our European rivals could only covet. We also possessed an incomparable outlet, not for colonization, but for our soldiers, our police-

men, our civil servants, and our traders. We were lifted in an instant four or five rungs up the Imperial ladder.

And what of India? We know that the chaos, the confusion, the invasion and slaughter that that country had suffered for no less than 4,000 years were gradually dissolved. For 4,000 years through the lofty north-west passes conquerors had poured into that troubled country, plundering, burning, destroying. There was no peace, no security until the young clerk, poring over his bills of lading in a warehouse at Madras, worked his miracle. The confusion, as acute then in that inverted equatorial triangle as it is to-day in China, with only banditry and gunmanship as the symbols of authority and power, slowly resolved into order. Life became safe. Every gateway of the frontier was double-barred, there was peace in every village, security on the high-road.

And who can deny that, under the tutelage of Britain, the prosperity introduced, and the education disseminated, it has at last become possible, after 4,000 troubled years, for Indians to be sufficiently qualified to claim a right in the shaping of their own future?

THE LOGIC OF THE REFORM PROPOSALS

By Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Historical determinism is the superstition most incident to an age which especially prides itself on its rationalism—the belief that history is an exact science and that it is possible, with sufficient diligence and intelligence, to trace the vicissitudes of states and statesmanship in a necessary progression from obvious causes to preordained conclusions. It came easily to a generation which found, in the vaunted stability of the political, social and economic fabric which formed its bulwarks and its boundaries, at once an illustration and a confirmation of its own wisdom. It came easily to the age of Macaulay and the Crystal Palace, and not many could then discern how frangible were those vitreous triumphs and how fallible those comfortable and glittering generalities.

Other generations, less happily endowed by circumstance or their own capacity, have thought otherwise. In Greece, when the city state had irretrievably collapsed, and no new order seemed anywhere in view, the despairing minds of men saw in history merely the record of a fortuitous concourse and succession of events, aimlessly propelled by the caprice of Fortune.

Each of these opposing superstitions was the ephemeral product of a particular set of circumstances. If we desire to find a guide and measure for our own conduct at a great turning-point in our imperial affairs, we shall reject them both. We shall reject equally the paralyzing creed of political Calvinism and the not more encouraging confession that we have stumbled accidentally into the position in which we now find ourselves, and must either stay in it or grope our way out by whatever means the apparent expediency of the moment or the clamour of party politics or the mere compulsion of events may point out.

If we have confidence in ourselves and in the integrity of our

mission in India, we shall put our faith, in the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, in "the inherent sanity and vigour of the political conceptions sprung from the genius of the English race"; and it is by tracing the thread not only of logical continuity but of will, purpose and deliberation by which these have been actuated in the past that we are likely to find our best guidance for the future.

The British Connection

The history of our connection with India is not simply an episode, distinct and separable, in an epic of the conquest or acquisition of a great empire—an enterprise which some have strangely imagined to have been achieved in a series of fits of absence of mind. It is, on the contrary, an integral and intimate part of the history of England, and it is our duty and purpose, which have received the unusual sanction of a statutory declaration, to keep it so. In that history the dominant theme, to the accompaniment of the drums and tramplings of innumerable conquests, is the presence, the growth and the activity of a certain natural instinct and capacity for devising and working the fundamental organs of an ordered civic and national life.

Starting with the heritage of a primitive but already distinctive form of polity, this vital element has received accretions from many sources, but has remained individual. Its growth has represented a vast amount of deliberate human effort; it has been promoted by the deeds and policies of great men, who created and invented, but handed on the torch they had themselves received, by great movements of concerted public opinion, by the gradual extension of political thought to new territory, moral and physical, and by the constant adjustment of traditional principles to new facts.

English Institutions

From these sources and these labours we inherit that great stock of ideas and expedients which give their peculiar vitality to English legal and political institutions and to the English practice of government and administration. It is the apotheosis of common sense, inspired by a passion for liberty, justice and

order, regulated by a veneration for precedent and established principle, and actuated by a genius for creating and adapting the means of securing these things.

No important element in the English political system as it now stands was imported from abroad, though something has been transmuted and assimilated, and, with all its originality and capacity for growth and experiment, it has always been, in the main, empirical and severely practical in its objects and methods. It has never been the custom of the English in their public affairs, as has been recorded of the Greeks and the Romans, to call in aid alien legislators or to send embassies to the shrines of foreign oracles, however venerable; and the art of constructing constitutions on abstract principles, to which other nations have been attracted, has had no honour among them. Whatever has been borrowed from us, and whatever we have conferred on communities brought within our own orbit, has come from our own stock. It has been so hitherto in India and I think it will continue to be so. We have, in fact, nothing else either to impart or to impose.

No Tabula Rasa

The purpose of my present survey is to present the vital bearing of what is familiar enough in our own domestic affairs upon the immediate problem of the Indian situation. Some critics of the policy of Government use language which seems to suggest that this or any other conceivable Government has a *tabula rasa* on which to write what it pleases. This is very remote from the truth; nor would it simplify the problem if it were true. Removed from its historical context and from the perspective of our own political tradition, the Indian problem would be both unintelligible and insoluble. It would be impossible to understand how we have arrived at the present position; it would be impossible to devise, with the slightest prospect of success, any remedy of present discontents or any provision for the future, since they could have no foundation in the past.

What I conceive we must ask ourselves is, What have our past proceedings in India propagated and established there? How

far are the proposals for reform now under consideration a natural or necessary extension of what we have already done?

The Company's Régime

From much earlier days than has sometimes been represented, our presence in India was something a great deal more than a régime of commerce, conquest and exploitation. Indeed, from the time when first we became a "country power" something of the potent leaven of English institutions had already been introduced into India. But the process may be said to have become actively at work in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, inaugurated by the India Act of 1784 and made illustrious by the great name of Warren Hastings; and to have received an increase of momentum and extension in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

The Company's rule has its dark pages, but, taking its record from this time to its close, it would be far nearer the truth to say, as has been said, that if the prophecy had been fulfilled that it would be utterly destroyed in the Mutiny, those last fifty years of John Company would have been remembered in India as a golden age. The substitution of a unitary and stable authority for a chaos of effete or predatory powers; the strenuous and successful endeavour to build up some practicable form of civil government in conditions so bewildering and precarious; the suppression of such horrors as *sati*, *thagi* and female infanticide; the initiation or revival of the elements of economic reconstruction—these and the many other beneficent activities of that time were the necessary first things, but of themselves might have been the work of any humane and enlightened foreign despot.

Of greater moment and higher augury for the future was the fact that with them were implanted the seeds at least of some of the characteristic institutions of the English tradition, and that the directing minds were the minds of men nurtured in that tradition and moving, sometimes quite consciously, sometimes perhaps more instinctively, in its familiar and compelling channels. In England itself, when the anti-Jacobin reaction had spent itself, there were at this time great movements of political opinion and

of the public conscience. It was an age which saw, at home, the Reform Bill, the abolition of slavery, notable efforts to humanize the criminal law and prison administration, the beginnings of modern local self-government, education, and public health; and, abroad, a foreign policy of active sympathy with the cause of liberty and constitutional government, in Greece, in Italy, in Spain and wherever else they appeared to be menaced or suppressed.

The effects in India were not only immediately perceptible in the legislation and administration of the time, but gave an impetus and direction to later developments, which have never been reversed. If anyone were disposed to imagine that in Indian affairs the minds of those then in authority were preoccupied with purely administrative or material requirements, to the exclusion of the implicit constitutional issues and the great question of our ultimate objectives in India, he would do well to read Lord Grenville's famous speech of 1813 or the debates in Hansard on the India Bill twenty years later.

English Law

In this process of transmitting to India the ideas and forms of our own inheritance, the first in the order of time and, it may be, of intrinsic importance was the English law, perhaps the most powerful and pervasive of all, for it has persisted in America where so much else has changed or been rejected. It is perfectly possible to conceive of a rule of law and of a general equality before the law under a political system which has no democratic element whatever. This was true, in fact if not in theory, of the Roman Empire under Diocletian or Justinian, of the Abbasid Caliphate, and largely of the French Empire under Napoleon and his codes. It was never quite true of England and English law, the development of which has been a progressive movement away from such a position. English legal concepts were inherited and carried on in a polity which had a popular component, suffering eclipse at times, but always eventually reasserting itself.

It would be difficult to draw a rigid line of demarcation between

constitutional law proper and the general body of law, especially in so far as the latter defined the responsibilities, rights and liberties of the subject. It is impressive to trace in its history the persistent thread of continuity. At each important stage of definition, development or even innovation, the claim will generally be found that what is now demanded is a vindication or restatement of established principle. Even when the constitutional struggle was most intense, in the clash of arms law was not silent, and much of the contest was conducted on legalist lines. The lawyer was a protagonist; each party invoked the law, and democracy, when it triumphed, claimed to assert an inherent right or a logical application of precedent.

By the time that our authority and responsibility in India had become supreme, and the task of constructing a new order had succeeded to that of consolidating our power, there were irremovably imbedded in English law certain very characteristic concepts and principles: the liberty of the subject; the freedom of speech and writing, subject to a settled law of treason, sedition and libel; the subordination of the executive to the law and its control, within the ambit of the law by the courts, beyond it by the legislature. And this corpus of positive law was penetrated by a less tangible but not less potent body of constitutional theory and political philosophy. It was not a mere code of legal precepts, forms and precedents, but a living organism, rooted deeply in the past, an integral and active member of the body politic and an intimate expression of the genius of the people who created it.

The Indian Judicial System

Its translation to India, which in fact began with the earliest settlements and was sealed by the institution of the Supreme Courts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, had a significance which, if not immediately apparent—for the most obvious results were serious friction between the courts and the executive government—has decisively influenced both ideas and the course of events. It was something of greater import than the institution of judicial machinery on the English model, with the necessary virtues of

fixed and public provisions of law, of high standards of probity and learning and of effective sanctions. These were incalculable gains to India.

But even more momentous for the issue with which we are now concerned was the acclimatization in India of the basic conceptions from which the positive law had proceeded and which the new judicial machinery in operation was bound and even designed to propagate. The subsequent course of law reform—of which the High Courts Act of 1861 is a landmark—the concurrent institution of a vast ramification of courts of inferior jurisdiction, the codification of important branches of the law, the submission of indigenous systems of personal law to English canons of interpretation and jurisprudence, has extended and intensified these influences. It cannot be pretended that the consequences have been entirely happy. There is truth in the contention that Privy Council case law has stereotyped, with detrimental results, interpretations of Hindu law which might otherwise have remained more plastic and responsive to modern conditions; even more in the complaint that we have now a law and procedure too cumbrous and dilatory for the needs of the greatest part of the Indian population.

Some will argue that these and other defects in the Indian judicial system as it has emerged were due to an initial error in importing English law at all. Was there any other alternative? During the Company's reign great respect was paid to native institutions, especially where religious susceptibilities were involved. It frequently became, indeed, almost a timorous solicitude, of which a crucial instance is the arguments against the suppression of *sati* which Bentinck had to override. In pursuance of this general policy, the authority of the Qazi and the Pundit was upheld. But this was in the realm of personal law and religious usage, with which such law for both Muslim and Hindu was identified. Pre-British criminal law was a branch of administration, an affair of police rather than of law. For this purpose, and for most purposes of civil law, native sources had little or nothing to offer in satisfaction of the requirements and responsibilities of an impartial paramount authority.

It was inevitable that our own law should flow into this great void.

Others more reasonably contend that more strenuous measures should have been taken, while preserving its principles, to adapt the English law to Indian conditions and, in particular, to restrain the hypertrophy of procedural complexity in which the litigious soil of India has proved so fertile. This was perhaps one of our many errors.

But, however that may be, the essential fact for our present purposes, which, for good or evil, must be accepted as a fact, is that this plantation of English law in India, the authority which has been exercised, directly or indirectly, by English tribunals, the close and continuous connection with the trend of law and legal institutions in England, has had consequences which greatly transcend the legal sphere and has been an important tributary to the great current whose course it is now the duty of statesmen to direct.

Education

In this realm of law, I think that it would have been hardly conceivable for the men of that time to have acted differently. It was a natural process, not a selective choice. In the matter of education, a formidable rival of the law in its effect upon the complex of issues with which we are confronted, the case was otherwise. The decision was deliberate and the merits far more debatable. Its severer critics have hinted that the only thing about the educational system we have set up, or allowed to develop, in India, which is not open to question is the magnitude of its consequences and the gravity of some of them.

It is true that in the form which it has assumed it can hardly be said to be an English institution at all. When the vital decision was taken there was in England no traditional model of state education to follow. The universities and public schools of that time belonged to a social order irremediably alien to India. And the decision was taken on three grounds, so slenderly related to each other that much of the confusion that was later apparent might have been predicted. There was the

ground, firmly taken by the Whig doctrinaire, of the intrinsic superiority of Western culture. There was a genuine conviction of the equity of giving the Indian a *carrière ouverte aux talents.* And there was the purely utilitarian object of creating a cheaper and larger supply of functionaries for the vast and growing burden of administration.

At the end of the eighteenth century the position broadly was that, while the British Government was benevolently inclined towards a revival of indigenous learning—Warren Hastings's enthusiasm in this cause is well known—there was no idea of introducing any state system of education at all. There was, as has been pointed out, no such system then in England, and Burke, who, if he was a Whig, was either a much better or a much worse one than Macaulay, even believed that in letters, religion, commerce and agriculture India had nothing to learn from us. A generation later there was a revulsion of opinion, and for the crucial decision and the subsequent course of educational policy there were two cardinal points. The first was the Order in Council of March 7, 1835, which, largely impelled by Macaulay's confident and assertive advocacy, settled the controversy between what were then called the "Orientalist" and "Filtration" schools of thought, in favour of the latter. Western culture and science and not the wisdom of the East were to be the goal of our policy.

The second cardinal point was the scheme sent to India by Sir Charles Wood, president of the Board of Control, in his dispatch of July 19, 1854. The scheme, which Dalhousie characterized as "more comprehensive than the Supreme or any local Government could have ventured to suggest," was at once adopted. Departments of Public Instruction were formed and the Presidency Towns endowed with examining universities based on the new model of London University. The die was cast, and, wise as were the warnings of Prinsep and other advocates of the *victa causa*, I do not think it could have been cast otherwise on the main issue. It was in harmony with the preponderant trend of opinion and action in Indian affairs which has determined many other things, and, indeed, with a deeper and stronger current.

I am not now concerned to examine the wisdom of this decision, which in my own opinion was inevitable, nor the merits of the system, regarded purely as an educational system, to which it gave birth. In spite of its manifest defects and some deplorable consequences, I am confident that the impartial and informed judge will not challenge the verdict of Lord Curzon, who claimed that "the successes of imparting English education to India had been immeasurably greater than the mistakes and blunders."

I am concerned with the political effects, and they have been incalculable. The educational system, taken together with the closely connected factors of the establishment of the English language, not only as the language of the superior courts and the higher branches of the administration, but as the general medium for discussion, exposition and propaganda, and of the birth and rising power of the Press, has been by far the most powerful contributing cause of political developments in every direction and has provided both the motive power and the objective in the Indian case for constitutional reform.

The British Hall-Mark

So it came about, among other and portentous things, that the history of England, our own vast store of political thought and argument, our philosophy and jurisprudence, our constitutional theory and practice, the past and present operation of our courts, our Parliaments, our political parties and our governments, the whole of the English tradition on which I have so much insisted, were made not only accessible to, but in a large measure compulsory upon, India. In this atmosphere for at least three generations the ablest and most energetic minds in India, as well as the most versatile, ingenious and imitative, have been sedulously brought up; they have been instructed in the same ideals and animated to pursue the same ends as ourselves by every example, inducement and incentive that it is possible to offer. As our own decision in the matter was deliberate, so our responsibility is complete. Whether or not it was dangerous or whether it was possible to refuse thus to reveal the *arcanum imperii*, we did it. We not only revealed it, but we made initiation into it the hall-mark of

culture, almost of respectability, and the passport to service under the Crown in almost every civil capacity of importance.

The dangers of the course on which we had thus embarked India and ourselves were already obvious to most intelligent men. Some of the consequences which we have now to deplore were due, not to the main principles adopted, but to the manner of their execution. The charges are familiar, and some of them are just. The educational ideal propounded was too exclusively literary; university standards were, or were allowed to become, too low; Government service obtruded itself as the natural and, as many were led to believe, the merited and the promised reward of success; there was and is overproduction on an increasing scale of ill-equipped young men, who crowded into and impaired the standards of journalism, the law and all the writing trades; still more ominous, there was created the most dangerous class of unemployment, which provided the victims and the recruits to the crudest and most unscrupulous forms of political agitation, and activities even more pernicious and perilous.

The Press

It was obvious from the first that the Press would be at once the most capacious and the most formidable channel through which the heady new wine would flow. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was conspicuous among the men of his time, not only for his insight into contemporary conditions but for his attitude, penetrating and farsighted, towards the political future of India, gave evidence in 1832 before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. He said:

"In other countries the use of the Press has extended along with the improvement of the country and the intelligence of the people: but in India we shall have to contend at once with the more refined theories of Europe and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed."

That early warning has been amply justified by our experience. A few years later the acting Governor-General, Metcalfe,

abolished all Press restrictions on the ground that, whatever the consequences might be, this was necessary for the spread in India of Western knowledge and civilization. The dilemma was and is one of extreme difficulty and gravity, but the record of our Indian Press legislation, with all its vacillation and incoherence, is not one which we can recall with much complacence. My own view has always been that, while we must tolerate for greater ends a great deal that is mischievous, there are definite and measurable limits to such toleration, and that a degree of control will for long continue to be necessary in India which in England, under different conditions, can safely be dispensed with. I believe that this will be accepted by the wiser mind of India, and in recent times something has been done, with the consent of Indian legislatures, to repair the premature repeal of the Press Act in 1921.

With all this, some pregnant facts have to be accepted. The Press as a political organ, if we cannot assert for it so exclusive a paternity as for other indubitably native products of our soil, is an integral and characteristic part of our system. It is the Fourth Estate of our Realm, and the Freedom of the Press has been an ever more jealously guarded public prerogative since the days of "Areopagitica." We planted it in India and are ourselves largely responsible for the fruits which it has borne in that exotic soil. It would be a profound error to judge these solely by the too abundant yield of extravagance and malevolence. We may deplore that it has often grossly misrepresented our acts and our intentions, misrepresentations of which some have not stopped short of incitements to crime and rebellion. We cannot complain that it has enthusiastically propagated, even though often enough with an incomplete comprehension of them, our own ideas. We cannot deny that in its better part and its calmer and wiser moods both we and India owe much to it. If we can by wise handling of the problems now before us remove or mitigate some of the present causes of distrust and hostility, I see no reason for doubt that it will be capable of playing a salutary and beneficent part under happier and more natural conditions.

Local Self-Government

After education and the Press, we pass to local self-government. The issues involved and the consequences entailed are not comparable, but have nevertheless great significance and importance of their own. In England itself such institutions were generally in a chaos of confusion and corruption till the time of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1833; and the vast ramification of municipal and local bodies with which we are now familiar here took shape at a much later date. In spite of this, the beginnings were to be found in India long before the days of Lord Ripon. Action on these lines aroused comparatively little controversy. Most people thought that it was obviously the proper thing to do. It was argued, not without justice, that in this sphere Indians could best and most safely be trained in the conduct of self-government, and it appeared that awkward problems affecting vital functions of the executive Government would not be raised. For many reasons the system has not developed in India as it has in this country, largely perhaps because of our singular omission to apply the measure of continuous central control and guidance, which had been deemed necessary in England and of which the still greater necessity in India should have been apparent. Thus, in the resolution of Lord Ripon's Government of 1882, control by audit and surcharge, which had been definitely provided by the English Public Health Act of 1875, was not even mentioned.

For our present purposes it is possible to record only a few reflections. Among the questions which suggest themselves is whether, the principle of self-government having been conceded in local affairs, it could or should be for ever restricted to that sphere. The argument most commonly used, even by many of those who were most apprehensive of constitutional change, was its value as an education in the management of common affairs and a test of capacity. This clearly implies a further stage in which the progress made should be applied in wider and higher spheres. It appears clear, at any rate, that neither as a matter of logical and consistent principle nor of practicability in fact could

any permanent restriction to such functions as education, public health and public utility services be maintained.

Nor is it reasonable to suppose that the commission to elected autonomous bodies of the vast interests and responsibilities involved in the municipal affairs of great capital cities could be seriously regarded or accepted as no more than a sort of examination for elementary pupils in the art of government. Certainly it was not to be expected by the most sanguine or the most obtuse that a generation of men who had administered affairs of this order would so remain content and would not assert a claim to competence for a larger concern in a wider field. The truth is, I think, that, on the British side, while there were some who saw and deliberately accepted these obvious implications, there were many more who supported or acquiesced in the policy with the complacent or consoling reflection that the consequences could be relegated to a remote future. We have now to realize that the remote future has become the immediate prospect.

The Principle of Responsibility

It may appear surprising that I have dwelt so much on our policy and action in India in fields which may be held to have only an indirect bearing on the specifically political and constitutional issues now so prominent. My contention, of course, is that they have a very direct bearing. There is an organic unity in our own system and tradition of government which forbids any mechanical separation of its components, and the most vital and characteristic element in our system is responsible government. Having gone so far as we had gone in bringing India into the ambit of our system, this further step was bound sooner or later to be taken if the whole course of our previous proceedings was not to be condemned as misconceived and misdirected.

The field was ploughed and sown and in due season the reapers would enter into it. It was, in the view of Indian opinion, which had long ardently anticipated and pressed for it, at a late hour of the day, and it was with many anxious searchings of heart that the first outline of a legislature with an elective popular element took shape. It is notable that in Queen Victoria's

Proclamation, among much else that was wisely designed to reassure and to encourage, not a word is to be found foreshadowing, however distantly and cautiously, anything of the kind. No wise man will even now cavil at those anxieties, for the decision was momentous even if it was logical and ineluctable.

In speaking on the abortive Bill of 1890, Lord Salisbury emphasized the grave responsibility of any Government which should introduce the elective principle as an active element in the Government of India, and he added: "It may be—I do not desire to question it—that it is to be the ultimate destiny of India." Since then all the convergent forces we liberated have moved with a momentum and velocity which have culminated in the last few years.

It is beyond the purpose or the possible limits of this survey to follow the record in detail. It is familiar to everyone, and the cardinal points have been admirably summarized in the lecture delivered here last May by Sir John Thompson. As a measure of the distance covered, it may be recalled that it was Mr. G. N. Curzon who, in introducing the Bill of 1892, described it as in no way creating any kind of Parliamentary system; it was Lord Curzon who in 1917 drafted the final form of the pronouncement which recognized responsible self-government as the ultimate goal in India. Lord Morley, in expounding his own Reforms Scheme of 1909, disavowed in even stronger terms any intention of setting up a Parliamentary system in India, though at a later stage he admitted that the language he then used was merely tactical.

If either of these statements was simply intended to convey that the particular measures to which they referred did not in their immediate effect confer any measure of responsible Government, it was strictly correct. But if they are to be taken to deny that, in the first instance, a definite step and, in the second, a much longer one had been taken in that direction, the reflection they must inspire is how blind can be even the principal agents in crucial decisions to the consequences of their own action, if they ignore the historical background and concentrate on the immediate issue alone.

From 1892 to 1909 the changes effected were quantitative rather than qualitative. The passage from 1909 to 1919 was a political rubicon. It was the transition, crucial but familiar to students of English colonial history, from representative to a measure of responsible government. In this respect it had for India some of the significance which the action taken on the Durham Report had for Canada, and it seems probable that that precedent was pregnant with other things also for India.

Effects of the 1919 Act

For more than thirteen years British India has been governed to the extent proposed by the Government of India Act of 1919 under a tentative system of responsible government. If the prophets of evil hoped for the catastrophes they predicted, they have been disappointed. For this, much credit must be given to an incomparable administrative machine, but it would be ungenerous as well as injudicial to deny their due share to the ministers who have held office in a period of such difficulty as has taxed the utmost resources of every Government in the world. Meantime, the *tempo* of political events has accelerated and the horizon has visibly widened.

I have nothing to say of the controversy once aroused by the words "Dominion status," which has always appeared to me very much of a logomachy. It is of far greater importance that nearly all men who are competent to judge of Indian affairs, whatever may be the direction of the inferences they draw, are agreed that the present Government of India Act has exhausted its utility and that some new departure is necessary. The idea of Federation has advanced from the position of a remote possibility, through the stage of a development to be provided for, to that of a solution definitely propounded as the framework of a scheme including provincial autonomy and central responsibility with safeguards.

The White Paper Proposals

In considering the merits of the scheme of reforms now under examination by the Joint Select Committee, it cannot be denied that, whatever other judgment may be passed on them, each of

its major propositions is an attempt to answer in a concrete, constructive manner questions which practical experience has raised and which must be answered. If for some of them no exact precedents can be found, that is because the problems to be solved are without precedent; and our practice has been, when precedent fails, to have the courage to use new expedients. With this allowance, the general structure is in harmony with the principles on which we have traditionally acted and no part is repugnant to them. In so vast a composition it would be an exorbitant claim that every part constitutes the only right answer to the question to which it is relevant, but the general design is conformable to type and precedent.

It appears to me that any alternative must either resemble it closely in cardinal points, though it may differ in proportion and emphasis, or it must be a complete break with our own tradition and with the sequence of events and legislation in India. Here a crucial question arises. The ultimate objective, stated in its broadest terms, seems to be to effect such a synthesis of the East and the West as has never been attempted since the days of Alexander and his successors. We have to provide for a system of government in India which will be capable of subsisting and developing in harmony with a system of government in this country based on Parliamentary democracy.

Have we, in point of fact, anything to offer at all compatible with so great an enterprise which is not drawn from our own stock of ideas and experience? And if we were to seek it by breaking away from tradition and the past, in a direction hitherto uncharted and unexplored, would not this be a more hazardous experiment and a blinder leap in the dark than anything that has so far been proposed? Certainly nothing has so far been proposed which breaks the familiar mould and pattern of our own institutions, no new and original conception of government has been revealed which is capable of superseding all this and of satisfying, coherently and effectively, the exceedingly complicated and exacting requirements of the problem.

Is the Time Ripe?

Many will no doubt contend that there is really no question about the general direction and that the merits of particular expedients are a subsidiary matter: the real question is whether the time is ripe. The Government of India Act may be invoked which, while prescribing that Parliament must be the judge of the time and measure of any advance, seems to treat the general direction as axiomatic. It is clear that important conditions precedent, relating to certain specific points, which have been frankly stated in the White Paper, must be satisfied before the plan which it puts forward can be realized. Apart from these, the question is, on its intrinsic merits, not capable of any formal or statistical solution. But it is something much more than a question of opinion. The answer to it demands one of those signal displays of political instinct united to courageous decision which leave an indelible mark on history. It will be determined by resolving upon a very few great issues and not by interminable talk and contention about the multitude that are subsidiary.

I would submit as considerations which point to a decision three propositions.

Firstly, the existing system of government, both in what it has done and what it has not done, has exhausted or completed its potentialities. We have reached the limits of the period of transition for which it was intended to provide.

Secondly, a further period of transition has now to be contemplated and provided for, because we have not yet in view conditions which admit even of that very relative degree of finality which is all that is attainable in politics. The proposals of His Majesty's Government are based on an enquiry more prolonged, more minute and more comprehensive than any on record. They represent an effort, commensurate with the magnitude and intricacy of the problem, to offer a constructive solution for difficulties that are generally admitted, a reasonable satisfaction to Indian ambitions and the scope for natural and organic development which may obviate any drastic readjustments in too

near a future. It is possible that this might be done by other means, but none have hitherto been put forward.

Thirdly, it is better to proceed upon a maturely considered plan than to postpone action until a time when we should be obliged to improvise dangerously under the compulsion of events what should have been opportunely done with deliberation and good-will.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 17, 1934, when a paper entitled "The Logic of the Reform Proposals" was read by Sir James Crerar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Hubert Carr, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Frank Hudson, K.C.I.E., and Lady Hudson, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Major-General Sir Henry Everett, K.C.M.G., C.B., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. S. Lupton, C.B.E., Mr. H. Dow, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Shillidy, C.S.I., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. H. R. Wilkinson, Mr. Sydney Gordon Roberts, Mr. R. W. Brock, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. G. W. Plummer, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, K.-i-H., Mr. R. Wilson, Mrs. Bacon, Mr. C. Barton, Mr. J. R. Hood, Mr. E. E. Miller, Mr. A. Inglis, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. L. W. Matters, Mr. G. B. N. Hartog, Mr. Sanaullah, Mr. D. Shooter, Mr. G. Pilcher, Miss Ashworth, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. J. H. Munro, Mrs. L. M. Mundle, Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Ford, Mrs. Lawrie, Miss Hopley, Mrs. Yate, Miss F. Blackett, Mr. A. E. Rushworth, Miss Caton, Miss de Paszt, Miss F. M. Wyld, M.B.E., Miss Leatherdale, Mrs. Alan Izat, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I think it is fitting that before we begin our proceedings this afternoon I should refer to the very great loss that you have sustained by the death of Sir John Kerr.

I got to know Sir John very well during the four months that we spent together in India, and I formed an opinion that his judgment was second to none of any that I had ever met. I will only say that not only your Society, but also England and India are very unfortunate to be deprived of his voice at this great juncture in their fortunes. I will ask you to stand for one moment in memory of him.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I turn to a happier task. It is my duty to introduce to you Sir James Crerar. The record of Sir James is probably known to you all, and even put baldly it is sufficiently impressive. He served in India from 1901 to 1932, and from 1927 to 1932 he was Home Member in the Government of India. That in itself, I think, is a record of service to the Empire of which any man might well be proud. (Hear, hear.)

But I would like you to consider what events took place during the period

that Sir James was Home Member. He first took office at a moment when India was refusing to co-operate with the Simon Commission, then in that country—a very difficult initiation, I think you will agree, for a new Home Member responsible for the peace of the country. He had to help to compile and to sign the Government of India's despatch resulting from that Commission's report. He had to deal with the Meerut Conspiracy Case, destroying a very dangerous Communistic conspiracy in India. In 1929 he had all the difficulty arising when Congress declared that their goal was independence and not Dominion status, as before. He had hardly got over that when, in March, 1930, the first civil disobedience movement began. A year later, as you know, there came the Delhi Pact. For nearly a year there was a truce, during which the Government of India displayed that patience which Kipling used to admire so much. Then in January, 1932, there came the second disobedience movement, and before Sir James had left India he was able to put through measures that effectually destroyed that movement from the beginning.

During the whole of those difficult years, when men's patience must have been tried to the limit of its endurance, I know from personal experience that Sir James not only enjoyed the respect and esteem of the Viceroys whom he served and of his fellow-members of the Executive, but also of the Indian Legislature. I may say in passing that Lord Halifax particularly desired me today to express his deep regret that he was unable to be present this afternoon. There is a measure concerning tithes in the House of Lords, a matter in which he has been interested since 1925, and therefore he felt that he could not be absent from the debate.

That is the record of the man who is going to address you this afternoon. It has been the practice and the experience of the British Empire that the man on the spot usually hits the nail on the head. You will agree with me that the paper we are going to listen to this afternoon is going to be delivered to us by a man who has been very much on the spot during some of the most critical years of the association between England and India.

Sir JAMES CRERAR said: I cannot begin the paper which I propose to read to you without expressing, very inadequately, I fear, but very sincerely, my deep sense of gratitude to our Chairman for the manner in which he has been good enough to introduce me to you.

I will not attempt to say more, because I think you will readily recognize that, after the kind of experience which those of us had who bore what undoubtedly was a considerable amount of the burden and the heat of those days, it is, after two years of comparative quiet in England, a very great gratification to know that something of what we had to contend with is appreciated, and that what we endeavoured at any rate to do is not also without its meed of understanding. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: Your reception of Sir James's lecture leaves him, I am sure, no doubt as to your opinion of its merit. I have never had the

privilege of listening to a lecture in your Association before, but if they are of that quality I do not intend to miss very many more. I will ask Miss Cornelia Sorabji to open the discussion.

Miss CORNELIA SORABJI: We have listened to a most extraordinarily interesting lecture—looking back over a long past, looking forward at a time when that is appearing on the horizon which must excite the interest of us all. Yet I could have wished that the eloquent lecturer had blown some more blasts of glorification for all that England has already given to India; but that is asking too much, is it not, of any Englishman? Englishmen do not use the trumpet. I doubt if they would even have consented to use trumpets outside the walls of Jericho!

But there are some blasts which must be blown. *Firstly*, is it not true to say that it was during the British occupation of India for the first time that we were able to talk of India as a political unit, stretching from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin?

Secondly, throughout the years of the occupation of India by the British they have been setting themselves in effect to prepare the country, as the lecturer has rightly said, for the logical conclusion that is now before us. Let us think back over the years: the development of the natural resources of the country; the making of great services, administration, justice, education, medicine; the bringing into existence of the machinery to fit all these services; the opening up of industrialism; the improvement of agriculture; and the teaching to the people of India of the new modern ideals of health, sanitation, and public service.

And, *thirdly*, there is a third blast, all the time training men of India to work this machinery which they have put in motion. In short, then, England was fitting the machine to run without her, and training Indians to run it.

I should have liked to hear something said about agriculture. You remember, those of you who have been in India, two words which I would ask you to recall to indicate what I mean: the words *Karma* and *Kismet*. They apply to the two great communities of India, the Hindus and the Moslems.

"*Karma*," says the one, when disaster occurs—"it is the thing that I have earned." "*Kismet*," says the other—"it was written. It is my fate." And their hands hang idle. You have taught them that a man may be the master even of his deserts, even of his fate. In teaching that to us of India, have you not taught a great deal, especially with a view to the coming administrator?

As to what Sir James has said in relation to justice, what other scheme could have been developed? Let us think for a moment with what the makers of British India were faced.

There were the two majority communities, supplied with two great and ancient systems of law based upon religion. In regard to crime, I suppose at the time when the British came to India there was little beyond trial by ordeal for dealing with it. Trial by ordeal was applied variously according

to localities, and not always with a sense of continuity, among the Hindus; among the Moslems applied perhaps more subtly in courts of law, but equally without continuity and equally differing with various localities.

I myself have seen trial by ordeal in practice. I could tell you exciting stories. One of the most vivid in my memory is of a hole in the wall through which the accused had to creep, and if he stuck he was guilty. You yourselves have had trial by ordeal in England, and as lately as the eighteenth century in Cumberland and the Border countries, at any rate.

How was the situation to be dealt with? It seems to me that the Queen's Proclamation dealt with it in the most masterly way. You recall it: "The laws of the Gentoos (Hindus) for the Gentoos, and of the Moslems for the Moslems, shall prevail in all matters of inheritance law and succession"—that is, in all personal matters. For dealings between party and party there was to be English-made law for India.

That latter resulted in the production of a body of codified law, which one of the greatest jurists in England, himself no lover of codes, has pronounced to be a most amazing way of dealing with the complexity of situations in India, where the peoples have not one standard of justice or one standard of how to deal with the offender.

As to the Privy Council, every practising Indian lawyer knows with what content the decisions of that body are received, particularly as to the questions of custom and religion. Every modern politician knows how the attempt to introduce, of late years, elasticity into the interpretation of law based on religion has been received by the people most concerned. If the personal law of the Indian is to be changed, it will be changed when the people want it changed by the people themselves, by the people most concerned; and there it must be left.

As to the codes there is elasticity enough, and the legislatures have no hesitation in using their power in that direction.

Macaulay's minute on education has been worn threadbare with all the criticism that has been bestowed upon it. And yet I wonder what other than the English language as a medium of instruction, or the English emphasis given to our education in India would have been acceptable. You remember the Anglophile of Ram Mohun Roy and people of his age. You remember also the way Lord Curzon's attempt to expand vernacular education was received in India by the politician. He charged against Lord Curzon the attempt to stop independence. There were risks to be run either way. I do not say that the system—nobody would—is perfect. There are many changes all of us would like, in details.

Take the simple matter of the list of books prescribed for examinations. We have often been set to read the books that excite the wrong imagination in immature minds. Take, again, the fact that there has not been sufficient attention paid to the great truth that no one can take the impression of an alien culture unless he has first taken the impress of the culture which is his own. Thirdly, there was too little attention given to the fact that every Indian home does not normally provide the discipline and the training in character which is necessary for the student.

But much has been already done. The Calcutta University Commission began what has been carried on in various directions all over the country, and we go forward still, with hope.

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? Is it not just this? Taking the proposition of the speaker as one in Euclid. Q.E.D. Yes, certainly, if the details are right; if the angle which should be a right angle for purposes of our demonstration is a right angle, not an acute angle or an obtuse angle. Or, to put the metaphor in another way—The reforms are the natural conclusion of what you have been working for in India. The loom of time has indeed been weaving a garment for India, but that garment must fit the wearer, must it not? And it must be one that suits the circumstances in which he is to wear it. India cannot be served to her profit by a reach-me-down. (Applause.)

Sir PATRICK FAGAN: I should like to associate myself with the last speaker in her expression of approval of the very scholarly, very well written, if I may say so, and very interesting paper to which we have listened. But having said that, I am afraid I must add that I think it is open to criticism in various directions.

The lecturer in the early part of his paper very properly emphasized the fundamental characteristic of British institutions; that is, that they are indigenous products not notably contaminated by foreign importations, that they are the outcome of the practical genius, the empirical instincts of the British race. I feel that we shall all more or less agree with him in that view. But I think I can trace throughout the paper a suggestion that by reason of that cultural contact between Britain and India, which has been going on for, we may say, a century and a half, the development of political institutions in India must be on British lines, and that those political institutions must be largely based on British models. There, I think, issue may fairly be joined with the lecturer.

When we look round the world today, what do we see? Countries which provided themselves with constitutions and political institutions based more or less closely on the British model have discarded them or are engaged in discarding them.

The process in Germany and Italy is perhaps fairly complete, though I do not deny that some spirit of democracy may still remain there. As regards France, I suppose that the right thing to do is to place a big note of interrogation against it in regard to the process of which I speak. Perhaps the same may be said of the United States of America.

In our own Empire we have recently had a small, undoubtedly a small, but certainly a very eloquent, example of what an ill-directed democracy on British lines can achieve. I refer, of course, to the case of the small state of Newfoundland. In Egypt we have something of a deadlock. In Ceylon, admittedly the results have been unsatisfactory, but we are told that the time to talk about it is not yet. Looking round and seeing these things, what I am doubtful about is this—what reasonable ground for adequate confidence have we that the institutions of British parliamentary democracy

are going to take effective root in India and function for the welfare and prosperity of the teeming millions of that sub-continent?

The lecturer has in a very interesting part of his paper traced the course of what I may call cultural contact between Britain and India in certain directions and in certain matters: law, the courts, education, and the Press. That is a fairly wide field. But what has been the actual nature of that contact? How has it been operative? A good deal of what is said and written about India today suggests that from a comparatively early period the British administrator was a fervent proselytizer in favour of British culture; that he was an ardent missionary, bent on leading the masses of India into the field of British democracy. That is not often, it is true, explicitly said, but it is what is suggested by what is said, and I think it is an exaggerated, not to say a distorted, view.

The main objective of the British administrator in India was until recent years—I am afraid conditions have somewhat changed now, from all one hears—the good government and administration of India, the promotion of the welfare, of the material, economic, and moral progress of her peoples. In carrying out that great task he naturally used the instruments and applied the principles with which he was familiar and in which as a Briton he had been trained. For him missionary and proselytizing activities were largely subconscious and unwitting. The ultimate outcome for him lay in the future, depending very largely, if not entirely, on such political capacity as the Indian peoples might ultimately develop.

No doubt the process was to some extent educative, but it is, I believe, a complete misapprehension, and one productive of confusion of thought, to suggest that from an early stage the work of the British administrator was of set purpose to launch India on the path towards the goal of democratic self-government.

But even granting that the process has been one of education towards democracy, what are the results that we see today? I was much struck by a simile which was introduced into the paper about ploughing and sowing the field and admitting the reapers. What I should like to draw attention to in that connection is this—that between the process of ploughing and sowing and the admission of the reapers, another very important process has to take place, and that is the germination, the growth, and the maturity of a healthy crop. What is the crop of preparedness for democratic institutions which we see in India today? Is there communal unity, racial unity, religious unity, linguistic unity? The more fervent and the less temperate idealists of our time tell us that the whole of the Indian population is today thirsting for the forms and institutions of democracy. Others, more temperate and less fervent; and rather more level-headed, have doubts, and some of them very grave doubts, about the matter.

What are the facts? Are they not these, that today every condition in India that you like to refer to—social, racial, religious, linguistic—whatever you like to take, is a flat negation of democracy, and of that indispensable foundation of democracy, a democratic society? (Applause.) That being so, we—I am referring to those who criticize the White Paper proposals,

and I am afraid they are not very largely represented in this meeting—find very considerable difficulty in detecting much logic under the scheme of Indian reforms which is now before the Joint Committee.

It is for these reasons, my lord, that the people I refer to, the undistinguished crowd, have very grave, very sincere, very honest apprehensions regarding these reform proposals. We greatly doubt whether they are destined to lead to the welfare of India and to the well-being of its teeming millions. We greatly fear that they will lead to retrogression and ultimately to chaos supervening sooner or later. (Applause.)

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: I will not waste your time on a statement of my general views, since they are fully published in *The Times* of this morning. I will merely say that I agree in main principles with the lecturer rather than with Sir Patrick Fagan.

For thirty years I have had the privilege of receiving instruction from the inexhaustible stores of recondite knowledge of our lecturer, and today once more he has given me much to ponder over.

There are two sentences in his admirable paper which I should like to bring into close relation, and on that relation I would ask Sir James for some enlightenment. He has told us that "the existing system of government has completed its potentialities"; and he has referred to the "dangerous class of unemployment" created by the defects of our literary education.

Now when one looks round on the industrial world today, with its increasing adoption of mechanization, rationalization, and mass production, one is horrified at the immediate results in unemployment. And it seems to me that the very efficiency of the machinery of the Government of India has had the same result as the modern developments in industry.

We cannot foretell the future; we hear grave forebodings of the deterioration of efficiency in the Indian Governments of the future régime. At the same time I feel strange illogical waves of sympathy arise in my mind towards Mahatma Gandhi's scheme of life, and wonder whether India will not be happier if his dream can be realized of enabling 100 men to be busily engaged in doing the work of one.

There is nothing to laugh at in this dream, for something of the kind may come to pass even in this country.

I gather from Sir James's remark that terrorism derives its recruits from unemployment. Is there any policy in hand to counter terrorism by employment, particularly in Bengal? Would he agree that to throw open Assam to Bengali colonization would have any useful result?

I am aware that this suggestion does not find favour with Assamese, and especially the English Assamese; but I would refer those gentlemen to the Budget speech of the Finance Member of Assam last month, when he stated that unless a large subsidy could be obtained from the Government of India, "Assam must be wiped off the map" owing to its insolvency.

But amidst these doubts there are five points which I submit to this meeting with certainty: (1) The relations of India with the British Com-

monwealth must be preserved. (2) These relations rest primarily on good-will. (3) This good-will exists in ample volume between the peasantry in India and the masses in this country. (4) To give effect to that good-will we must enfranchise the peasantry fully. (5) The only way to enfranchise the peasantry is through adult suffrage and indirect elections; and I submit that indirect elections will eradicate communal strife and eventually the hideous curse of communal electorates. Would Sir James be willing to support this plan?

I make these last suggestions with some reluctance in the presence of our noble Chairman, since he was a member of that Lothian Committee which so unfortunately and misguidedly came to a different and wrong conclusion on this problem.

Mr. J. C. FRENCH, I.C.S. (retd.): It is a great pleasure for me to add my small tribute of appreciation to Sir James Crerar in the performance of his enormously difficult task this afternoon. Sir James is entitled to say, in the words of Burns's famous song: "We have done all that man can do." I shall not quote the second line. I dare say you all remember it.

The title of today's address reminds me of what I read about Mr. Baldwin's advice to young Conservatives a short time ago. One point was distrust logic, or avoid logic; anyhow, it was something detrimental to logic. I looked up logic in the dictionary and found it is "the science and art of reasoning correctly." Then everything became clear to me, and I saw why Mr. Baldwin is so fond of the White Paper: because in the White Paper he finds no trace of this noxious plant of correct reasoning. But this afternoon we have Sir James Crerar lecturing on the logic of the White Paper. He claims that the White Paper is the natural and necessary extension of our policy in India, and he derives support from four sources:

First, our judicial system. But I always understood that it is the glory of our law that it is entirely apart from politics; that whether an Act is passed by a Conservative, Liberal, or Labour Government, it is the law of the land and the courts carry it out. They are kept entirely apart from politics. So how our legal system can lead to political changes is difficult to understand.

The second point is the Press. I am glad to see that Sir James disapproves of the repeal of the Press Act in 1921, that excellent measure that was so beneficial in controlling evils in the exercise of the activities of the Press. Also I give my humble tribute of agreement to Sir James when he says we are responsible for the Press in India. We brought the Press into India. We must see that it does right.

On the subject of introducing institutions into countries and being responsible for them, there comes to my memory the question of rabbits in Australia. The Australians brought rabbits into Australia with the best intentions. The rabbits first became a nuisance, then a pest. But when they became a pest in Australia, what did the Australians say? They did not say, "We have introduced them; we are responsible for them; therefore logically we must turn Australia into one big rabbit warren." No.

They dealt with the rabbits, and so we must deal with the Press. Mind you, in talking about rabbits I have not the least intention of comparing the Press in India to rabbits in Australia or rabbits in any other country. I do not compare the editors, reporters, or newspaper men to rabbits. I am dealing with the question on its broadest and most general lines. We have introduced the thing into the country and we must see it out.

Then education. Education in India is a vast subject. It has been the object of tremendous criticism. It may be we have not been altogether wise in our system of education in India. It may be that in teaching our pupils the lessons of English history we have not sufficiently emphasized the differences of conditions that make the literal application of the lessons of English history so dangerous to Indian circumstances. But if we have been unwise in this, why should we translate unwise language into still more unwise action? In a word, if we have talked foolishly, why should we act still more foolishly?

I pass on to my next point, local self-government. I am very glad to hear that Sir James considers that it has developed differently in India from what it has done in this country. If it had developed similarly in this country we should be face to face with a most serious situation. I appeal to the experience of any lady or gentleman here who has lived under any Indian municipality. I do not want to dwell too long on painful memories. I pass on to the Bengal Government Report on the Municipalities in Bengal in 1931 and the single phrase, "Where self-taxation fails, self-government fails." I am told the Government of the Punjab and the Government of other Provinces have used harsher language.

And now I point to a concrete instance, the Calcutta Corporation. I will not express my own opinion. I have four newspaper extracts. The first is from *The Times* of August 10, 1933, about the speech of Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government. Also *The Times* of September 11, 1933, when the Amending Bill was passed, and mentioning the report of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, a prominent Congress man and President of the Finance Committee of the Calcutta Corporation, in which he said that the finances of the Calcutta Corporation were in a shocking condition, and that if things continued as at present it would have no money next year for its manifold activities. My next newspaper extract is from the *Statesman* of Calcutta of January 28 of this year, a journal that cannot be accused of being opposed to the White Paper. The Indian correspondent says that "revelations of a most damaging character would probably have been made if some of the city fathers had not shown their anxiety to prevent the washing of dirty linen in public." "The time is certainly more than ripe," he says, "for taking stock of the entire system of administration of the Calcutta Corporation, and the fear of facing an unpleasant and even scandalous situation should not have stood in the way. It is said that these councillors and aldermen think that instances of maladministration, if brought to the notice of the public, will prove their inability and establish the fact that they are not yet fit for self-government." Lastly, "the results of the hush-hush policy will prove to

be disastrous hereafter." What is the latest news about the Calcutta Corporation? *The Times* of April 11, 1934, tells us they have elected a Chairman, and elected him in a pandemonium.

All these remarks are not to be taken as any criticism of the way in which Sir James has performed his task this afternoon. For that I have the most unstinted admiration. My criticisms only arise inevitably from the defects of the White Paper. For searching for logic in the White Paper is a labour of Hercules; nay, a labour of Sisyphus.

Sir JAMES CRERAR: At this late hour I should very ill requite the patience with which you heard me for upwards of half an hour if I trespassed any further upon your indulgence. I propose therefore to deal with only one of the questions which was asked. I will not endeavour to follow the amusing but somewhat irrelevant gambols of those Australian rabbits which Mr. French so dexterously produced from his hat.

I propose to deal very briefly with the question which was asked or the objection which was raised, which seems to me, if it was a valid one, the most formidable and the most fundamental. It is the objection raised by Sir Patrick Fagan. His argument, if I understood it correctly, was this: that, first of all, democratic systems of government are wrong in themselves; and secondly, that they are particularly wrong in India. He invited us to compare—and I presume the comparison implied some measure of approval—the abandonment by certain foreign countries of the principles of Constitutional liberty and the expedients of parliamentary government.

Am I to understand that Sir Patrick Fagan suggests that we should adopt for ourselves the methods which Signor Mussolini may find admirable for Italy, and which a large majority in Germany may think fitting for Germany? I do not think there are many of us here who desire to have either the particular kind of millennium proposed by Sir Stafford Cripps on the one hand, or the opposing state of affairs, which may or may not be a millennium, which is proposed by Sir Oswald Mosley on the other. If we dislike and repudiate those things for ourselves, would it be a very reasonable view on our part that we should conceive them as likely to be acceptable to India?

I have one further observation to make. It is this. We very frequently hear it said that the business of the old-time Indian administrator was not to concern himself with politics, but to get going with the administration of the Indian for his good, and it seems to be implied that that is all we need do now. My lord, if I could revert to the time nearly thirty years ago when I was a young district officer, and if I could reconcile it to my conscience and to what I believe to be the public conscience of England, to be satisfied that we should have completed our whole task by doing the duties of a district officer, I should be very happy and very content. But I think that both the district officer of today, whose difficulties are so much greater, and those of us who have passed through that phase and have had to handle different problems, know that our general duty to

India and to ourselves would on those lines be very incompletely performed. (Applause.)

It is a singular characteristic of the criticisms directed against H.M. Government's policy at the present time, and against those of us who from some particular point of view are endeavouring to explain or to support it, that our critics never themselves venture for one single moment into the difficult paths of framing some constructive alternative. (Applause.) However that may be, my own firm conviction is this. It is often said that a distracted world is looking to England for a lead back to the paths of sanity and stability; that there is now an opportunity for England to do again, what she has done before, to save herself by her exertions and the world by her example. (Applause.)

If we are competent to perform that great task, it will not be by being seduced from our own traditions, from our own path, and our own proceedings in the past, either by examples drawn from abroad or by heresies propagated at home. I say that the only condition on which we shall be qualified to undertake, or shall have any hope of discharging, that task is by showing our continued faith in our own institutions.

THE MAHARAJAH OF BURDWAN: I think the discussion has been fruitful. It is my pleasant duty not only to congratulate Sir James Crerar on his very lucid statement about the logic of the reform proposals, but also to ask you to pass a hearty vote of thanks to him for his lecture. I should like to include an expression of thanks to the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava for having come here this afternoon and presided. He has been to India. He has been connected with the groundwork of the proposals that have now been embodied in the White Paper. We wish his lordship a great future, a great career. We hope that the day may come when the association of his grandfather may be repeated by his going out to India as a great administrator. (Applause.)

I will ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Sir James Crerar and the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava.

The motion was passed with acclamation.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN INDIA

By Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes,
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G.

You have listened to a number of addresses from various points of view on the Indian Constitutional problem, but I do not think any apology is necessary for choosing the same subject this afternoon in view of the momentous nature of the issues involved. No greater responsibility has ever rested upon Parliament, and it is a responsibility which cannot be evaded. It is no exaggeration to say that the future of India, and indeed of the Empire, depends upon the decision which will shortly have to be made.

For this reason the Government submitted its proposals in the form of a White Paper, and appointed a Joint Select Committee to report upon it. The White Paper is, as you know, itself based upon a mass of evidence collected by the Simon Commission, and the Lothian, Davidson, Percy, and other Committees, and the views expressed at the Round-Table Conferences. Thus there will have been ample opportunities for examining the proposals in the utmost detail. I gladly avail myself, however, of the privilege you have accorded me of laying before you some of the opinions which I have formed on the subject in the hope that they may be of assistance. Anything I say is my personal view only: I belong to no group, nor have I knowledge of the tenor of any official discussions taking place upon the subject.

India is a land of endeavour. Nowhere are there greater potentialities for higher service. The responsibilities of government are probably wider than they have ever been, and the personal factor and the influence of the individual district officer are even more important than in the old days. History is gradually unfolding. The present chapter is largely the result of our teaching of Western ideas of freedom and pride of nationality which has spread among the educated classes and will spread, though

more slowly, through the villages. The coming changes will undoubtedly be fraught with many difficulties. We must profit by the lessons of the past, look constantly forward, and help to guide natural aspirations into sound channels.

Policy, as I see it, means a clear vision of what is in the interests of the greatest number in the long run and a determination to pursue those interests. Policy, that is to say, is opposed to opportunism, which means short-sighted adaptations to the circumstances of the moment in order to secure ephemeral advantages. Opportunism is the great danger of democracy.

The Indian Legislatures

At the outset, too, it may be as well for me to state that I am a believer in the Parliamentary system of government. It has been said that it has proved a failure. It has, of course, its limitations, but experience has shown it to be the most suitable form of government for the nations which compose the British Commonwealth. Nor would I concur that its introduction into India has been unsuccessful. The legislative bodies, in spite of the fact that they were often functioning under the adverse conditions of a critical period, have stood the strain well on the whole, and their chief weakness, a tendency to irresponsible criticism, will be minimized with the growth of responsibility. We have educated India politically on Parliamentary lines, and we cannot go back on this.

It is easy to be out of date in regard to India, and views based upon experience acquired before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are in some ways apt to be misleading. The old days, so vividly depicted in the pages of Rudyard Kipling, have disappeared, never to return. The world's boundaries have been contracted by the wireless telephone and the aeroplane; and the isolation of the Indian village is being broken down by the arrival of the motor-bus. New factors are playing their part in developing political consciousness, and will have an increasing effect as time goes on. The agitation for a further extension of Constitutional Government is persistent and widespread. It comes from all sections of the community, Hindu and Muhammadan

alike, and the movement is not confined to the towns or the educated classes. The disturbances of the last decade were to a considerable extent agrarian. Even the Depressed Classes are insisting upon the removal of their age-long disabilities.

Lessons of History

Without subscribing unreservedly to all the details of the scheme outlined in the White Paper, I think that it provides a reasonable basis upon which to build. India can be kept in the Empire only by going forward. In a great and progressive Empire like ours, situations such as the one which has now arisen in India are in no way abnormal. They are inevitable, as the Colonies which we have founded or the races which we have taken under our guidance arrive at political maturity.

Instances will occur to all present here today. Canada forms a particularly instructive parallel, owing to the vast size of the country and its divergent religious and social characteristics. In 1791 the younger Pitt saved Canada from going the way of the American Colonies. But this was not enough. As with India, growing dissatisfaction with the limitations of the former Act culminated in an outbreak in 1838, and but for the work of Lord Durham in 1841, Canada would probably have been lost to the Empire. He realized, as we must realize in India today, that the true remedy lay in responsibility. In South Africa we were faced with a not dissimilar situation, but in 1910, in spite of considerable opposition, the same policy was applied, with the result that Boer generals who had fought against us in 1899-1902 were commanding Imperial armies in the field in 1914!

The example of what has happened in Ireland is often quoted as a warning with regard to India. Without entering into the pros and cons of a very thorny question, I may point out that there is no true parallel between the two countries. In the Irish settlement no provision was made for the retention of a British force or a Governor-General with far-reaching control over the army, finance, and foreign affairs, or a civil service and police recruited by a Secretary of State. It is at least a matter for con-

jecture whether a sound policy in 1886 might not perhaps have averted the tragedy of 1916, just as a far-seeing handling of the Colonial question in 1765 might well have resulted in the retention of practically the whole of North America as a part of the British Empire today.

Politics, it has been said, is present history, and history is past politics. History teaches us that in our policy towards India at the present juncture we should follow the precedent adopted with success in Canada and Africa, rather than that which led to disaster in the case of the American Colonies and Ireland.

Past and Present

But it is to the moral rather than the prudential side of the question that I should like first to call your attention. Our Empire is held together by other ties than those of mere force or racial ascendancy. In India it is our moral influence that counts, and always has counted. Macaulay, writing nearly a century ago, clearly recognized this fact. In his famous essay on Lord Clive he says: "During a long course of years the English rulers of India, surrounded by Allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valour and English intelligence have done less to expand and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the frictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be based."

Let us, then, first bear in mind exactly to what extent we are pledged. The only question is one of the extent and pace of the Reforms. The proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor to the people of India, issued on the passing of the Government of India Act in 1919, refers to His Majesty's "understanding and sympathy" with the growing desire of the Indian people for representative institutions. It goes on to speak of the desire after

political responsibility as having its source at the roots of the British connection with India, without which our work in that country would have been incomplete. It declares that it was with "a wise judgment" that the beginning of representative institutions were laid many years ago, "and their scope extended stage by stage on the road to responsible government."

More explicit is the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General of 1921, which runs as follows: "Above all things, it is Our Will and Pleasure that the plans made by Our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of our Empire may come to fruition to the end that British India may attain its due place among Our Dominions."

If we should appear to go back upon our pledges we should administer a rude shock to those who have been honestly led to believe in the realization of India's ultimate destiny as a self-governing member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The findings of the Joint Select Committee will represent the greatest common measure of agreement between all parties and schools of thought, both in England and in India. A wise and permanent solution can only be found by raising the whole discussion above the sphere of associations, leagues, groups, divisions, and party politics. Criticism of the scheme, in whatever form it emerges, is both useful and necessary, provided that it is constructive.

Indian Responsibility

Into the details of the scheme outlined in the White Paper I do not propose to enter today. It is still being debated by the Joint Select Committee, and we do not at present know in what form it will finally emerge. There are, however, a few points upon which perhaps you will permit me to touch.

The first is the apprehension that the handing over of the administration to Indian hands will result in a general deterioration. The keynote of our work in India has for decades been the cultivation of a sense of responsibility. The principle of responsi-

bility is indispensable to good government. Nothing, it has been said, breeds the sense of responsibility so much as responsibility, and that was the object of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The present is merely another step forward in the same direction. The Simon Report, speaking of the Reforms of 1921, pointed out that dyarchy in the Provinces was never intended to be more than a transitional device, a first step towards a completely responsible system.

The Report, which is based upon the evidence of those actually engaged upon the task of administration all over India, lays stress upon " the large measure of success which has attended the working of the Reformed Governments," and adds that " publicly constituted bodies now show an interest in their work which gives more hope for the future than any mere adherence to standards of mechanical efficiency." I myself was loyally supported by my Ministers in my determination to restore the financial stability of the Bombay Presidency, although they were often naturally disappointed to find themselves without funds to finance schemes of improvement such as public health, education, and the like. Members and Ministers in charge of portfolios, both in the Central and Provincial Governments, have discharged their duties with efficiency and credit. Mistakes due to inexperience are, of course, inevitable. As the Report goes on to say, failures are not peculiar to India. They can be paralleled in countries with far greater experience of representative institutions. And it must be remembered that the best men will only have scope for their abilities when real responsibility is given. In this connection may I quote a remarkable passage from Bryce's *Modern Democracies*?

" In India or Egypt or the Philippines, when a Government has directly or implicitly raised expectations and awakened impatience, misgivings as to the fitness to receive a gift may have to yield to the demand for it. There are countries in which, seeing that the break-up of an old system of government and an old set of beliefs threatens the approach of chaos, an effort must be made to find some institutions, however crude, which will hold together. There are moments when it is safer to go forward than to stand still, wiser to confer institutions even if they are liable to be misused than to foment discontent by withholding them."

Law and Order

As regards the proposed transfer of law and order, whilst one can sympathize with the misgivings which many feel upon this subject, I agree with the Simon Commission that the arguments in favour of transfer predominate. To reserve law and order would mean a perpetuation of the dyarchy which it will be the object of the Bill to abolish. A still more cogent reason is that police administration in India has always been unpopular and open to hostile criticism, and if the police remain in isolation as the agents of the Governor their position will become impossible. They will tend, as the Simon Report puts it, to be regarded as "the agents of an alien bureaucracy." The Constitution would be unworkable unless the Provincial Governments were responsible for their police.

At the present moment the Provincial Legislatures feel no responsibility for the police at all. They frequently attack them and sometimes refuse to vote the funds necessary for their maintenance. It is essential that India should learn to regard her police force as her own servants, needing and deserving public assistance. It is that very assistance which is now so often withheld, and which makes the task of dealing with terrorist crime so difficult. As far as the individual case of Bengal is concerned, the power of the Government to deal with terrorism must be maintained. But it must be done in a way which does not discriminate against Bengal. The essentials are that the internal discipline and administration of the police must be kept intact in the hands of police officers and that the sources of police information must not be in danger of being compromised. And though it will be undesirable to do so in other than very abnormal circumstances, in the last resort the Governor must exercise his power to take over charge of the Department. The responsibility of the Governor for the internal administration and discipline of the police is to be specially mentioned in his Instrument of Instructions.

At the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that the police are an integral part in the scheme for national security.

Police and army must work hand in hand, and it is essential that their functions should be closely co-ordinated.

Franchise and Second Chambers

Then there is the question of the Franchise. The total electorate at present is about 3 per cent. of the population. It is proposed to increase this to about 14 per cent., or say, roughly, 35,000,000. Though certain elementary property and educational qualifications are imposed, a large percentage will be, judged by ordinary standards, illiterate. Among the arguments in favour of indirect election is the fact that it would give a larger proportion of the illiterate masses a voice in the selection of the authority by which they are to be governed. Indirect election would simplify the problem of polling large, inaccessible districts, and reduce the risk of communal divisions. The village headmen, if chosen to represent their villages at the poll, could be trusted not to betray the interests of their fellow villagers, which would be also largely their own, and being of the same class from which the police are recruited, would naturally be in sympathy with law and order.

Another point which I should like to urge is the establishment of Second Chambers in as many of the Provinces as possible, as well as at the Centre. A Second Chamber is especially necessary in a country like India. It provides for the representation of the land-owners and others with a stake in the country who, in the proposed Constitution as it stands at present, would be little represented. The difficulty of finding suitable representatives of these classes is not insuperable. A Second Chamber would act as a buffer between the legislative Councils and the Governors and would share with them the responsibility of checking hasty and ill-considered legislation.

The Federal Centre

Perhaps, of all the tasks of the present Administration in India, none has been so difficult, none, I am sure, is so important, as the effort to bring about unity. I think the foremost need in India in the future is for a strong Central Government—a Government

that can keep the Federal Union intact in spite of all fissiparous tendencies. Abraham Lincoln realized this in 1861, when he preferred the alternative of civil war to granting the right of secession from the Union to the Southern States. How much more important is this in India, where the Centre will be the meeting place of so many conflicting interests—the Provinces, the Indian States, and the official bloc, under the control of the Governor-General. For similar considerations I think the powers of the Governor-General in dealing with a contumacious Province must be extended. A Federal Government in some form or other appears to be the ultimate solution. A Constitution consisting of autonomous Provinces and a Central Government responsible to the Secretary of State would, in practice, be a source of continual friction. The ideal is a united India under the British Crown, and Federation seems to be the only way to achieve this end.

Another point which I have always considered very desirable is the appointment of a Boundary Commission, as recommended by the Simon Report. The present boundaries are based neither on racial nor on geographical considerations. Re-alignment of boundaries might well lead to a reduction in the number of Provinces and a corresponding simplification and economy in administration.

Financial Aspects

I now pass on to the subject of economic reconstruction and finance. The whole problem is as much economic and administrative as it is political. This has been, perhaps, rather lost sight of in the discussions about the political aspect of the new Constitution, but it is vital to its success. Constitution building is an absorbing occupation, but those with practical experience in administration realize that unless it is founded upon the rock of economic stability, sound organization, and administration, it will be like a house built upon sand. That Government realizes the importance of this is indicated by the fact that it is stated in the White Paper that the new Governments must start in a solvent condition, and if this is impossible, a new situation will arise and

the position will have to be reconsidered in consultation with representatives of Indian opinion. Personally, I have always held that an equitable scheme of adjustment between the different Provinces and the Centre must be found before the Reforms can be launched with a fair chance of success.

The question must therefore be faced as to how the necessary funds are to be made available. The Army Budget, which is the chief item, has already been cut down to a figure which experts consider to be dangerously near the safety limit. Increased taxation in the present economic condition of the country is very difficult. It is true that the last Budget of the Government of India showed encouraging signs, but with regard to the Provinces I am afraid that the outlook is not bright. Bombay, Madras, and some other Provinces have balanced their Budgets, but in most cases with very great difficulty. In Bombay we have done our best to put our house in order, ready for the change. Drastic economies have been effected. Heavy debt charges, a rapidly sinking revenue, the civil disobedience movement, a fall in commodity prices, and other factors, had left the Government to face a really staggering deficit. By a steady policy of retrenchment and readjustment this has been met. And before leaving India I had ensured a slight surplus for last, and a balanced Budget for this year. But the balancing of Budgets is not enough, and though the disastrous and suicidal policy of civil disobedience which cost India so dear has been called off, and there is a turn in the tide of economic depression, I have long been convinced that a definite policy of economic reconstruction must be undertaken, hand in hand with a thorough overhaul of the administrative machinery from top to bottom, before the advent of the Reforms. This should not delay their introduction if put in hand with promptitude.

Agricultural Development

It is obvious, then, that India's vast economic resources must be developed on more consistent lines than they have been hitherto. She must take full opportunity of the facilities offered by the Ottawa Agreement to find fresh markets and so increase the purchasing power of the population. The mere piling on of protec-

tive duties, she must realize, will only end in disaster to herself. A good beginning has been made. The March number of the Bank of England Statistical Survey shows that England's purchases of linseed from India since 1931 have risen from 15,000 tons to 131,000 tons, and of rice from 900,000 cwts. to 1,400,000 cwts. It is most important for the interests of both countries that attempts should be prosecuted with vigour to arrive at an arrangement by which Lancashire should take a larger proportion of Indian cotton. Something definite should be done in this direction before the very large area of new land comes into bearing as a result of the opening of the Sukkar Barrage. Research work started a few years ago is resulting in a steady expansion of the long-staple variety which Lancashire requires. It is the duty of the Agricultural Department in India to see that Indian cotton loses the bad reputation which it has unfortunately earned; Lancashire has already agreed to experiment with a view to producing satisfactory varieties of yarn and cloth containing a reasonable proportion of Indian cotton. But it is not Lancashire alone which could absorb more Indian cotton when India produces a more reliable long-staple variety. The Bombay mills themselves still import a large amount of their cotton from outside India.

India is, and always will be, first and foremost an agricultural country. The great bulk of her population is engaged in agriculture as a means of livelihood. Our main responsibility is an improvement of the social and economic conditions of the masses. The ryot is India, and the new Constitution can no more work without the ryot than a motor-car can run without petrol. He is the backbone of the country. Four-fifths of the revenue is derived from the land. The agricultural population, like the rest of India, has felt the result of the economic depression very acutely. Recent investigations show that the present average income of the ryot is only two-fifths of what it was a few years ago, and a disquieting feature of the situation has been the inability of the people in some rural districts to pay their dues to Government. On the ryot, moreover, will ultimately fall a large part of the burden of finding the money for the Reforms. One of the chief problems is to relieve the vast mass of indebtedness which hangs like a mill-

stone round the neck of rural India. When we realize what it would mean if we could raise the purchasing power of the millions who form the population of the countryside by even eight annas or a rupee per annum per head, something, it is obvious, must be done in this direction.

Village Improvement

I had the good fortune to be able to inaugurate a comprehensive Provincial scheme of village improvement, the essential feature of which was to help the villager to help himself. The village councils and the district local boards under the chairmanship of the Collectors were set to work to look into what they considered to be the most pressing needs of their particular villages—sanitation, education, public health, or agriculture—and deal with them. An organization has been set up better to enable the Commissioners to help in village improvement work throughout their Divisions, and all the Divisions are now co-ordinated by means of Commissioners' Conferences every two months, and their progress reports and requirements are sent in to Government. The enthusiasm with which the scheme was received was in itself an indication of the crying need for it. Isolated experiments have, as we know, been made in this regard in many parts of India; but what is required is an organized policy in accordance with a definite plan, flexible enough to adapt itself to local needs, co-ordinated and assisted on an all-India basis by the Central Government.

In most of these questions, social, economic, educational, and political, and in helping to explain to the villagers the meaning and importance of the vote, I am sure that broadcasting in the future will be of great assistance, and I would again urge that a committee should at once be set up by the Government of India to investigate the problem of the most suitable and practical form of broadcasting as a whole, as was done in England in 1923. Piecemeal efforts, other than those on a definitely experimental basis, may lead to a very unsatisfactory situation.

It has been asked in what way the Reforms will benefit the masses. The better spirit already manifested has greatly improved the trade between the two countries, which will show a steadily

increasing improvement in agricultural and industrial prosperity. The progressive extension of the franchise will give the people a voice in their destinies which they have never before enjoyed, and with the advent of wider privileges and greater responsibilities the energies and enthusiasm of the public, and especially of the rising generation, will be more and more attracted to sound constructive activities which are the crying need of India today.

And let me say in conclusion that the outlook, whilst perplexing, appears to me to contain much promise. If the problem is handled with wise and firm statesmanship and in a spirit of hope and confidence, we may well look forward to the dawn of a new and brighter period in the relations between India and Great Britain, in which the bonds uniting the two countries will be cemented by steadily increasing ties of mutual interest, affection and respect.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, May 15, 1934, when a paper, entitled "Some Aspects of the Situation in India," was read by Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G. The Right Hon. L. S. Amery, P.C., M.P., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir John P. Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir W. Ross Barker, K.C.I.E., C.B., Sir Hugh and Lady Cocke, Lady Abbas Ali Baig, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Sir Charles Tegart, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Stanley Reed, K.B.E., Sir Charles Fawcett, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. G. Pratt, C.S.I., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. John Ross, I.S.O., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Rev. William Paton, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. C. R. Corbett, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mrs. H. Gray, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. A. B. Kunning, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. H. D. Rice, Mr. J. C. French, Mrs. Damry, Mr. R. W. Brock, Miss A. R. Caton, Mr. Kenneth Keymer, Mr. G. B. D. Head, Miss Percival Hall, Mr. J. L. MacCallum, Miss Weekes, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross Johnson, Mr. G. H. Ormerod, Mr. B. Bacon, Miss Leatherdale, Miss L. Sorabji, Miss Sarah de Laredo, Mr. H. F. J. Burgess, Colonel Gordon, Miss M. Hopley, Mrs. Lawrie, Mrs. C. Radclyffe, Miss Speechley, Mr. E. A. Montague, Mr. S. Barman, Mr. Sanaullah, Mr. C. T. Stack, Mrs. Devar, Colonel Money, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. B. K. Sinha, Miss Stacey, Miss A. A. Morton, Miss Thomas Jones, Mrs. Philip Neville, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. M. E. T. Reddy, Mr. N. Shaw, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mrs. T. Khan, Mr. H. A. Sidiki, Mr. John W. Stone, Mr. W. T. Day, Mr. D. W. Watkins, Miss Priestley, and Mr. F. H. Brown, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said: I think only the briefest possible introduction is required in order to commend this afternoon's lecturer to you, for Sir Frederick Sykes is sufficiently well known to all who have followed public affairs. He played not the least important part in the creation of the Royal Air Force both before and during the war. In subsequent years he widened his contact with problems of legislation and government as a Member of the House of Commons, and then five years ago he went out to Bombay at a time of grave crisis—a time of grave crisis in the whole of India, and particularly critical, owing to agrarian and financial difficulties, in the Province of Bombay itself.

There were those who doubted at that moment whether Sir Frederick's range of experience was sufficient to enable him to cope with so complex and thorny a series of problems. I think when he left, not long ago, one could say of him, slightly paraphrasing the language of Tacitus, "Omnium consensu capox imperii postquam imperaverat," for when he had finished his job everyone realized that he had done it admirably. (Applause.) That, I think, is all I need say to you in commending his address to your attention.

Major-General the Right Hon. SIR FREDERICK SYKES: May I be permitted at the outset to say on your behalf and my own how grateful we are that Mr. Amery has found time to come here today, because, as we all know, he has spent his life and abilities entirely in the service of the Empire. (Applause.)

(The paper was then read.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to an address based on practical experience, inspired by a broad and generous outlook. I think Sir Frederick did well to remind us, if, indeed, the reminder be needed, of the pledges that have been given to India in the past. There is, indeed, no one in this country who, whether he criticizes or approves of the proposals now before the Select Committee, would deny that, at the right time and under the right conditions, those pledges should be honoured. I would go even further. I would say that if we had given no pledges, the very essence of our own Government and of its traditions would have compelled us to face this problem of Indian self-government.

After all, the thing that gives life to the British Empire, and will, I believe, continue to give it life for long ages, is a great tradition of ordered freedom which we have built up through the centuries at home and spread abroad; and the ultimate test of our success in India must be that that tradition of ordered freedom and responsible self-government should live, as an Indian tradition, in a self-governing India.

Of that tradition two essential elements, the establishment of law and order, the establishment of the reign of law above the arbitrary rule of government, have been enforced in India for many long years.

The next great step, the establishment of responsible government, now faces us. Sir Frederick drew attention to the key-point that we have to keep in view in whatever we do, and that is whether our measures tend to the creation of a true sense of responsibility. By responsibility we must not understand that sham responsibility which is identified with the subjection of a Government to a party majority. That system has destroyed parliamentary government in a great part of the Continent of Europe. We mean a system where the Government of the day believes it to be its duty to govern in the national interest and to lead a party majority in that direction. It is upon leadership and responsibility to the public interest, and not upon mere subjection to a majority, that responsible government must be founded. It is by that test that we have to consider

both what has been done and what is contemplated. I should say that by that test—though I cannot speak with the knowledge and authority of Sir Frederick—responsible government has, in the main, proved successful in the Provinces.

When I come to the Centre, what has been established there has not been responsible government but representative government, a representative majority without responsibility for any part of the administration. I doubt whether that has been as successful as true responsibility in the Provinces. My own view is that such a system would be even less successful if it were confronted with fully autonomous, self-governing, responsible Provinces and there were no responsible parliamentary body to maintain the vital interests of the Centre, upon which Sir Frederick laid such stress, against the demands of the Provinces in what will always be to some extent a tug-of-war between the two.

From that point of view my own personal conclusion, for what it is worth, is that the system proposed in the White Paper, giving responsibility to Indian legislators, or to ministers chosen from their body, for the maintenance of the rights of the Centre as against the Provinces, and also bringing in the responsible and experienced element found in the Indian States, would be much more likely to succed than any system which set up an irresponsible majority at the Centre side by side with a responsible Parliamentary Government in the Provinces.

On the other hand, it seems to me that criticism, which has fastened so much on that point, might have been wiser if it had asked the question whether we were providing sufficiently for responsibility at the foundation, whether the kind of electorate that is suggested is likely to give a sufficient sense of responsibility both to the voters and to the candidates who ask for their votes.

From that point of view, it seems to me that there is much to be said for the suggestion of indirect government, in the villages at least, based upon a strong and healthy village life; and if that exists insufficiently today, then all the more is it our duty to hasten to carry out that work so successfully inaugurated by Sir Frederick in Bombay of village improvement, and make the improvement of the foundation of India's economic life also subserve the need for a sane and responsible foundation for her political life.

Sir Frederick in that connection also stressed his own strong preference for Second Chambers. Well, there again it is well worth thinking how those could be used to strengthen the sense of responsibility by a fuller and more effective representation of all the different interests that are combined in the life of an Indian Province. It may be that something in the nature of that corporative organization, of which there is so much talk on the Continent today, might serve as a possible basis for a Second Chamber in India. However, I need not enlarge on that.

What I am no less sure of is that Sir Frederick is right in stressing the importance of the economic foundation of any political changes and of their due adjustment, not only in time, but in spirit to the new changes. Clearly the future economic relationship of India and this country cannot be based on the subordination of India, either in our interests or in hers,

to this country. It must be based on free co-operation and on that mutual goodwill and sense of a common interest which will enable that co-operation to develop.

I confess that though I share, as many must, the anxieties of a great step forward, to some extent a step in the dark, I confess to remaining an optimist. I think that the last century in India is one of which we can well afford to be proud here in this country, and with which India can well afford to be content, seeing what it has brought her. I believe that the next century will be one of which this country and India can both be equally proud, and equally content with what they will by then have done together.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN: The very interesting and suggestive paper to which we have listened makes me all the more regret that it is impossible even in the space of an expanded five minutes to do justice to the many important topics which our distinguished lecturer has laid before us.

The keynote of the paper I take to be summed up in a sentence in the paper itself—that we have been educating India politically on parliamentary lines, and we cannot go back on that. If that were a fact, personally I should be disposed to say that we ought to go a very considerable distance beyond even what the White Paper proposes. But is it a fact? How long has this alleged process of political education been in progress? We know that the principal author of the Morley-Minto Reforms, Lord Morley himself, expressly disclaimed any intention of introducing parliamentary institutions into India. Therefore I presume that we must take it that this education, political education on parliamentary lines, dates from the introduction of the last Constitutional Act of 1919—that is to say, a period of something over twelve years. But I would ask, is it possible, is it conceivable, that in any intelligible sense of the word the population of India, 270 millions, confining oneself to British India, of whom 90 per cent. are illiterate and live in scattered villages—is it conceivable that their political education should have been, I will not say completed, but advanced to any material degree in the short period of twelve years?

Part VII. of the Simon Report, which was published some four years ago, showed conclusively as regards the rural population, the vast mass and majority of the population of India, not only that political education had not been completed, that it had not advanced to any material degree, but that it had barely begun. I would maintain very strongly that in no true sense can it be said that the population of India has been politically educated to that stage at which she can assimilate for her own welfare the scheme of constitutional reform which is now proposed. There have no doubt been changes in what one may call the external mechanism of life in India as elsewhere—the introduction of the aeroplane, the wireless, and that much-vaunted political educator the motor-bus. But in spite of all that I would submit that it is an entire misunderstanding and misapprehension of the position, a misunderstanding and a misapprehension which are very widely prevalent in this country, that India has been

educated politically, and that her education is so far complete that she is in a position to assimilate the very large advance in constitutional organization which is now contemplated.

Let me say a few words on that important subject the transfer of law and order. It was mentioned somewhat prominently in the paper, and I think it is necessary to refer to it. The Simon Commission set out in impressive—nay, in overwhelming array the arguments against the transfer of police administration to so-called popular ministerial control. But the arguments in that case, as in many others, have had to give way to the force of that slogan which has been so fundamental and at the same time so prominent in the entire treatment of this Indian question in its present stage, the cry, "We must go on, be the cost what it may." What is the real argument in favour of this transfer, stated baldly? It is said that the Indian Legislatures have been in the habit of directing irresponsible criticism at the police administration, and hampering it financially and in other respects. And what is the remedy proposed? Hand the police force over to their critics, and the critics will or should be silenced.

I propose to say nothing whatever about the virility, or perhaps I might even add the morality, of an argument like that, but I just want to look at it from this point of view. Is it probable, is it conceivable, that those who have up to date so lightly regarded the importance of police administration will as a result of this transfer suddenly realize its supreme importance and recognize the necessity for the continued efficiency of the police administration? I venture to say that it is wholly improbable; nay, that it is inevitable that a branch of the Administration which has been the target of hostile, irresponsible, and unjustifiable criticism will be exposed to the full force of pernicious political, communal, and private influences.

The distinguished lecturer himself very rightly has apprehensions as regards this matter. He suggests, I understand, that the internal administration and discipline of the force should remain in the hands of police officers, and that—a very essential point—the sources of police information should be duly protected. To use a very homely simile, that seems to me to be a case of throwing away the baby with the bath water. How is it possible that the conditions which our lecturer postulates can be combined with real ministerial control? I think that the position is impossible.

I am in complete agreement with a remark at the end of the paper, that the vital need of India today is sound constructive activities. That, indeed, is profoundly true. The field is immense, in the sphere of agriculture, of economics, of public health, medical treatment, education, social reform, and innumerable others. It is for that reason that many of us think that it is lamentable and deplorable that energies which might be so fruitfully utilized in those directions are being wasted in the comparatively barren field of constitutional, political, communal contention and strife.

Sir ALBION BANERJI: May I be permitted to express the opinion that the paper we have heard is a most cogent and convincing presentation of the

Indian case, so far as the legitimate interests of India at the present moment are concerned. We have had since the lull after the conclusion of the Third Round-Table Conference and the activities of the several Committees many addresses throughout the length and breadth of England on this very complicated problem, but I think I may say without contradiction that there has not been a paper put forward setting forth the positive side of the question, leaving the negative as far as possible in the background, because those are the points which create all the controversy and all the difficulties in the minds of the uneducated and ill-informed.

There are many points of the paper which cause us to think very seriously. I will refer to three very important points, which to my mind are vital to the solution of the Indian problem. The first is the firm conviction of the author of the paper that the parliamentary system is not unsuited to the needs of India, and that our publicly constituted bodies since the days of the earliest reforms have stood the strain in spite of adverse conditions. Sir Frederick has not gone into the details of such adverse conditions. They are known almost to everybody and are exaggerated and magnified by those who are hostile to our legitimate interests. They include the illiteracy of the masses, the difficulty of focussing public opinion for election purposes, and the array of irresponsible criticism when there is no power behind to force the opinion of the critics on the policy of the Government.

May I say something about my experience in Mysore? In Mysore we had the same difficulties, and in a Government constituted by the ruler as the personal authority there were introduced representative and parliamentary institutions on a humble scale from stage to stage. They had those very difficulties to contend with in Mysore, but they tackled the problems from the bottom. They introduced village improvement societies more or less on the same principle that we have heard Sir Frederick so eloquently expound in his paper. These societies educated the villagers in the art of self-government, and the Representative Assembly brought together representatives from all the villages. Many of them did not know how to read or write, but they could represent their views forcibly, and thus influence Government policy.

In addition to this His Highness protected class and sectional interests, and protected them in a constitutional manner—namely, by legislative measures passed on the advice of his ministers. Therefore, if such examples can be put forward from Indian India, there can be no doubt that if responsibility is given to British India, both Indian India and British India should be able to combine in a Federal institution, an administrative organ which, with the necessary safeguards for the protection of class and sectional interests, would enable Indian ministers to run the show as efficiently as you can expect them to do under existing conditions.

The second most important point that I find worthy of attention is that in the opinion of our lecturer the White Paper scheme provides a reasonable basis on which to build. An opinion coming from so great an authority deserves serious thought. We may have differences of opinion as regards details, but if the fundamental factor remains, all we have to

consider is how the details can be adjusted to put forward an edifice that will be successful and that will last for a reasonable time. I expressed the same opinion in my book, published last October, called *The Indian Tangle*. I said, "Whatever may be the defects of the White Paper, every friend of India as well as of the Empire should welcome and support it as a *bona fide* and honest attempt to solve the Indian tangle."

I also hold the general view that a Federal Government in some form or other, as our lecturer points out, is the only solution. But we should also take to heart the serious criticism of the author of this paper that a Constitution consisting of autonomous provinces and a Central Government responsible to the Secretary of State would be a source of continuous friction. In my humble opinion, if India is to be kept under the British Crown, she should be given representation in an Imperial Parliament, to which only and not to the Secretary of State in the present Parliament the Governor-General and the Governors should be responsible. I have elaborated this idea in one portion of my book.

In conclusion I would say one word. It is most gratifying to me to find that Sir Frederick has drawn a few historical parallels. Four years ago I drew the parallel of the American colonies in an article on the present outlook in my journal *Indian Affairs* in almost the same manner. I was very much criticized in certain quarters at the time for doing so. With your permission I will read an extract from that article with a view to showing, as Sir Frederick has done, how very important it is to remember that to keep India within the Empire we shall have to keep in mind the warning of the past:

"Studying the history of the British Empire during the last hundred and fifty years, one may find a certain resemblance between the situation in India today and that in America previous to the outbreak of hostilities in 1775. Then, as now, the failure of the British Government to prove their genuine desire to conciliate had led to semi-political, semi-economic opposition on the part of the colonists, and probably Gandhi and his followers, in their dreary march to make salt on the shores of Dandi, were animated by the same spirit as those citizens of Boston who, over a century and a half ago, boarded the tea ships in Boston Harbour and flung overboard the tea which was to them the symbol of a hated tyranny. At this time Edmund Burke made his fervent appeal for conciliation in words that are worthy of recall: 'Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence. . . . My idea there is to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the Constitution; and by recording that admission in the journals of Parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean forever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.'"

Sir STANLEY REED: I accept the invitation to take part in the discussion for a special reason. Some six years ago Sir Frederick Sykes listened to a description of Bombay,* in this hall, which some people thought was in the nature of a panegyric. I sometimes wonder if, when he went to Bombay himself, Sir Frederick thought he had been seriously misled. But

* See *Asiatic Review*, July, 1928.

I am able now, from personal experience, to bear testimony to the courage, resolution, and unfailing devotion to duty with which Sir Frederick faced the most difficult task which has confronted any Governor of Bombay in recent years. I use the term "most difficult" advisedly; I do not exclude the period of famine and plague in my working years in the Presidency. The special problems which the civil disobedience movement created arose from its amorphous character, its intangibility, where there was no precedent to lend guidance; in dealing with it Sir Frederick never weakened in his confidence, never narrowed in his sympathies. But this situation necessarily diverted his attentions from the constructive work on which he was bent, and it was only towards the close of his government that he was able to concentrate on the task nearest his heart—the revival of the rural economy of the Presidency. Such an experience might have not unreasonably cramped the constitutional outlook of the Governor who experienced its bitter fruits; on the contrary they had listened to an exposition of the Indian situation instinct with liberalism and insight.

There was one matter rarely mentioned in the discussion of Indian polity. When the Round-Table Conference first assembled at St. James' Palace—a Conference from which the extreme elements were excluded—not one voice was raised in defence of the existing form of government. That was rather a shock to our national complacency, but it gave us to think. The reason for that consensus of opinion is, I think, clear; the present form of government, avowedly transitory, has outlived its usefulness. Something must take its place. I have never wavered in my conviction that the triune policy accepted by the Conference, and outlined in the White Paper, is the only form of government which is likely to work—unity through federation; responsibility with safeguards in the Federal Government; and the autonomy within the Federation of the British-Indian Provinces and the Indian States. Within that structure there is legitimate room for wide difference of opinion; outside it they would break from tradition and embark on an uncharted sea. As for the principles which should govern the application of that policy, I can only express my complete agreement with the wise words which have fallen from you, Mr. Chairman, which seem to me to go to the very heart of the Indian problem.

Sir HUGH COCKE: I suppose I am one of the few here who were in Bombay during the whole time of Sir Frederick Sykes' Governorship, and I should like to endorse in that connection the remarks of Sir Stanley Reed as to the very great work he has done there during the last five years. He has burnt much midnight oil and has worked very hard in the interests of the Province.

Coming to his paper today, I think I may say that it represents a very sober and clear view of the best opinion in India today. I have only been home a month, and, reading the views of those who have left India for some years, as one does, one occasionally becomes rather alarmed at the amount of opposition that has been worked up to the scheme of government laid down, or rather outlined, in the White Paper. I happen to have joined the Assembly three years after the Montagu-Chelmsford

Reforms started—namely, in 1924. I sat in the Assembly from 1924 to 1932 with practically no break, and had some education in the political views of Indians and of Europeans also, who took an interest in the constitutional question. I believe I am correct in saying that by far the greatest opinion in India today, both Indian and European, the average opinion of the sane, common-sense man, is in favour of the White Paper scheme, and, to a very large extent, of the mild criticisms which Sir Frederick Sykes has mentioned in his paper. I, coming from India, am a child in these matters from the point of view of home politics. I have merely studied the question on the spot and discussed it with those who are in the country. I do not profess to be in touch very closely with all the discussions which have gone on in this country at the Round-Table Conferences, but I do think that the views that have been expressed in this paper coincide very nearly with the best Indian opinion.

On individual points it is almost impossible to say much owing to the very severe time limit which has been imposed—quite rightly imposed. On two points I should like to say a word. The question of Second Chambers has been left somewhat in doubt in the White Paper. I do hope that Second Chambers will be instituted in practically every Province. I am sure so far as Bombay is concerned there is a very strong opinion there that a Second Chamber is necessary. Then there is the economic and financial question—a huge one in itself, bringing in the question of village uplift and improvement, on which Sir Frederick has spent so much time and energy. That is a subject which is so complicated that it is almost impossible to make concise remarks upon it, but I think everybody is agreed that it is most essential that some clear path in the financial direction should be available before the reforms can start. I am a strong believer in "Where there's a will there's a way." I believe a way can be found to get over the financial difficulties at no very distant date.

Mr. J. C. French: It is a very great pleasure for me to add my humble tribute of support to Sir Frederick Sykes' statement that a strong central government is essential in India. China today, India in the past before we came to the country, are sufficient proof of the necessity of this.

Sir Frederick Sykes stated that parliamentary government is the only government for the nations which compose the British Commonwealth. Is India a nation? When we consider the differences of race, language, and caste, also the tremendous Hindu-Muhammadan division, how are we to answer that question? Sir Frederick Sykes says the introduction of parliamentary government into India has been not unsuccessful. It is a very great pleasure for me not to have to indulge in controversy with such a distinguished exponent, for after all the decision as to whether any enterprise has been successful or not depends on the standard one employs in judging it.

In this connection an Indian simile comes to my mind—the Calcutta paperchases. Any lady or gentleman who has been in Calcutta will remember the paperchases, but I may mention that a paperchase is a sort of point-to-point race, where the course for the riders is indicated by a

trail of paper, as the name implies. Many of the people who go in for these races are expert riders, but some are not such good horsemen. I had a friend in Calcutta who belonged to the latter class. When he went in for a paperchase he regarded it as a success if he only fell off at the third fence, if for two fences he had been able to adhere to his steed. So success is a comparative matter.

How have the Indian Legislative Assembly and Councils taken their fences? As regards the Councils, I can only depend on hearsay. As regards the Legislative Assembly, I was a member for four years, half Sir Hugh Cocke's time, and in Sir Hugh Cocke's speech I did not hear one word as to its success. In the Legislative Assembly there have been ominous signs. First the communal spirit has appeared, the Hindu-Muslim dissension, that canker that eats into the heart of India. In 1931 the Assembly refused supplies to the Government to the tune of six and a half crores. And let me remind you that at this time the Congress Party was not officially represented in the Assembly, for at the beginning of 1930 it had severed its connection with it and declared for complete independence. Now the Congress Party is coming back with this same programme of complete independence.

In all discussions about law and order, people concentrate on terrorism, the most sensational aspect. But there is another equally important subject, that is the communal question, Hindu-Muslim antagonism. I will read two lines from the speech of the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State on March 19 last. What His Excellency said was: "How then could he reduce the cost of defence, when a large proportion was to keep Indians from getting at each other's throats?" That is a proper situation in which to hand over law and order! Twenty miles north of Calcutta there has been a Hindu-Muslim riot—three killed, twenty injured. Those figures are so petty in the history of Hindu-Muslim strife that I should not trouble you with them except for the mere fact that they are absolutely fresh; they are up to the minute.

In conclusion I will draw attention to the two requirements that Sir Frederick Sykes makes in regard to law and order, those two most necessary, and indeed essential, requirements. First, in Bengal the power of the Government to deal with terrorism must be maintained; secondly, the police and the army must work hand in hand. But if you hand over law and order, how are these requirements to be met?

A MEMBER asked if Sir Frederick Sykes would tell them, with regard to the economic development of the villages, what was the result of the tens of thousands of co-operative societies that had come into being under Government encouragement in the past ten or fifteen years.

Sir FREDERICK SYKES: There is not a great deal that I can say in the limited time at my disposal, but I should like to touch upon one or two points.

Sir Patrick Fagan says that the desire for parliamentary institutions in India is only twelve years old. I do not think that this is quite a fair

way of putting it. The idea of educating India to be able to govern herself goes back to the very beginning of British rule. You will find this clearly expressed in the writings of Malcolm, Munro, Bentinck, and Macaulay at the beginning of the nineteenth century. We have consistently held up British parliamentary institutions as the model in our schools and colleges for a very long period, though of course they may have to be modified to meet local needs. The only question is whether India is ripe for another step forward. Of this Parliament is the judge.

One or two speakers have laid stress on the difference between India today and the time before the era of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. I do not think that people who have been out of touch with India since that period can envisage the magnitude of the change which has taken place. The developments outlined in the White Paper do not appear nearly so abrupt to one who has been in constant touch with administration during the last twelve years. There has been a steady infiltration of Indian *personnel* into the Government and the Services. In the Bombay Cabinet there are today three Indians and one European. People who base their experience on pre-Montagu-Chelmsford days fail also to visualize the changes brought about by the war and other causes. I am most respectful of views based on long experience in India, but I ask you at the same time to realize how greatly conditions have altered since then.

Someone brought up the question of the illiteracy of the villagers as the reason for not giving them the vote. Even in England, which has had the vote for a very long time, I don't think you would find that a large percentage of the voters understood very clearly the economic and political issues. In India, the peasant, even if illiterate, is shrewd and hard-headed. He has a good eye for the man who will represent his interests and will not let him down. So I do not think illiteracy is an obstacle to an intelligent use of the vote. Of course, rural education is one of the chief planks in the village improvement campaign, which I have mentioned that we started before I left India; but we must be sure that it is on right lines.

One gentleman in the audience asks what has happened to the co-operative movement. I gather that he feels that the village improvement movement is in supersession of the co-operative one. As far as the co-operative movement itself is concerned, I think perhaps it was started on rather too optimistic lines. But it is doing good work and will continue to do so, although it commenced under the disadvantage in some cases of financing bodies which were not capable of holding up the burden. We have been trying to cut away the dead wood and get the co-operative movement on to really sound lines before we expand further. The village improvement movement includes the co-operative movement and depends upon it.

Let me conclude by thanking you for giving me a patient hearing. I have touched on only a few points in a very complex and great problem.

Lord LAMINGTON: Before we separate I am sure you will agree with me we owe our thanks to these two gentlemen who have taken the leading parts in our meeting together this afternoon. It has been a special pleasure to me, because it is always a pleasure for me to meet anyone who comes

from Bombay and recapture some of the golden haze of that country. We are very grateful to Sir Frederick Sykes for giving us such an optimistic outlook as to the future government of India. Distinctly his paper showed that he believed in the success of responsible government in India.

I want to add a word of thanks to Mr. Amery for his goodness. His speeches are always worth listening to as coming from one of profound political experience and who has filled so great a place in public life.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of both of us, I would say—Thank you.

Sir PATRICK FAGAN writes, in supplement of his speech in the discussion, as follows:

In the course of his interesting paper the lecturer appealed, as is not unusual in dealing with the subject of Indian constitutional reform, to colonial history, especially to that of Canada and the Durham Report. I would observe that the Act of 1791, which established representative though not responsible government in Upper and Lower Canada, did, in fact, function successfully and without any great friction for a period of twenty-five years, and that twenty years more elapsed before responsible government was actively introduced.

In the case of India, however, the argument is that representative apart from responsible government is *ab initio* impossible. I submit that it is an argument which Canadian history does not bear out. Moreover, in 1791, in Upper Canada at least, there was in the population a large and influential element of refugees from the United States, the Empire Loyalists, well versed in the ideas and practice of self-government, and far better equipped politically for responsible government than are the vast illiterate masses of India today. If in spite of the presence of that element non-responsible representative government was possible in Canada, how can it be argued that it is *ab initio* impossible in India?

The lecturer naturally touched on the subject of pledges. I will not go into the vexed questions of the precise nature of these pledges—how far they are real pledges and as such binding on Britain, or how far they are the more or less vague and more or less indiscreet utterances of persons of varying degrees of authority which have served to arouse exaggerated expectations among the strictly limited political masses of India. Whatever these pledges may be, no one, I suppose, will contend that they embodied a promise of responsible government within any defined period. Their subject is, or was, self-government on democratic lines within the Empire as a goal to be attained if possible. Whether that goal can be attained, and when, depends on the political capacity and the political co-operation displayed by the Indian population as a whole. Such was the experimental and politically educative intention and purport of the Act of 1919.

I venture to assert that no such capacity or co-operation has been displayed as to necessitate or justify the large and momentous advance which is now proposed. From much of the vague talk about pledges which is heard, one would be led to think that the Act of 1919 was a very small

stage towards self-government. In actual fact it handed over a large area of administration to so-called popular control; a field ample for the experimental and educative purposes for which it was intended, if only Indian politicians had been wise enough so to treat it. That they have not generally done so is one of the clearest indications of their present political incapacity for assimilating the far larger one of constitutional reform which it is now proposed to administer to India.

The lecturer was very rightly apprehensive about the financial aspects of the proposals of the White Paper. He holds "that a definite policy of economic reconstruction must be undertaken, hand-in-hand with a thorough overhaul of administrative machinery before the advent of the Reform." But that surely is a Herculean task which seems to defer that advent to the far distant future; and, moreover, it places in the clearest light the total unpreparedness of India today for the far-reaching proposals now under discussion.

Everyone will sympathize to the full with the lecturer's very apt remarks on the necessity for agricultural development and for the uplift of the rural masses; but many of us question most seriously and most anxiously whether these fundamentally essential objects can be secured under a pseudo-democratic constitutional scheme such as that proposed. With all the conditions of real democracy about, the rural masses can have no really effective voice under such a scheme.

IMPRESSIONS OF AN INDIAN STATE*

By Stanley Rice
(Author of *The Life of Sayaji Rao III.*)

On Boat Race day I bought an evening paper, and when I had read the chief item of news I found a paragraph which said that the Government of India was about to introduce into Kashmir a certain scheme inclining towards democracy, and that this scheme, if successful, would later be applied to other States. That, I think, is typical of the knowledge in this country of Indian States. I need hardly remind my hearers that the Government of India can do no such thing without the full consent and co-operation of the Ruling Prince concerned, that they can only recommend and that he is free to accept or reject the recommendation or to introduce such modifications of it as he may think fit. People here seem to forget that the Government of India are bound by specific treaties and also by the limitations of paramountcy, which the Butler Committee found so hard to define and which apply to both parties. The Government of a Ruling Prince is a Swaraj Government; the principal Minister or the Diwan is almost always an Indian, and the Council, or if there is no council the executive Government, is composed in most cases of Indians. Both the Ruler and his Government are proud of the fact.

A great change has come over the Indian States in recent years. It may best be described in the words of Sir T. Madhava Rao in the seventies of last century, that the ruler exists for the people instead of the people for the ruler. We may read that there are several hundred States in India, just as there are about 150 languages, but when you come to examine the details you will find that there are only about a dozen that are of great importance, as in the case of the languages. And out of these dozen, Baroda,

* Based on an Address at a Discussion Meeting of Members of the East India Association on May 30, 1934.

Mysore, and Travancore have long been noted for good administration. Hyderabad has made enormous strides under the wise financial guidance first of our Chairman (Sir Reginald Glancy) and next of Sir Akbar Hydari. Read the life of the late Maharaja of Gwalior and you will see to what an extent he devoted himself to the government of his State. Bikanir, Indore, and Kashmir are rapidly taking their places, if they have not already taken them, in the first rank, and this is not the less true because recently there was unrest in Kashmir over certain grievances, real or fancied, spontaneous or artificial.

Nor are the Governments of any of these States the less Swaraj because there happen to be European members. Which leads me to another not uncommon error. A correspondent who knows India and has worked there argued that the Indian States managed to get along fairly well as long as there was a European to keep them straight. That is frankly absurd. The European member is a comparatively rare bird; even Baroda has only had two such members with a long interval between them, and if there were any force in the hypothesis there should have been Augean stables to clear. Of course, there were not. Everything ran smoothly. Naturally the European, if he is worth his salt, will have had his own experience and will have his own influence, but it by no means follows that he is the Atlas who carries the State on his shoulders.

Baroda is geographically a difficult State to administer. For various historical reasons it consists of three main blocks in Gujarat—islands surrounded by British India—and of another main block in Kathiawar, besides a small scrap—Okhamandal—in the extreme north-west of that peninsula, which was given to His Highness because it cost more than it was worth to the British Government and because it contains Dwarka, sacred to Sri Krishna. Now, however, there is a valuable port for ocean steamers, which would be an important asset to the State, if only the vexed question of the Customs could be settled. That is a delicate matter into which I cannot enter here, but as things stand at present the port only about pays its way, and I think it has been admitted in principle that Baroda State is not receiving all

that it has a right to expect from its outlay. This is largely due to geography. Now, the geographical conditions not only make administration expensive in that you have to arrange divisions within these island blocks, but they also raise complications. For one thing, they enormously increase boundaries, and boundaries, like international frontiers, are apt to give trouble; and for another, they prevent the extension of State railways from one block to another—at any rate, without difficult questions arising either with another State or with the Paramount Power. The Maharaja, who has developed the railway system enormously, is, nevertheless, hampered by these conditions. For the rest the State is mainly agricultural. Baroda City is the only large town, and partly owing to tradition, partly to the want of good roads, which are difficult to make and maintain for want of material, it cannot be said that commerce has made any great strides in spite of continuous efforts to improve it.

When I arrived in Baroda His Highness naturally wanted me to learn a little about the State and its system of government, but I soon found that everything was organized on familiar lines; the land tenure (following Bombay) was ryotwari. Justice and education followed the usual lines; police, survey, settlement, agriculture, co-operation, and sanitation were modelled on British India; the only departments which were new to me were the Army and the *khangi*, that is to say, the Privy Purse, which was administered by the Government. So that in a short time I became a full-fledged member of the Government, with about nine departments, of which the most important was land revenue. Later on His Highness changed the system. He threw the entire executive burden (except political, which was always with the Diwan) upon one Minister, who was also a member of the Council and shared in the discussions on subjects reserved for what I may call Cabinet action. Executive orders were under the control of the Diwan, and of course of the Maharaja, who, however, rarely interfered. That was a post which changed hands from time to time, but I had my share of it.

We held Council meetings about once a fortnight, and there was usually complete harmony. Sometimes I found the Indian

mind so nimble that though I felt that the argument was proceeding on wrong lines, my own mind would not work fast enough to cope with the very plausible grounds which A or B would advance. Fortunately, however, there was a remedy in the patience of the Diwan and in the practice of writing minutes of dissent. That is a practice which can be overdone. In cabinet government you cannot expect to agree always with everyone, and in nine cases out of ten you could accept the majority decision without a qualm. I think I only wrote five or six such minutes, and it says much for the reasonableness of my colleagues, though perhaps less for their good sense, that in nearly every case they reconsidered the subject and adopted my point of view. They made mistakes, of course, as we all do, and sometimes I was able to help to correct them; sometimes I made mistakes and was saved by somebody else. That is one of the functions of consultative government.

It is one of the contentions of those who oppose the White Paper that the masses of India will be neglected, if not actively oppressed, by their natural enemies—their own countrymen, especially the Brahmans. Let me tell you quite shortly what is being and has been done for the masses in this State which is under a purely Swaraj Government. First compulsory education: this has not been quite so successful as was hoped, partly because of the lapse into illiteracy, partly because of the comparative ease with which exemptions can be obtained, but there are, nevertheless, 240,000 pupils. Next the village and travelling libraries. I think (I am not quite sure) that this is peculiar to Baroda; at any rate, Baroda was the pioneer. It has been found very useful in checking the lapse into illiteracy which undoes so much of the work of the primary schools. Then there is an institution for the aborigines, institutions and schools for the depressed classes and for the blind and dumb. There are dispensaries everywhere, and a veterinary department; there are agricultural inspectors and co-operative societies and model farms. Recently the Government have been surveying malarial areas, and have been carrying out a scheme to provide pure water in villages which are without it; they have also turned their attention to field drainages—and that

was an improvement overdue. For the settlement of the Kathiawar dominions, an increase of four annas was recommended; the Government reduced it to two, and the Maharaja postponed even that in consideration of bad seasons in the peninsula. In many towns you will find a good water supply; in some electric light, and, again, recently, the Government have been considering a scheme for the improvement of Baroda City water supply, which is periodically analysed and has been yielding rather unsatisfactory results.

Perhaps some may think, "That is all very well; you have reeled off a number of facts, but you have said nothing about the quality." Well, I am ready to admit that there is room for improvement; but that is not at present the point I am trying to make. I submit that a Swaraj Government which is doing these things to the best of its ability and within the limits of its resources is not neglecting the ryots and is certainly not tyrannizing over them. The Maharaja has devoted his whole life to the welfare of his people, his example has been followed by many others, and we have to reckon with this new spirit which is in India.

I cannot see why, if these things can be and are being done in an Indian State under a Swaraj Government, there should be this desperate fear that in British India there is going to be a relapse into barbarism, anarchy, and bloody chaos, and that the order of the day will be battle, murder, and sudden death. I was warned by British Indian friends that I should find in an Indian State a hotbed of intrigue and a mass of corruption. I found nothing of the kind. I put this down once again to mere prejudice which has arisen from tradition and ignorance of the true state of things. There may have been intrigue of some kind, but I did not see it; there were venal officers in the subordinate services as there are elsewhere, but the important thing was that such cases were treated as severely as they are in British India. No Government can do more than put down abuses when and where they exist.

I am speaking of a State which I know and know from the inside. They tell me that there are others where the government

is to our ideas quaint, but, as I said before, most of the major States have advanced on much the same lines. The Chairman can speak for Hyderabad, and I can hardly venture remarks on that State in his presence. Let me mention only two things: the Osmania University and the general educational effort, and again the village broadcasting campaign which Sir Akbar Hydari is evolving. Kashmir is proud of its co-operative effort; Nawanagar of its port and its general layout with broad, well-paved streets. Cambay has its hospital, its schools, its law courts; in Rutlam the Diwan explained to me with obvious pride what is being done for the development of the State. I speak only of such States as I have seen even for short periods; of others I can only speak from hearsay.

And what of the future? I for one cannot see why an autocracy cannot be joined with a democracy for the purposes of Federation—at any rate, in the circumstances of India. It would, I agree, be difficult to run the United States on those lines; it would be difficult if California were oligarchic and Maryland autocratic and Ohio democratic. But the Federation contemplated in India does not really touch internal administration. The Princes may have to assimilate their laws to those of the Federal Government, and may even have to repeal some in favour of the latter, but in the more advanced States, of which Baroda is one, that will not matter much. What the Princes stand to gain by Federation is, first, a voice of some weight in the framing of policies and the making of laws which affect them as well as British India; and secondly, the sentiment, if you like to call it so, of having contributed to the general unification of the country and so to the achievement of nationality.

I hold that the government of the advanced States is an earnest of what we may expect from a Swaraj Government, a Government no better than the existing one, perhaps, in some respects, not so efficient, yet not such as to sink into barbarism and chaos—provided always that there is reasonable harmony and goodwill, a boldness of design and no lack of initiative. There may be some falling off in the latter, at any rate at first, since the States have always looked to British India for guidance, but in the last

forty years there has been astonishing progress. Indians have studied closely the world's affairs, systems of government and administration in foreign countries, and the scientific developments everywhere. There is no question of democracy and autocracy being uneasy yokefellows, but what the Princes have to fear is a more rapid encroachment upon their traditional systems by the infiltration of democratic ideas. Whether that will be a good thing or a bad will have to be judged by the results of the new Constitution.

THE PROPOSED INDIAN REFORMS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION

By B. C. Allen, c.s.i., i.c.s. (retd.)

I greatly appreciate this opportunity given me by the Council of addressing so informed an audience; so greatly, indeed, that I deferred my departure to a better land to enable me to accept your invitation.

I have always deprecated the attempt to divide the world into those who support and those who oppose the White Paper. There are many points in it which its keenest critics must approve and other proposals with regard to which even its staunchest supporters must feel doubt. The Secretary of State has never claimed for it the quality of verbal inspiration. On the occasion of the great debate he did not enter the House with shining face like a second Moses bearing the two tablets of law in his hand. On the contrary, he admitted that the problem, at times, had seemed to him insoluble, and he expressed a desire for criticism and help. I have on more than one occasion met in debate representatives of the society which specially charges itself with the defence of the White Paper, but some of their arguments did not seem to me to be what the lawyers call *ad rem*. I do not agree that the White Paper is the logical consequence of all that we have done in India during the last 150 years, but whether it is or not does not seem to me material. I do not care in the least whether it is a Socialist or Conservative measure. I listen unmoved to warnings that to amend it would be to follow the policy that lost us America, for the simple reason that modern American historians tell us that what lost us that country was not the justice of its cause, about which they seem to have the very gravest doubt, but the jealousy and incompetence of the British Generals on the spot. There was nothing very much the matter with our policy; it was the executants who were wrong. The one warning which

we should draw from the incidents in America is the cruelty of abandoning our friends.

Supporters of the White Paper

The one argument which calls for closer examination is the claim—I believe the absolutely correct claim—that the organization supporting the White Paper (the Union of Britain and India) has amongst its supporters a number of officers who have recently held high positions in India. But the mere joining of a society is not enough for me or, I believe, for you. I want to know the reasons for the faith that is in these gentlemen and whether they really regard the White Paper as a masterpiece which it would be blasphemy to criticize or to attempt to alter. Some ex-Governors with whom I have talked have left on me an impression of defeatism. They did not seem to think the new Constitution good so much as unavoidable. It would not be proper to repeat words used in private conversation, but there have been two public pronouncements to which reference is permissible. One ex-official, in his evidence before the Select Committee, stated that during the troubles in Ireland he felt that the only chance of stopping them was for the Government to announce that the next time an assassination occurred they would take out of prison one or two Sinn Feiners and put them up against a wall and shoot them. Now the British Government could not do that, but Mr. Cosgrave could and did. (Ans. 4542.)

I do not personally like the idea of shooting persons as reprisals for a crime in which they cannot have had a direct and active share, but I do not want to be dogmatic in the matter. Possibly matters have reached or may reach such a pass in India that this has become or may become an absolute necessity. But what would people of the *Manchester Guardian* school of thought say if they were told that one of the reasons for supporting the White Paper was that it would facilitate the shooting of hostages! Again, Sir Malcolm Hailey made the following pronouncement at Oxford; I read from the press report of his speech:

"One could hardly justify the introduction in India of a responsible Government of our own type save in the faith that India must pass through

the educative and formative influence of representative institutions before she can evolve the form of Government best suited to her genius. In the end it may very well be that India may find herself best suited with something quite different from Parliamentary Government in our form, something in the nature of a directorate, sufficiently responsible to popular needs and ideas to gain general acquiescence but not dependent in the constitutional sense on a majority vote."

This sounds to me the policy of riding for a fall. It is not a policy which I should have proposed myself. I have, however, the greatest respect for Sir Malcolm Hailey's judgment, and if I was satisfied that this was his deliberate opinion formed *in vacuo* and uninfluenced by the arguments of English politicians, I should be loath to differ from him. But what would the *Manchester Guardian* or even *The Times* say to a proposal to set up an elaborate Constitution simply to show the inhabitants of India that it would not suit them? And is not the breakdown of the White Paper Government and the establishment of a directorate likely to be attended with appreciable loss of life and money?

Rank and File Opinion

There is another factor which should not be ignored when estimating the value of a list of names. The prestige of a Viceroy *qua* Viceroy is enormous. Lord Reading is a man of outstanding reputation; Lord Irwin one who, I am told, combines almost pristine virtue with quite exceptional charm of manner. It would be strange indeed if men brought into close contact with two such Viceroys did not, to some extent, take on the colour of their surroundings. But if we turn to the rank and file we have a different story. The Indian Civil Service Association say "it is impossible to exaggerate the feelings of apprehension and anxiety with which this momentous change is regarded by many members of the service," while the Indian Police Association assert that the policy of transferring law and order, even under safeguards, "involves the gravest risk to ourselves, to our men, and to all that we and they stand for." You may tell me that this is mere croaking, but, after all, proverbial philosophy assures us that the toad beneath the harrow forms sounder judgments of a harrow's working than does the butterfly upon the road.

Defence Problems

Leaving aside these rather speculative enquiries into what the opinions of high officials are and the value which should be attached to them, let us turn to the facts of the case. There are political parties in the East which demand independence, there are others which lay stress on the right of a Dominion to leave the Empire. But would it be possible for us to withdraw the eagles and evacuate the country without cynical disregard of its most vital interests? I have never been nearer than Simla to the North-West Frontier, and I have no special claim to speak upon its problems. But history seems to show that any weakening of the defence is followed by an eruption of the tribes. Remove the British Army and will not they descend upon the plains? And is it not extremely likely that they will be followed by Afghanistan, who, after all, invaded India only fifteen years ago? And if they do, is there not great risk that they will be joined by the Muhammadans of the Punjab and that a Muhammadan empire will be set up once more in upper India?

It is difficult to believe that a democratic Government largely composed of Hindu politicians would be able to withstand such a disaster, and it seems likely that India would revert to its normal condition of a number of separate and warring States. Mr. Gandhi, I believe, has said that he does not mind how many millions perish so long as the survivors are free—as though anyone in this world was free!—but Mr. Gandhi has said many singular and sometimes contradictory things. A less exalted person once told me that he realized that after our departure there would be a good deal of fighting, but he thought that ultimately the Central Government would win through. He may be right, but, yet again, he may be wrong.

Well, if it is admitted that the British Army must remain—and even Mr. Sastri has said in a letter to the *Spectator* that it would be a gross betrayal, nothing short of infamy, if Britain were to retire from India without leaving behind her a satisfactory system of defence—then the Government must be one to which British troops can reasonably be entrusted. This rules out at once the

dominion form, for sixty years ago after the Maori war Parliament decided that it was not desirable to place imperial troops at the disposal of a colonial Government, and there will not be many people prepared to dissent from this decision.

The Assumption of Co-operation

There are one or two small points to which I will refer before submitting my specific proposals for reform to your consideration. In paragraph 26 of the Introduction to the White Paper it is stated, "The present proposals in general necessarily proceed on the basic assumption that every endeavour will be made by those responsible for working the Constitution to approach the administrative problems which will present themselves in the spirit of partners in a common enterprise." Were this the case, one could make shift with almost any Constitution, but what justification is there for this assumption? Was this the spirit of the British Indian delegation? Was this the spirit of the late Mr. Patel, whose inaugural speech when he was elected President of the Assembly filled me with such hope? Is this the spirit of the Congress members who propose to enter the Assembly? Was this the spirit which animated Pundit Motilal Nehru when, with his party only holding about one-third of the seats, they dominated the lower House? The British Indian delegates have already shown that they have little affection for the system of special responsibilities, and I venture to suggest that the framers of the Constitution should revise their work on the assumption that there may be quite an appreciable amount of friction between a Governor-General and his Ministers.

Representation of States

There is a further point which, in my opinion, calls for consideration. I believe that I am right in saying that it was the announcement of the Princes that they were willing to enter the federation that converted the Simon Report into a back number and started the Round-Table Conferences. It was felt that the Princes would be able to exercise a conservative and steadying influence. But the position of the Princes, and more particularly

the smaller Princes, is very delicate. They are disliked by the Hindu politicians, as was very clearly brought home to me at the time of the Princes Protection Bill. Sapru already says that one result of the new Constitution will be to facilitate the passage of the Indian States from their present form of autocratic government to a constitutional form. (Record No. 10, p. 80.) This is a change which the Princes may not desire, but it will be very easy for the politicians to stir up unrest in the realms of those who have been too steadying in their influence. Sir Akbar Hydari has declared that the States do not desire to intervene in any matter which affects British India alone, but asks for a "gentleman's agreement" on the subject. This is not good enough for Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who demands a written rule, with the Speaker deciding in any doubtful case whether it should or should not apply. (Record No. 10, p. 81.)

This in-and-out system will work very strangely in the Legislature, but will it be extended to the Cabinet? Will a States representative, when Minister, be debarred from intervening in purely British Indian matters? Even if not formally debarred he will, I fear, be fiercely attacked by Indian politicians if he ventures to differ from British Indian Ministers in a non-State question. The conclusion to which I have been driven is that the States representatives, however excellent their intentions, will be unable to offer very effective opposition to ultra-progressive politicians. And this, I regret to say, seems to be the opinion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who states that the risks of the States *bloc* "generally acting as an impediment in the way of British India are not by any means great." (Record No. 10, p. 80.)

Finance and Discrimination

I will not trouble you with any detailed discussion of finance. No one denies that the proposals impose a burden which India cannot bear without ruthless curtailment of expenditure on the Army and Civil Administration, curtailment of which no sensible Government could approve. I have no sympathy with the argument that democracy is expensive and that if India wants it it

must pay for it. For who is demanding democracy? It is the ryot who will pay, and what is democracy to him?

To judge from the attitude of the British Indian delegation, the position of British firms in India will be precarious. They wish to discriminate against the British trader as a non-national, a demand rightly resented by Sir Hubert Carr, who asserted that they stand on exactly the same footing as Indian-born merchants in matters of commercial legislation (Ans. 12251), an assertion endorsed by the Secretary of State. Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that he had been " very much alarmed " about the possible abuse of subsidies (Ans. 15465), and Sir Samuel Hoare said, " Sir Phiroze has made a second reading speech in favour of commercial discrimination. I can only reply that I do not agree with it." It is satisfactory to know that our Government are taking a firm stand in this particular matter, but the discussion shows the feelings even of moderate Indian politicians towards the British.

I have no great love for purely destructive criticism, and I now submit for your consideration, and I hope for your approval, concrete suggestions for the strengthening of the White Paper.

The British Element in the Services

1. Clause 189 provides that at the expiry of five years from the commencement of the Constitution Act an enquiry will be held into the recruitment of the Services. This does not satisfy the Indian delegates to the Conference, who evidently wish to see the discontinuance of European recruitment. (Record No. 10, pp. 53, 55, and 113.)

I submit that the retention of a reasonable British element in the key Services is essential to the maintenance of the connection between Britain and India. There is no analogy between the despatch of a Governor-General to Canada, where he acts as the representative of the Crown amongst people of his own race, speaking the same language, sharing the same religion, the same historical and mental background, and the despatch of a Viceroy to India, to a continent where he is debarred from speech with 98 per cent. of the population, a population whose religion, customs, and mental and moral background are entirely different

from his own. If there is to be a union between Britain and India, a real partnership between Britain and India, if the British Army is to remain in India and British officers in the Indian Army, Britain, through her representatives, must have a real share in the Government.

I suggest that not only is a certain quota of British officials essential for the maintenance of the partnership which all of us here presumably desire, but that they will be of use to the inhabitants of India themselves. I do not wish to lay stress on this aspect of the case, but there is a considerable volume of evidence which suggests that the decline in the numbers of British officials has been accompanied by a decline in the efficiency of the administration—a decline from which the poor ryot suffers. Again, where communal feeling runs high, an impartial person obviously is of the highest value, not merely to administer equal justice, but to inspire a sense of confidence in the weaker party. Accounts have recently been published in *The Times* of the arrival of a European Chief Justice at Lahore and of the attempt to elect a Mayor at Calcutta, which seem to show that the day has not yet come when the impartial Briton is no longer needed. I suggest, therefore, that far from proposing an enquiry after five years, it should be definitely laid down that the maintenance of a reasonable proportion of British officials in the key Services is a cardinal principle of our policy and is not even open to discussion.

Ministers and the Legislature

2. Under Proposals 13 and 66 Ministers must be or become members of the Legislature. Does everybody realize that this is a more democratic Constitution than our own? In the Indian Legislatures, apart from the representatives of the States, the method of whose appointment is still a little obscure, almost every member is an elected member. In England we can and do strengthen our Ministries by drawing on the great knowledge and experience of the House of Lords. It is hardly necessary for me to enlarge on the enormous difference between the ordinary member of Parliament and the peer. The one has continually to

be thinking of his constituency. His steady supporters can be relied upon, but the crank may transfer his vote if his particular fad is disregarded, and this under our Constitution gives additional power to fanatics who are little qualified to use it wisely. But the peer is not exposed to pressure of this kind and can devote his mind entirely to the merits of legislation put before him.

The White Paper, it is true, provides for second chambers in three provinces, with a handful of nominated members in each. But the Indian delegates (and it is, I submit, foolish to ignore their proposals) object to second chambers *in toto,* and assert that, even if they are thrust upon them, it must be definitely laid down that a nominated member will not be eligible for a portfolio. (Record No. 10, p. 52.)

The English Constitution is old-fashioned—the gradual growth of centuries—but the more modern democracies in the small well-governed States of Northern Europe allow the Government to go outside the Legislature for Ministers if they think it desirable to do so. This right is still regularly exercised, and I am, I believe, correct in saying that there is no democracy of any standing or stability in which the choice of Ministers is as restricted as it is with us. And yet we are proposing to set up an even more rigid form than our own in a part of the world where democratic institutions will be exposed to anything but favourable conditions. If India is to be supplied with a Constitution, it should be given an up-to-date one, fitted with labour-saving devices, lavatory basins in the bedrooms, and plenty of bathrooms, and we should not be content with early Victorian standards.

I submit that it should be laid down that Government should be allowed to go outside the Legislature for Ministers if it wishes to do so, and that it should be recognized that this is a perfectly normal procedure, to which no one will be entitled to take exception. The adoption of this suggestion would overcome the difficulty of the transfer of law and order and might often help a Governor to keep a Ministry in being. Sir Samuel Hoare has told us that he thinks it very unlikely that a Governor whose Ministry has resigned would be unable to obtain another. I have had some experience of the Indian politician, and I cannot feel

quite so optimistic. Whatever our opinion of the merits of democracy in the East, we—all of us, I presume—wish to erect a machine which will work, and are therefore anxious to avoid the breakdown which cannot be concealed if the Governor-General has to take over the administration himself. Now the enlargement of the field of ministerial recruitment is likely to reduce the number of occasions on which Government is driven to confession of failure. It should be noted that my proposal is elastic. The Governor will not be compelled to go outside for Ministers, but, as in other well-governed countries, he will have the right to do so.

The Legislatures.

3. There should be a substantial reduction in the size of the Legislatures. At the centre the strength of the two Houses is being raised from 205 to 635. Large legislative bodies put an unduly heavy demand on political talent (which is not unlimited in India or indeed in other countries), are liable to split up into a number of groups (one of the main causes of the failure of democracy in so many parts of the world), and add to the cost of a system which seems likely to impose an intolerable burden on Indian finances.

4. Sir Henry Lawrence, in his speech before the Conservative Parliamentary Committee, made out what seems to me a strong case for indirect election. I can see little, if any, use in multiplying an illiterate electorate. Twenty times 0 is still 0. A letter published in *The Times* a few weeks ago stated that a small test enquiry showed that out of 300 electors to the Bombay Legislative Council only 50 knew what the Council was, and that only 10 could give any account of its functions. In 1906 I was Collector of Dacca, capital of Eastern Bengal, a province whose creation darkened the political firmament of Eastern India. Yet ten miles from Dacca, in a village which had exceptionally good means of communication with the outer world, I found that the inhabitants were entirely ignorant of the fact that Bengal had been partitioned. The interests of the peasants will, I believe, be safer if votes are conferred upon those whom they recognize as leaders than if they

are scattered wholesale. I therefore commend this suggestion to your sympathetic consideration.

5. The words "Union of Britain and India" and "British and Indian partnership" have a refreshing sound, but it must be a real union and a real partnership. The British connection should therefore be represented more strongly in the Legislature. The nadir is to be found in the Punjab, where one seat out of a membership of 175 is allotted to Europeans, but nowhere outside of Bengal and Assam have they any effective representation. The importance of Britain as a partner in the Federation should be emphasized.

6. Proposal 34 (*a*). I regret the proposal that officials should be classed with persons of unsound mind, and should be debarred from serving their country in the Legislature, a privilege which is not denied to those found guilty even of the most heinous criminal offences. This restriction seems to me particularly undesirable in the case of Indian officials, some of whom are the flower of their respective races. The prejudice against officials as such is carried even further by the British Indian delegation, who declare that an Indian official should be ineligible for the post of Governor even after his retirement from the service. (Record No. 10, p. 55.)

It seems a little discourteous to Mr. Gandhi to create a new class of Untouchables, and I hope this restriction will be withdrawn.

The Centre and the Provinces

7. Under the White Paper the position of the Central Government will be very weak when dealing with the provinces, weaker than under any federal system with which I am acquainted. The Secretary of State told the Select Committee that he did not see how a provincial Government could be compelled to apply legislation that it did not wish to apply (Ans. 13115), and the lack of central control is further emphasized in Answer 13142. There seem to me to be grave dangers surrounding the question of provincial finance. The late Sir John Kerr told the Select Committee that there was risk that towards the end of the year there might not be enough money in the Treasury to cover Budget appropriations,

and everyone who knew him will, I believe, agree with me that Sir John was a man of sober judgment and not at all likely to be affected by idle fears. Provincial finances are not one of the Governor's special responsibilities, and in financial matters he would be bound to accept the advice of his Ministers. It would be difficult for the Governor-General to intervene under his special responsibility for the safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Federation, nor would the Governor's veto on legislation be much use, as it would be possible for the Budget to be wrecked without new legislation.

Moreover, in Answer 12026 the Secretary of State has said that the veto has a long history behind it, and, judged by British experience generally, the veto becomes more and more, in course of time, something in the nature of a constitutional formality. That, no doubt, is the result of British experience, but in many respects the British Constitution is unique, and in the world's greatest Federation, the United States, the veto is habitually used both by the Presidents and the States Governors. Bryce, indeed, quotes a case in which a Governor standing for re-election put forward as a strong plank in his platform the frequency with which he had used this weapon. I must frankly admit that, in this particular case, what is good enough for America is good enough for me, and I view with some alarm the suggestion that any safeguard of the White Paper may become a constitutional formality. This is just the sort of thing which the critics say of the safeguards, and it is disturbing to find their fears receiving official confirmation.

Some arrangement should, I think, be made to strengthen the powers of control and supervision by the Central Government—whether by means of grants or otherwise. The present proposals leave the Government at Delhi, *vis-à-vis* its constituent parts, much weaker than is its opposite number at Washington. Now there is a special danger in this. In the parts of India with which I am acquainted there is a distinct national feeling not for India as a whole but for the Bengali or Assamese nation. It is not impossible that similar national feelings exist in other parts of the sub-continent and that the patriotism of the future will be

definitely local and centrifugal. Sir Tej Sapru seems to anticipate something of the sort. (*Vide* Record No. 10, p. 79.)

We fashioned British India out of a number of separate and warring units, and if the centre is too weak and the provinces too strong India may revert to type, and with the disappearance of the steel frame may break up once more into the independent Governments from which it was compounded. I can hardly imagine that this will be for the greater happiness of the peoples or that this is the intention of the framers of the White Paper. If, therefore, there is any justification for my fears this point should not be overlooked.

Indian Opinion

My critics will tell me that my proposals will not commend themselves to Indian public opinion. I am very well aware of that, but what proposals do? The White Paper certainly does not. (Read Record No. 10.) If the amendments set out therein were to be adopted, most of the White Paper safeguards would disappear. I have not time to enter into the details, but here is a statement I have prepared giving chapter and verse for what I say.

Well, if the White Paper in its present form is rejected by India, why should we not introduce modifications which would make it possible to set up a stable Government? Why should we not say that we feel it is impossible for us to leave the country and that so long as it is necessary for us to remain we must have a real share in the Government? It must be a real union of Britain and India—a real partnership. I have had some experience of political agitation, and I have always found that public opinion tends to rally to sympathetic but firm Government. This is the case in England (witness the General Strike and the election in 1931), and even more the case in Asia. "He who is Raja his subjects are we," said some villagers to me at the time of the Gandhi agitation, and these words, I believe, represent the real soul of India.

What is the present situation in the great dependency? There is no money to finance the White Paper; practically every

section of the political world rejects it; there are bitter protests against the communal award; the British trader in India is called an alien, the British Indian Government an alien Government. We have tried concession and it has not succeeded. Two alternatives remain. If you think that we can leave our Eastern Empire without serious prejudice to its fortunes, let us go. But if you feel, as I feel, and Mr. Sastri feels, that the presence of the British Army is still essential, then set up a Constitution under which we can remain in safety and in honour.

It must not be supposed that I do not fully appreciate the excellent work done by many Indian Ministers during the past few years. But conditions under the Constitution envisaged in the White Paper will be much more difficult than conditions in the past, and it is the duty of all lovers of India to do anything which they can to help them in their difficult task. It is not only old Anglo-Indians who are nervous of the future. "You cannot avoid the reforms in the same way that you may try to avoid measles or meningitis," said Sir N. N. Sirkar. "We have asked for the reforms and we are going to have them, but whether we survive them or succumb to them remains to be seen. I may not live to see their burial, but I shall not be surprised if I see that undertakers are given notice to get ready."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 13, 1934, when a paper, entitled "The Proposed Indian Reforms: a Critical Examination," was read by Mr. B. C. Allen, C.S.I., I.C.S. (retired). The Right Hon. Viscount FitzAlan, P.C., K.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., and Lady Lamington, Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Watson, Sir Leonard C. Adami, The Right Hon. Sir Henry Pollock, K.C., Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. F. B. Leach, C.I.E., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. C. M. Baker, C.I.E., Mr. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Mr. Stanley Rice, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips and Miss Phillips, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. A. J. David, Rev. R. Burges, Mr. and Mrs. D. Ross-Johnson, Rev. L. Raymond, Mr. J. R. N. Nixon, Mr. S. Ijazah, Mr. S. Faiyaz Ali, Captain H. Orr-Ewing, Mrs. Dreshfield, Mr. H. K. Sadler, Mr. B. N. Gupta, Major and Mrs. Lyle, Mr. L. R. Ward, Mr. W. T. Allen, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Miss Edmonstone, Mrs. B. D. Bery and Miss Bery, Mr. Harcourt Page, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I see by your rules that those who take part in the discussion are expected to be short, and five minutes is mentioned. I do not propose to be too rigid as to that; it is an awful bore when a man is making a speech to feel that he has got to stop when the five minutes are up. But I hope that time will not be too much exceeded, and if I find it necessary to hint to gentlemen who speak that it is time to stop, I have no doubt they will not mind my doing so.

(Mr. B. C. ALLEN then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure we all feel very much indebted to Mr. Allen for his most interesting and instructive address. I know very well that this Association is absolutely non-party, in fact its very strength lies in the fact that it was founded, nearly seventy years ago, with the object of doing

all that was possible for the welfare of the inhabitants of India. We are now living at a time of some controversy, owing to the White Paper; but, however strong our feelings may be, there is no reason why we should lose our tempers with one another because we do not agree on every point connected with that document. I observe that Mr. Allen, in the beginning of his remarks, said, " I have always deprecated the attempt to divide the world into those who support and those who oppose the White Paper." I think we agree with him in that, but I must be allowed to say that, however impartial Mr. Allen was in the beginning of his remarks, I felt satisfied when he came to the end that I was a strong disciple of his in being a strong critic of the White Paper. But, whatever our feelings may be, we all agree in hoping that the solution of this problem will be to the great advantage and benefit of that enormous Dependency of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

I am often amused when I come across some of my friends who rank themselves as supporters of the White Paper and who, after a few moments conversation, say, " Of course, we do not agree with that," and " We could not possibly have this," and so on. And I sometimes wonder whether, after all, those who say they oppose the White Paper and those who say they support it are very far apart. Even the strongest critic of the White Paper who knows anything about it will readily admit something has got to be done in the direction of the proposals in the White Paper. The main cleavage between us, in my humble opinion, is that many of us think the proposals go too far and too fast, and that the changes and reforms should be much more gradual than is proposed. Before long we shall probably see whether the proposals in the White Paper are going to receive some modifications or not. It looks as if the Report will not be issued as soon as many of us expected, but when it is issued I shall be surprised if there are not considerable modifications in the White Paper.

I cannot speak with the experience and authority with which many of you here, from long experience, residence, and work in India, can speak. I am sure you all agree with me that we want to hear those, on whatever side, whose views will enlighten and instruct us, and teach us what are the main points in this controversy.

Sir ALFRED WATSON: Mr. Allen has given a good deal of gratuitous advertisement this afternoon to an organization with which I am connected. I wonder whether it would be indiscreet of me to ask whether the plan for the future of India outlined this afternoon has the backing of the rival organization; that would give it a weight and an authority which could attach to no individual opinion. Since the White Paper was produced there have been evolved a number of alternative schemes. There was the plan of the *Morning Post*; there were the proposals that Mr. Winston Churchill put before the Joint Select Committee. The best that can be said of all these babies is that they were abandoned on the roadside by their putative parents, and that the verdict of the coroner's jury in each case was, " Died from exposure."

I am, personally, amazed at the parody of statesmanship which assumes

that it is only necessary to string together a few objections to particular points in a great scheme for the government of a vast country to result in the production of an adequate alternative. To all of us, according to our individual view, there are matters in the White Paper which are capable of amendment; there are some modifications in regard to which I, personally, would go very much further than does the White Paper. There are criticisms that have been uttered today that would find an echo in the breasts of ardent supporters of the Government scheme. But if there is one truth that is written across the history of enduring legislation, it is that all such legislation is based on the greatest common measure of agreement that can be reached.

For a moment I confess I had great hopes of Mr. Allen; that was when he made the admission that he found his "spiritual home" in the American Constitution. (Laughter.) I thought—as no doubt others in the audience thought—that this was preliminary to a declaration that no Constitution for India would be satisfactory that did not provide for the election of the Viceroy by the people of India. That would indeed have been something revolutionary, something worthy of discussion in such an assembly as this. But, unhappily, Mr. Allen was content to state his own preference without exploring its implications.

Mr. Allen is not happily inspired when he compares, to its disadvantage, the British Constitution with those of some unnamed democracies. The British Constitution does leave liberty to select Ministers from outside Parliament, and that power was abundantly exercised no later than the War. If the practice is not the rule, that is because its inconveniences have been clearly demonstrated, and if it is not sought to apply it to India, that is because it has proved a failure elsewhere. Mr. Allen, however, has found one special merit in the British system. "The peer," he says, "is not exposed to pressure, and can devote his mind entirely to the merits of legislation before him." He should seek the views of Lord Derby on that subject.

Nothing is more difficult to understand than the long passage that Mr. Allen devoted to the effects of withdrawing the British Army from India. What has that to do with the White Paper? Nobody can read that document, even once, without knowing that it provides for the retention of the British Army and for the control of it by the Viceroy. This bogey of the imagination has served its purpose on other platforms. Mr. Allen can scarcely have expected it to excite alarm before an audience which is informed in regard to Indian affairs.

His fears about finance may be based on more substantial grounds, though they are not shared by myself. What is more important is that they have no place in the minds of Sir Basil Blackett or Sir George Schuster, the two men who have most recently carried the burden and responsibility of Indian financial administration. There is no dread in respect of the future in the minds of those Indians who at this moment are subscribing crores to a new loan on a 3½ per cent. basis. When we talk of India's inability to pay we are apt to forget that twenty years ago the present revenue of India would have seemed unbelievably large. We are apt to

ignore the fact that, almost alone among the great countries of the world, not excepting ourselves, India has never been in the position of repudiating a debt, or failing to pay the interest on a debt. India has justified the fullest confidence in her ability to meet her obligations, and to extend them.

As to Mr. Allen's point about the retention of a British element in the key Services, that is amply provided for in the White Paper. What does it matter whether the period of revision is five years or ten years, or even longer? The decision rests always with the British Parliament, and with no other body. A Parliament which is competent to govern an Empire is certainly competent to decide a point such as this.

Mr. Allen objects to the size of the Legislatures, on the ground that large bodies are liable to split up into a number of groups. Well, he and his friends are certainly competent to speak with assurance on that subject! I do not imagine that the danger will be found greater in India, which will have smaller Legislatures, than in this country. It is, at worst, an attribute of human nature that will not be eliminated by a clause in an Act of Parliament. Mr. Allen fears that vetoes may become a constitutional formality, but in that he leaves me cold. I hope that they will, for vetoes only have significance when they are challenged. There could be no happier condition for India than that the exercise of the vetoes should not be necessary because their reserve power was recognized.

The lecturer has himself supplied what must be the final answer to his proposals. They will not, he tells us, commend themselves to Indian public opinion. Then why put them forward? It is true the White Paper proposals are not acceptable to certain Indian parties; why make them acceptable to none? Of all forms of human endeavour I can imagine none more wasteful of time, temper, and ingenuity. If there is one certainty it is that no Constitution will work in any country unless it is accepted by the people of that country. India is not an exception to a universal rule. Why this trifling about petty points of difference? Why not recognize that if you cannot frame a Constitution that India will work, you must rule by force? You must give up all idea of goodwill; you must abandon the trade that is based on goodwill; you must accept India as a burden and a liability that will break the heart of your people.

Indulging in some strange incursions into history, Mr. Allen has told us that what lost us America was the incompetence of our generals. Those generals were certainly incompetent enough, but the cause was lost before a single soldier left these shores. The right of the greater parts of the Empire to govern themselves has never been challenged since. No incompetent generals lost the war in South Africa; there we won decisively. But South Africa would not today be in the Empire if we had not recognized, after the victory, the right to self-government that we denied to America before defeat. Personally, I have no doubt that in the case of India the British Parliament will come to a decision that will retain that country as a willing partner in the Empire. (Applause.)

Mr. C. A. KINCAID: In the admirable paper of Mr. Allen, and in the excellent reply of Sir Alfred Watson, I find no mention of what, after all,

is a very considerable factor to be dealt with by those who would set about reforming the Constitution of India, and that is, the presence of other European powers in that sub-continent. No one can say that the proposals in the White Paper may not be followed by disorders, if not by anarchy. If anarchy or disorders do break out, they are not likely to stop at the frontiers of British India. To the west is the important province of Goa; to the east is the valuable district of Pondicherry. They will certainly cross those frontiers, and what then? You may say that it does not matter about the Portuguese, although, in view of the reorganization work of Senor Salazar during the last six years, that attitude would not be wholly justified. In any case you cannot take that airy view of the French. Pondicherry is an integral part of France just as much as Corsica is. It sends two or three deputies to Paris, and at least one senator.

The French are passionately attached to Pondicherry, and close by, as distances are reckoned in the East, are the French possessions of Indo-China and Tonquin. They will put down disorders in Pondicherry with a firm hand; then they will ask England, "What are you going to do about it?" What are we going to do? Are we to fight France that anarchy may reign in India without interference? If not, then what course shall we adopt? We may say to France, "We have done our best, you had better now come in and settle things yourselves." I have no doubt but that the French would put down disorder quickly, and I think that they would be popular in India, because they are sympathetic and able administrators. Still, if the French pacified India, do you suppose you would ever get it back? They surely would keep it. That might or might not be good for India, but it would be very sad for us, who would see lost all the work of Clive and Stringer Lawrence.

There is another point of view, which I have heard advanced by French officers to whom I have spoken. They argue that when a grantee renounces his grant, the grant reverts to the grantor. Now the Northern Sircars and much of the Carnatic came into English hands as grants from the French. If we renounce these territories, they, so the French claim, will revert to themselves as the grantors.

There is a third course open to us—namely, to put down disorders ourselves. I have no doubt that our Government could do this, but think of all the blood and treasure we should thereby waste uselessly. Surely the fourth course is the best—namely, the one that Mr. Allen put before you. If you must follow the path to democracy, go slowly; be sure when you take your next step that your foot will not slip when you put it to the ground. In this way you will not create disorder in British India; and you will not rouse the resentment or excite the ambition and cupidity of other European nations.

Sir BASIL BLACKETT: I shall not follow the last speaker into the comic history of 1950, but there are one or two things that I wish to say, especially as Sir Alfred Watson has quoted me as being entirely satisfied with the financial condition of India. I never knew a Finance Member who was entirely satisfied with anybody's financial position. I will put it in this way.

When some of the opponents of the White Paper talk of the enormous cost of reform and the total inability of India to meet that cost, they frequently make what is a striking arithmetical blunder. They add to the total cost of reforms the amount which will be transferred from the Central Government to the pocket of the Provincial States Government or *vice versa*. They then say the Reforms will cost India Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 crores more. So the impression is left that this is the cost of extra members of Parliament and extra Governors, and so on, which will arise from reform. I think that the real extra cost in that sense is very small—that is, not more than Rs. 2 crores. All the rest is a question of transfer from one pocket to another. That raises, no doubt, very serious difficulties for the Governments who have to meet extra expenditure, when part of their income is taken from them. The position is that India has been able to balance the Budget by stern economy or by drastic additions to taxation. If you get a rise of prices and a recovery of trade there is no reason why the cost of these reforms should not be an unimportant element in the position. If you do not get the rise in prices, the Indian Government is not the only one which will find both its external and its internal debt a menace, especially the agricultural indebtedness.

The speaker, whom I welcome as an old friend and colleague in the Legislative Assembly, put forward various proposals modifying the White Paper, but by the time he had come to the end of his speech I am in agreement with you, my Lord, that there was not much left of agreement with the White Paper. There is one criticism to which those who support the White Paper are open. We support it not because we are enamoured of the new Constitution for India, but because we regard a change on the lines indicated in the White Paper as inevitable. But if you were to defend the British Constitution, is there any of you who would not riddle it with criticism and say it was not a desirable Constitution? The only difference between our affection for that and the White Paper Constitution is, that one is in existence and we practise it, but the White Paper proposals are not in existence, and it remains to be seen whether they can be worked. They are not only unavoidable, but, taken "by and large," they are better than we could have hoped for when the Simon Commission came out in 1927, or when Gandhi was at the top of his power a few years afterwards. With the help of the Princes, we have worked out a Federal Constitution and reached a state of affairs when there is a prospect of a Constitution by consent which will be workable, and which many people are trying to work. It is impossible to contemplate going on with the present Constitution.

With regard to what Mr. Kincaid said, I do not think the French, or any other nation, would find it easy to govern India without Indians' consent; we have got to govern them by consent. There are in India, including Burma, 160,000 white people, and 352 millions of Indians. Can any Government in India govern India by force when their total strength, including the whole Army, is only 160,000?

It comes to this: that the White Paper is a great improvement on anything that has been hitherto suggested. It is not ideal, and with some of the criticisms Mr. Allen put forward I am in agreement. I should like to reduce

the number of members of the Legislature, and that, incidentally, is important from the point of view of finance. The cost of a general election, it is estimated, would be about £500,000 under the White Paper proposals, and that is an undesirable and a foolish position. And I support Sir Henry Lawrence's proposals for indirect election. That is the one big reform I should like to see the Committee and Parliament make in the White Paper. But it is impossible to imagine that any large changes in the White Paper can be introduced at this stage. It represents the least common measure of discontent; it represents something which has been hammered out by many people, and carries with it much goodwill. Parliament has the right to examine that and make proposals for changes. If, however, the changes are more than slight modifications, there is little hope of any Constitution which will be acceptable or workable in India. Whether this Constitution will work well no one can prophesy. But human beings can make anything work if they have got to, and that will be the position in India. It can be made to work, and if that happens Great Britain will have achieved the purpose of those who have thought for India since the days of Macaulay, and it will be one of the greatest achievements which any country can place to its credit, to have led a sub-continent on from the Mogul collapse to a partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Applause.)

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE: We have learned a very great deal from Mr. Allen's paper. I think his criticism of the position of Ministers in the Legislature, in the light of experience in other countries, is a matter with which very few people have been acquainted in this country. We in England are rather disinclined to look at the experience of other countries, and I think we lose a great deal by not making such a study, and by relying entirely on some adaptation of the methods with which we ourselves are so well acquainted. Those methods are not necessarily the very best for transportation to countries which have a very different historical background. Therefore I regarded that part of Mr. Allen's interesting and most delightfully expressed paper with special approval.

Perhaps you will permit me to say I was specially delighted to hear Mr. Allen say that he thought there was some value in a suggestion which I put before the Parliamentary Committee in the House of Commons a couple of months ago, and I was surprised and pleased to hear Sir Basil Blackett sympathize with and support that suggestion. The suggestion is for indirect elections in India in place of the proposals made by the Lothian Committee for the Direct Franchise to be given to 37 million people there. As Mr. Allen has pointed out, people who have examined into the mind of these voters, people who have had experience of the conversations of villagers when they have been compelled, almost driven, to give their votes, know that very few of them have the faintest notion what they are going to the polling station for. In many cases they have stated that they thought it was in order to sign a petition for a remission of their tax. That is always a very popular proceeding, and so villagers often walked many miles to get their tax remitted, and were somewhat dissatisfied with the result of elections when they found there was no change in that respect. The suggestion I put

forward was that the villagers should be called upon to nominate a certain number of registered voters, people who would give their votes when an election was required within the next ten years, so that when an election took place the village would send its ten or twenty registered voters, instead of its five hundred or a thousand. That would save an enormous amount of expense and annoyance and trouble to the villager, and would be a thoroughly popular movement throughout the country. And it would also be possible eventually, I believe, to get rid of some of the appalling dissensions fostered by communal electorates.

The Lothian proposals, which mean that people of different communities should vote over enormous areas, sometimes in four or five districts, for one member, those proposals must cause the greatest amount of inconvenience and the greatest amount of expense that you could imagine. Further, the present vote, according to these proposals which are accepted in the White Paper, is given on the basis of property. The vast majority of the rural inhabitants of India cannot ever obtain a vote on the basis of property. We ourselves, in this country, have gradually reduced the property qualification, until now we have practically got rid of it. Why should we now impose, in India, the very system which we have ourselves abandoned here? That is, I think, one of the chief arguments in favour of indirect elections, and I submit to this audience that it is a reform which can be introduced within the scope of the White Paper, and that it should be so introduced.

There is another point, a smaller one. Within the terms of the White Paper the Constitution must be on a stable financial basis. I was very glad to hear Sir Basil Blackett say that he does not consider the outlook to be so unsatisfactory as it has been stated to be by certain critics; for instance, Sir Arthur Macwaters has, in several addresses, greatly stressed the danger of the falling off of revenue and the results of taxation in the future. That is a point which has not been considered in the calculations that have been put forward before the Joint Select Committee or before the various Round-Table Conferences. Supposing the Government are not satisfied with the future financial basis of the Imperial and Provincial Governments and do not think that basis stable, they are bound, by their own undertakings in the White Paper, to revise the situation and reconsider their proposals. Therefore where the India Defence League and the Union of Britain and India can come to a common agreement is in urging the National Government to act up to the exact terms which they have themselves laid down in the White Paper.

Mr. J. C. FRENCH : I should like to add my humble tribute of appreciation to the excellent paper we have just heard. It is impossible for me to make any criticism of it, but I should like to venture to suggest a small addition. I am sorry Mr. Allen did not give more of his tonic to the White Paper; it would, I am sure, be greatly improved by some more treatment from such an excellent physician, but no doubt, within the limits of his paper, he was unable to do more than he has done.

Mr. Allen's critics, among them Sir Alfred Watson, deprecated his anxiety about the Army in India, and considered that anxiety unnecessary. I am in

entire agreement with Sir Alfred Watson, on two conditions: First, that every soldier in India grows a pair of wings; secondly, that he becomes a telepathist, for if the Army, the railways, the telegraphs, the police, and many other things go under another control, there is still room for anxiety. The second point on which Sir Alfred Watson criticized Mr. Allen was on Mr. Allen's anxiety concerning finance. Sir Alfred Watson pointed out that India has never repudiated a debt. But, ladies and gentlemen, is not that equivalent to saying that hitherto we have never repudiated a debt? We have been responsible for India, and the compliment Sir Alfred Watson gave was to England.

There is another point about the finances of India under the White Paper which has occurred to me, and that is, that under the White Paper scheme the Finance Minister of the All-India Legislature will only have a small proportion to deal with out of what he collects. I am not a financier, but it has been calculated that about 80 per cent. of what he collects will have to be handed over at once to the Viceroy for the Army, the Civil Service, the debt, and many other charges. I do not pin myself to that exact amount, but you will agree that it is a very large proportion. Supposing the Viceroy and the All-India Chancellor disagreed, and that the Chancellor tells the Viceroy he cannot supply the money for the Army and the other Services? The Viceroy says, "You must do it," and he uses his special powers to obtain the money. What will be the reply? It will be non-co-operation: non-co-operation is endemic in India.

Sir Basil Blackett said we cannot govern India by force. It is impossible not to give full agreement to Sir Basil's valuable judgment on that, for consider how lightly we govern India now; how few police there are. There are small police-stations every hundred miles or so, with only a sub-inspector and a few constables. Look at the small Army we have there, unexampled in the whole world for the vast size of the population. We govern India by prestige, and that is the result of experience, now in its third century. It is based on the knowledge on the part of the people of India that they can get a straight deal from us. It is because the India Defence League, to which I have the honour to belong, consider that this prestige will be injured and damaged by the White Paper proposals that we oppose it. Otherwise you must govern India by brute force.

I was talking to a distinguished officer recently returned from India, and I said to him, "What do you think of the White Paper?" He said, "I think it is fairly good." I said, "Do you think there is any chance that the ignorant and fanatical voters will be able to give a rational vote?" He said, "No, I don't think that." I am glad Sir Henry Lawrence supports me in the fear that the voters will not know what they are voting for. I remember a story I heard in Calcutta at the time of Sir John Simon's visit. A friend of mine heard two *darwans* talking, educated people, people who can read and write, and collect money for bills. This was the time when there were shouts in the street of "Simon, go back!" One *darwan* said to the other, "Simon, Simon, bolta hai, magar Simon kya hai, khuda jane" ("Simon, Simon, is the cry, but what Simon is, God knows").

Sir ERNEST HOTSON: I think we shall all agree in thanking Mr. Allen very heartily for his stimulating and interesting paper. It seemed to me to be divided into two parts; the second part being a criticism on details in the White Paper. With some of these criticisms many of us will agree. The first part of his paper was a general but rather vague attack on the principles of the White Paper, which scarcely indicated the nature of the system which the reader of the paper would wish to put in place of the scheme of the White Paper. It is not a defeatist attitude, as he suggested, to say that this scheme is not the best imaginable, but that it is the best practicable today in the circumstances in which we find ourselves. The history of the last 150 years has brought us to a point where a step forward has to be made, and that has got to be a big step and a brave step. If we go forward an inch at a time we shall not have the people of India with us. If we do not get the consent of the people of India to any scheme we try to introduce, that scheme is bound to be a complete failure. It has been said that the electorate which will be enfranchised is "ignorant and fanatical," that it does not even know what the Legislative Councils are, and that it has no experience of political life. I do not think that is true in fact nowadays, though it may have been so thirty, twenty, even ten years ago. But all over India the politicians—good, bad, indifferent, truthful, and otherwise—are speechifying in the villages; there is scarcely a village the inhabitants of which have not heard politicians who have told them of grievances, real or imaginary, and have told them how they may get them remedied. Most of them know who the member representing them in the Legislative Council is, and they know, at least in many parts of India, that by approaching these members they have a chance of having their grievances put right, or, at all events, having them ventilated. It is not accurate now to represent the people of India as being wholly ignorant politically. They do not understand all the finer points of the matter; they could not explain the exact nature of the machinery; what they do know is that they have been governed by outsiders politically for a very long time, and they now feel that they want a much larger share in the governing of their own affairs. A great many are convinced of this. Any form of Constitution which does not give them much of this self-government must fail from the start. We are told that they want to crush British trade, to tax it out of existence. That, again, is an exaggeration; they do not want to do anything of the sort; the truth is another aspect of the desire that they should have control over their own affairs. They want to have the power to do these things, but they do not want to do them. Witness the agreements between the Bombay mill-owners and the Lancashire people, which have brought about a much happier condition of affairs than existed before. You cannot make people buy things from those they do not want to trade with. It has been tried, and it cannot be done. If you want trade to prosper, there must be good temper and goodwill, and you cannot get those unless you go a long way towards gratifying the political aspirations of the Indian people. Many of us support the White Paper because we believe it represents the best approach to a Constitution with which there will be sufficient agreement

in India to make it workable. I do not think today's paper has proved the contrary. We agree that some improvements are possible, but not that the Constitution outlined in the White Paper would imperil the centuries-old Empire, the great connection between our country and India, which it is to the interests of both to maintain. (Applause.)

Mr. ALLEN, in reply, said: Sir Alfred Watson seems to be one of those who think that democracy is always the best form of government, at all times and in all places. Personally, I cannot think like that, and people who hold such widely divergent views cannot come to an agreement. With regard to the question of America, may I point out to Sir Alfred that he differs from the American historians themselves. Sir Alfred said our cause was lost before we despatched a soldier, because our policy was wrong. This is what two American professors write, "The grievances are scarcely those which appeal to students of the period as fundamental; many seem distorted, others inconsequential; some unfair." We were not treating our Colonies in such an abominable way that there was any need for the arbitrament of arms.

Another charge he made against me was that I did not put forward a full cut-and-dried scheme in place of the White Paper, a second White Paper in fact. I obviously could not read out a second White Paper in half an hour, and I could not be expected to draft a complete new Constitution for India and try to get it substituted for the White Paper, but I have put forward suggestions which, I think, would strengthen our position there, and would not radically affect the Constitution which is now under consideration. My proposals strengthen that Constitution and are not incompatible with it.

I am told that we cannot govern India without its consent. We have to remember that there are district officers in India, Members of Council and members of the Secretariat, and the people on top are brought into contact with the politicians, but it is the district officer who is in touch with the great mass of the people. During the stages in my career when I was in the position of the toad, there was in India an extraordinary element of goodwill towards the Englishmen. I remember at the time of the Gandhi agitation, when my division was in an uproar, some villagers begged me to participate in a most intimate domestic event, although at that time Gandhi had turned the valley of the Brahmaputra into a scene of acute agitation. I have never felt anything but friendliness towards Indians, and I would lay stress on the readiness with which not only the people in India but also the people in England rally to firm Government. In Harold Nicolson's book, *Curzon, the Last Phase*, he says that Lord Curzon could not have anticipated "the limitless capacity for surrender which attacked the British people after the War." That has been our position. We give way again and again to different sections of the politicians. If we behave like that, how can we expect anybody to respect us? Even Bismarck said once, after negotiating with Austria, "You will not do what I want you to do, so I suppose I must do what you want me to do." Perpetual surrender will never rally anyone to your cause.

There is another very crucial question, that of the Services. Sir Alfred Watson says, "What have I to complain of?" There is a provision for an enquiry after five years. But what is the use of that enquiry? Either, as a result of that enquiry, the Services will be retained, in which case the agitation will be renewed in a more violent form, or they will say the Services must go. Let us say at once that they have got to remain. (Applause.)

Lord LAMINGTON: I wish to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to you, my Lord, and to Mr. Allen, for having prepared this paper, one of very vital interest, which has given rise to an interesting and valuable discussion. The paper, while pointing out certain objections and difficulties, justifies the view expressed by our noble Chairman that, after all, the people who hold these different views about the White Paper are not so very far apart. There are extraordinary difficulties to be faced, but to these close examination has been given by the Joint Committee, and I think it is quite possible to reconcile the varying opinions.

In asking you to accord your thanks to the lecturer, I hope you will also show your gratitude to the Chairman for having come this afternoon to preside. We are very grateful to him for having come amidst his many occupations. He has experience as Viceroy in Ireland, and throughout his life has devoted himself to public duty. His speeches in the House of Lords are always listened to with great respect. In succession to the late Lord Sumner, Lord FitzAlan has been made President of the India Defence League, and that is a good indication of the esteem in which he is held.

The vote was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of Mr. Allen and myself, I thank Lord Lamington for his kind words, and I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for the way in which you have received this vote of thanks. Let us make up our minds to take these questions very seriously. This Indian problem is one of supreme importance for the whole Empire.

Sir HUGH MCPHERSON writes:

I wish to congratulate Mr. Allen on the studied moderation with which he has presented his views on the White Paper. I am not sure, indeed, whether he ranges himself with the optimists or the pessimists on this subject. I cannot find his name in the latest U.B.I. list, but I am encouraged to hope that he may join the organization which generally supports the White Paper Proposals, for I can assure Mr. Allen that none of us regard that document as sacrosanct, as a masterpiece that it would be blasphemy to criticize. We accept its general principles, but keep an open mind regarding its details—and that, I gather, is precisely the attitude of Mr. Allen. He apparently accepts the general framework of the National Government's plan, and he asks us, *not* to reject it, but to improve it and strengthen it. That, indeed, is the only reasonable attitude to adopt, for the White Paper is the fruit of five years' enquiry and consultation with the best Indian opinion, and to suggest that it should be rejected at this late stage and a new

plan evolved by the unaided wisdom of the British Parliament would be to raise hell in India and destroy any hope of fruitful co-operation between the two races.

On Mr. Allen's suggestions for the improvement of the White Paper, I have two general observations to make. In the first place, they are not novel suggestions. The same points have been raised at all stages of the past five years' deliberations. They have been discussed by the Simon Commissioners, by the Local Governments, by the Government of India, and at the three Round-Table Conferences—and the findings of these authorities and bodies disclose considerable differences of opinion on the points raised by Mr. Allen. The same points are doubtless being considered now, with a multitude of other suggestions, by the Joint Select Committee. I am content to await their recommendations, but, personally, I hope that that body will not adopt the whole of Mr. Allen's suggestions, for if it did so they might have the result, in the eyes of India, of improving the White Paper plan out of all recognition. And that brings me to my second general observation. What would be the cumulative effect of all these revisions on the Indian mind? We must recognize that the whole of educated India is united in its aspiration for the ultimate attainment by India of a position of equal status within the British Commonwealth. The most advanced sections of Indian political opinion are by no means satisfied with the White Paper plan, but I am convinced that there is a preponderatingly large body of opinion which is prepared to accept that plan as a general step forward and to work it faithfully in the expectation that it will lead in course of time to the attainment of the ultimate goal.

That distinguished Indian, Mr. Sastri, whose opinion has been cited more than once by Mr. Allen, a man who in intellectual force and natural eloquence stands head and shoulders above his fellows, has recently been giving his fellow-countrymen wise advice. May I quote from the report of one of his recent speeches:

> "Mr. Sastri eloquently pleaded for the working of the White Paper Constitution for what it was worth, and emphatically declared that, however much it was defective, it was a decided improvement on the present state of things. . . . He was of opinion that the success of any Constitution depended on the spirit of its working, and appealed to his hearers to work it out with a patriotic and self-sacrificing spirit. At the same time he warned the country of the dangers of narrow-minded communalists getting at the helm of affairs if the national-minded chose to keep out. Mr. Sastri further made it clear that obstruction within the Legislatures would be productive of no good, as the Government had enough reserve powers to carry on the administration. Finally, Mr. Sastri pleaded strongly for a federation of Indian States and British India for the good of both."

Now will it make their task easy for Mr. Sastri, and those Indians who think with him, if the White Paper is improved to the extent suggested by Mr. Allen?—if, for example, we make the retention of a minimum British element in the Services and the existing methods of recruitment a *permanent* feature of the new Constitution—not liable to be reviewed from time to time in the light of future developments; if we give Provincial Governors

discretionary powers to appoint officials as Ministers in the ordinary course of events and not as an emergency measure; if we reduce the size of the Legislatures and increase the European element in them, or, contrary to British practice, maintain within them a place for the permanent officials of the administration; if we establish an untried system of election, which Indians generally oppose; if we increase the powers of interference and control exercisable by the Governor-General in Council over the provincial autonomies? Surely it is better to forego the advantages—in some cases doubtful—likely to accrue from these suggestions and endeavour to carry moderate Indian opinion with us—so that the Reforms of 1935 may start in a better atmosphere of goodwill than attended the introduction of the 1921 Reforms. In my opinion it is worth a good deal of risk to start with an unclouded sky.

My general conclusion, then, is that even if sweet reason may seem to be behind some of Mr. Allen's suggestions, this is a case where, on the whole, sentiment should prevail over logic. I feel that Indian sentiment will be overwhelmingly against any wholesale adoption of Mr. Allen's improvements, and that it is all-important to have Indian sentiment with us when we set out on this great joint adventure of Indian constitutional reform.

THE SIXTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1934

DURING the past twelve months the long process of parliamentary investigation of the question of Indian constitutional change has been continued, and your Council has maintained the aim of providing an open non-party platform for the consideration of questions relating to "the welfare of the inhabitants of India," which the Association was founded in 1866 to promote.

The Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform was occupied throughout the year in the discharge of the duty laid upon it by Parliament of examining the proposals of H.M. Government contained in the White Paper published in March, 1933, and taking into account all relevant considerations. Happily this work was carried on and is being continued at a time of relative political calm in India and of growing disposition to co-operate in the working of the Constitution, following on the failure and decay of the third civil disobedience movement. During the summer and autumn the Joint Select Committee had the advantage of the presence of Indian delegates to assist in the examination of witnesses and join in private discussions, and in the last few weeks of 1933 delegates from Burma were brought into the investigation.

THE LECTURE PROGRAMME

A good proportion of members of and delegates to the Committee are on the rolls of the Association, and while the former were not in a position to express opinions on controversial points, both members and delegates had some share, through our proceedings, in the elucidation of the complexities of the Constitutional problem. For instance, in the summer Begum Shah Nawaz, the only Indian woman delegate, set forth the position in relation to women's share in public life in a valuable paper which, under the chairmanship of Lady Procter, elicited an animated dis-

cussion. At an earlier meeting Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari, the Dewan of Baroda, and one of the States delegates, was in the chair when Mr. Yusuf Ali, fresh from a visit to India, examined in a spirit of friendly criticism the diversified reactions in that country to the White Paper. In November Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, M.P., a member of the Committee, presided at a meeting called to hear Sir Montagu Webb in the familiar rôle of opposition, over a long series of years, to the currency and financial policy of the Government of India, with more particular reference to the Reserve Bank Bill which has since been passed into law. He had the support of ardent bi-metallists such as Lord Desborough and Sir Daniel Hamilton, but, as usual, opposite points of view were presented.

Lord Reading, another member of the Joint Select Committee, was to have presided at a notable lecture in May by Sir John Thompson on "The Reform Proposals and their Reasons," but was detained by parliamentary business, and his place was taken by our president, Lord Lamington. Almost a year later a lecture with the similar purpose of examining the genesis of Indian constitutional reform, but conceived on more general lines, was given by Sir James Crerar, the late Home Member of the Government of India, with the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava in the chair. In the effort of the Council to elicit different opinions, Lord Meston was invited to present "A Middle View" of the White Paper, and he did so in July, under the chairmanship of Viscount Goschen. On the question whether Burma should or should not be separated from India, the Association had the great advantage of hearing a lecture in January by Sir Charles Innes, the late Governor of the province, in advocacy of separation, while the Right Hon. Sir Robert Horne, M.P., presented from the chair the cautious view of large business interests in the country. Another relevant aspect of the whole issue was presented by a land-owning witness before the Joint Select Committee, Rajah Syed Mohammed Mahdi of Pirpur, secretary of the British Indian Association, the main organization of the Taluqdars of Oudh, and with Sir Harcourt Butler, himself an honorary taluqdar, in the chair.

In order to provide material for comparative study the Council

arranged for an exposition at the end of January of " Dutch Policy in the East Indies," and had the good fortune to secure as its exponent Dr. Neijtzell de Wilde, the holder of a responsible post in the Ministry of the Colonies at The Hague, ex-president of the Volksraad in the Netherlands East Indies, and an author of distinction. Since the subject was comparative and outside the range of the White Paper controversy, the Association had the privilege of welcoming to the meeting as chairman the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, and also heard the views of Jonkheer R. de Marees van Swinderen, the Netherlands Minister in London, and of a former Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Amery, M.P. The meeting was the subject of detailed reports in the Dutch Press. In this connection note may be taken of the considerable extent to which the proceedings of the Association are reported or commented on in the British and Indian Press.

Social and Economic Problems

Though, as was appropriate in the special circumstances of the year, the programme was mainly devoted to political issues, social and economic questions had due attention. Reference has already been made to Sir Montagu Webb's strictures on currency policy. Within a very short period of the return from India of the Lancashire Textile Mission, Mr. S. S. Hammersley, M.P. for Stockport, one of its members, with Sir Stephen Demetriadi in the chair, gave an outline of the genesis and results of the Mission in securing an agreement with the Bombay millowners, the main terms of which have since been embodied in legislation.

The importance of wireless as a means of overcoming rural ignorance and apathy was brought to notice in a lecture in October on " Broadcasting in the Indian Village," given by Mr. C. F. Strickland at a meeting in the arrangement of which the Council had the co-operation of the Indian Village Welfare Association. Both as Chairman of the B.B.C. and as a student of Indian social conditions when he presided over the Royal Commission on Indian Labour, the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, late Speaker of the House of Commons, appropriately took the chair, and he joined Sir Akbar Hydari and other authorities in supporting the detailed

recommendations of the lecturer for a distinct and separate rural wireless service run on simple and inexpensive lines. One of our members, Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Hardinge, late Indian Army, after taking part in the discussion, visited India for the purpose of promoting an experimental service in the Punjab, and considerable progress has been made with the scheme.

At the end of February the problem of health and population in India was presented with cogency and sympathy by Major-General Sir John Megaw, formerly Director-General of the Indian Medical Service and now president of the Medical Board at the India Office. His eloquent plea for active measures, preceded by a broad general survey of the situation by a body of men with a judicial rather than a specialist outlook, was reinforced from the chair by Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health and Board of Education. Remarking that leprosy, plague, and cholera have been banished from England, Sir George urged that what man had done in England, man could do in India with knowledge, understanding, and goodwill.

Discussion Meetings

The varied range of the interests of the Association was strikingly exemplified by the topics taken up at the discussion and social meetings which are limited to members, and to guests specially invited by the Council. In October Sir Henry Gidney, the leader of the Anglo-Indian community, discussed its future in the light of the White Paper proposals. In November the Romance of Tea was expounded, with lantern views, by Mrs. Lidderdale.

In December there was a general discussion under the leadership of Sir John Kerr on terrorism in Bengal. In March Mr. Hugh Wilkinson-Guillemard, late Envoy at Khatmandu, spoke of Nepal and its relations with the Government of India, and the opportunity was taken to express the sympathy of the meeting with that friendly Himalayan kingdom in the severity of its losses in the great earthquake of last January.

In April Mr. R. J. Minney, the joint author of the successful

play *Clive of India*, spoke on "Clive, the Man of Destiny," and speeches were made not only by two historians of Modern India, Professor H. H. Dodwell and Sir William Foster, but also by Mr. Leslie Banks and Miss Gillian Lind, who take the principal parts in the play. These informal occasions are popular features of the work of the Association, and thanks are due to those whose hospitality provided the social contacts—viz., Lady Kerr and Lady McKenna (jointly), Lady (Hubert) Carr, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Lady Keymer, and Miss Percival-Hall.

While the speeches at the discussion meetings are not reported, the main address, with the permission of the speaker, is ordinarily included in our proceedings. Together with the full text of the papers and discussions thereon at the more public meetings, they provide an unrivalled range of expert and informed opinion on current Indian questions placed on permanent record. In a reference to the ASIATIC REVIEW in *The Times Literary Supplement* on January 18 last it was remarked that "in no other periodical can there be found so many expressions of opinion by well-known people on Indian questions." The knowledge of these views is extended to a wider public in libraries and elsewhere through the medium of the journal.

RECEPTION

The principal social event of the year was the afternoon reception at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, on July 21, to meet H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, who has been a Vice-President of the Association for many years. More than 300 members and guests were present, including many members of, delegates to, and witnesses before the Joint Select Committee. The Secretary of State for India had been engaged through the day in giving evidence before the Committee, but, accompanied by Lady Maud Hoare, he honoured us with his presence and paid a much-appreciated tribute to the work of the Association as providing for two generations past "a wonderful Round Table for the gathering of the friends of India of all schools of thought." He associated himself with the President, Lord Lamington, in expressions of thanks to H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda for the grant

of £50 per annum for a period of five years for the purpose of promoting the social side of the work of the Association.

Membership

The check in the growth of membership which the Association, in common with all societies of the kind, suffered in the severe economic depression of 1931-32 was overcome in 1932-33, and in the year under report there was further advance. While there were 14 resignations and 10 names were removed from the roll by revision, no less than 71 new members were elected. The net gain has been reduced, however, to 27 by the death of 20 members. These losses were of exceptional severity, for they include Sir John Kerr, who had so admirably filled the office of Chairman of Council since the retirement of Sir Louis Dane two years ago, and Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, who had lately been re-elected Vice-Chairman for another term of three years. As stated in the resolution of condolence with the members of his family, printed in our proceedings, Sir Mancherjee had been in membership for more than half a century, and for many years had been the "father" of the Association. We also lost Sir Henry Seymour King, a Vice-President, and General Sir Edmund Barrow and Colonel M. J. Meade, two former members of the Council. Like the list of new members given in Appendix B, the obituary list (Appendix C) bears testimony to the range and distinction of our membership, for it includes the names of three famous engineers, Sir Lionel Jacob, Sir Frederick Palmer, and Sir Francis Spring; Sir Provash Mitter, a member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal; Sir Rustom Vakil, a business magnate and a Minister in the Bombay Government; Sir Claude Hill, formerly a member of the Government of India; the Right Hon. Sir Dinshah Mulla, lately a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; Bishop Talbot, whose interest in India began with his membership of the Oxford Mission in Calcutta nearly half a century ago and was maintained to the end; A. Rangaswami Iyenger, one of the very ablest Indian journalists of our time; Sir Thomas Ryan, Director-General of

Posts and Telegraphs in India; and Sir Gilbert Vyle, a leading industrialist in this country.

The vacant chairmanship has been filled by the unanimous election of Sir Malcolm Seton, until recently Deputy Under-Secretary of State for India, and the vacant vice-chairmanship by the similar election of the Maharaja of Burdwan. Owing to his return to India as Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Sir George Anderson has retired from the Council. Members co-opted thereto during the year were Mr. Hugh Molson, M.P., Sir Charles Innes, Sir Malcolm Seton, and Sir Hugh McPherson. It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to any vacancy in the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary. The following Members of Council retire by rotation:

Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E.
Sir William Ovens Clark.
Sir Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E.
Sir Hubert Carr.
Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
Sir Amberson Marten.
Mr. Stanley P. Rice.
Sir John Thompson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Finance

In the previous Report it was announced that the Council had converted the small holding of War Stock from 5 per cent. to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. A similar conversion has been effected in the past year in respect to the small amount of South African Stock held by the Council. The Council has not been in a position to add to the reserves, but, on the other hand, there has been no occasion to trench upon them.

The Hon. Auditors report with satisfaction a substantial increase in receipts of subscriptions from members from £703 in 1932-33 to £759. They draw attention to the substantial advance in the value of the assets of the Association, chiefly due to the further appreciation in the market value of their investments in Indian Government securities. Of the total improvement of more than

£264, no less than £235 is due to the appreciation of Indian Government stock.

The Council desire to express their high appreciation of the work done for the Association by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. H. Brown, whose zeal and energy have greatly contributed alike to the increase of the membership and the success of the meetings.

MALCOLM SETON,
Chairman of the Council.
F. H. BROWN,
Hon. Secretary.

May 15, 1934.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-seventh Annual General Meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Wednesday, June 13, 1934. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the company included: The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Malcolm Seton, K.C.B., Sir Amberson Marten, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Ernest Hotson, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Atul Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alfred Watson, Sir Leonard C. Adami, Mr. W. R. Gourlay, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.S.I., C.I.E., Professor H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., Mr. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., Mr. H. N. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. J. B. Hall, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. T. Phillips and Miss Phillips, Mrs. N. B. Dewar, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Nolan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The PRESIDENT: The first item on our agenda paper is consideration of the Annual Report and the Accounts. There is, I see, a very satisfactory attendance here this afternoon, despite the fact that many of our members will have been attracted to the House of Commons to hear a debate in relation to India of peculiar importance and significance. It is possible that, with so many present, people might like to criticize our doings in connection with the affairs of the Association, though, I am happy to think, that hardly ever occurs. The Report has been circulated to members, and therefore you will have had opportunity to read about the main events which have occurred during the last twelve months.

We all lament the severe losses which have been sustained by the Association in the past year, and in particular by the death of Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, full of years and honours, and with a connection with our work which has extended over a full half century. I knew him for many years in Bombay, and it was always a pleasure to see him attending our meetings, and on any other occasions. He was a good friend, I always felt, and he did his best for the good of this Association and also for other activities in London for the good of India. We have also to lament the swift passing of Sir John Kerr, in the midst of a useful and happy life, after his retirement from high office in India, not the least of whose public services in these last years was his chairmanship of our Council. We always had a feeling of confidence in, and reliance on, his sound judgment. Those,

with others, have been very notable losses in our ranks in the last twelve months. Those losses apart, we may feel that not only has our work been well maintained, but that real progress has been made.

My experience of public life extends over half a century, and never before, in that time, has India filled the large place in our political thinking and talking that it fills today; never has it been the subject of so much discussion on political platforms in all parts of the country. I can remember, nearly half a century ago, when the Indian debates in the House were very thinly attended. Whether the greater interference by the House of Commons with the affairs of India is for the benefit of that vast country is a matter for individual judgment. For the most part the meetings to which I have referred have been arranged by organizations advocating this or that specific policy, and, therefore, avowedly propagandist. We, in this Association, pursue no propaganda, save that of the promotion of India's welfare. We can therefore hear the most varied opinions on the great Constitutional issue, as on other aspects of Indian affairs, and discuss them in a dispassionate though, it may be, an eager spirit. We are also in the happy position of providing, through our printed proceedings in the ASIATIC REVIEW, a body of information and suggestion through the papers and speeches of authoritative persons such as is not equalled in any other unofficial field.

I am sure you will agree with me that we thus serve a most useful public function. One of the most distinguished of British administrators in India in our generation wrote to the Honorary Secretary, after receiving and perusing the Report, that he feels that the Association is "doing a great work." We are, indeed, the only body which regularly discusses the affairs of India under whose auspices the Joint Select Committee of Parliament could meet without any sort of suspicion that thereby its members were identifying themselves with a particular view of the Indian problem. Of course, the occasion must be one of a social, not of an argumentative, character. It gives me great pleasure to announce that Lord Linlithgow, one of our Vice-Presidents and Chairman of the Joint Select Committee, and Lady Linlithgow, have accepted the invitation of the Council to be our principal guests at our Annual Summer Conversazione, to be held at Grosvenor House on the afternoon of Tuesday, July 24, when other members of that Committee will also be our special guests. It is rather a late date in the season, but we thought that Lord Linlithgow might, on account of the Royal visit to Edinburgh, be prevented from attending at an earlier date. Therefore it had to be put back a week or ten days.

In reference to the social occasions known as discussion meetings mentioned in the Report, I take this opportunity, as President of the Association, to say how very much we are indebted to the ladies and gentlemen who extend to us their hospitality in this way. Meetings of the kind that I have been able to attend have been most enjoyable, and I hope that this feature of our work can be steadily maintained by a continuance of such generosity from amongst our members. The first host since the close of our financial year was a member of the Council, Sir Charles Armstrong, and I take this opportunity of thanking him for a further service. It was with great

pleasure I heard him, when speaking from the chair at the Bombay dinner a fortnight ago, quote from a lecture given to us by Sir Frederick Sykes, and then recommend those present who were not members of the Association to join it.

I think those who have read the Report will agree it shows that we have been extraordinarily active. There are many interesting features in the Report, and I trust that all members will endeavour to secure other adherents to the Association. We never take a vote here on any matter; the meetings are simply for the purposes of discussion. And I feel that in these crucial times, these times of anxiety about India, every aspect of the future of the Constitution of India should be amply examined and studied and carefully considered. I think it is right that, whatever views they hold about the White Paper, people should examine and show to others what the dangers are and what benefits are likely to result from such a course. We shall all anxiously await the Report of the Joint Committee, the work of a body of eminent men. No doubt our position will be largely guided by what they state as their views; they have had every opportunity of considering the matter in all its bearings. While I am a general supporter of the White Paper, I know there are many vexed points to be dealt with, and until we have before us what is the considered judgment of the Select Committee I should be very sorry, on some of these points, to express a definite opinion. Before sitting down I express my pleasure at Sir Malcolm Seton, our new Chairman of Council, agreeing to serve us in that capacity. I am sure we all greet him warmly. (Cheers.)

I now ask Sir Atul Chatterjee, the well-known ex-High Commissioner, to move the adoption of the Report.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE: I have very great pleasure in moving that the Report and Accounts be adopted. As you have said, sir, they have been circulated; they are very clear, and give a lucid account of the many-sided activities of the Association. The debates which were held throughout last year related not merely to the political aspects of the different questions which are interesting Indians and those concerned about India, but we have had also discussions on economic and social questions. Political and economic questions are nowadays inextricably mixed together, in India as elsewhere, and when we discuss political questions we cannot escape economic questions also, which are of great importance to India. And I think it is a matter for congratulation that that aspect of the Indian problem has not been neglected. The names of the speakers and the Chairmen who dealt with the various subjects give indication of the very high standard of the debates which have been held under the auspices of this Association, and the social discussion meetings have introduced a new feature, which, I am sure, everyone will welcome.

As you, sir, have already mentioned, we have sustained a very severe loss during the past year in the death of our most estimable and worthy Chairman, Sir John Kerr. Many interests other than those of this Association have suffered by his premature passing away. We had to look for another Chairman of Council, and have secured Sir Malcolm Seton. I am extremely

glad that his ripe experience, wide knowledge, and broad sympathies have thus been saved for India, even though he has retired from the India Office.

The accounts, which have been duly audited, disclose a very satisfactory state of affairs. In spite of the depression which still hangs round us, the number of members is increasing. I am very glad indeed, and I think everyone here is very glad, that this old institution, founded more than seventy years ago, still continues to provide a forum where Indian problems can be discussed from many different angles without any rancour or ill-feeling. It is very desirable, as you, sir, have said, that all the different aspects of Indian questions should be ventilated, because we can only gain by such ventilation, and we shall lose nothing.

Finally, I should like to mention that most of the organizing work of the Association has fallen upon our very popular Honorary Secretary. (Applause.) We are very fortunate that Mr. Brown is able to spare so much time for the work of the Association, and I ascribe his doing so to his enduring love for India. I commend my resolution to your acceptance.

Mr. P. R. CADELL: I am in the somewhat unusual position of having retired, as I thought permanently, from India, and yet being called upon to return there for at least a period. The fact gives me this unusual advantage, that I can speak of the work of the East India Association not only in this country, of which I saw a good deal during my retirement, but also in India. And I would like to inform members how very valuable that work is held to be in that country, and that many thinking Indians read the proceedings in the ASIATIC REVIEW. Though they cannot be present, they read the reports carefully and follow the discussions which take place. I need not add to what Sir Atul Chatterjee said as to the good work of this Association save to assure you that it is held in high regard in India. Therefore I have very great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Carried unanimously.

Sir HARCOURT BUTLER: Ladies and gentlemen,—A very pleasant duty falls to me—namely, that of proposing the re-election of the President. I am sure you will all agree with me that you cannot have a better Chairman than our President. (Applause.) Lord Lamington is a very old friend of India, and for a dozen years at least has been President of this Association, with the results you have heard and have already read in the Report. I have very great pleasure in proposing that Lord Lamington be re-elected President. But I would add a word to say how heartily I agree with the speakers who have preceded me as to the good work done by the Association, and as to the very great services rendered to India by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Brown. (Applause.)

Mr. H. N. HUTCHINSON: I have much pleasure in seconding Sir Harcourt Butler's proposal. I need add nothing to what he has said. We all appreciate the work which Lord Lamington has done for us.

Sir Harcourt Butler put the proposal to the meeting, and it was unanimously carried.

The PRESIDENT: Year by year I sing a swan song and say it must be my last year of office, and offer to retire if you wish me to do so. I am very cognizant of your great kindness, and I consider it a distinct honour to be President of this Association. I thank Sir Harcourt Butler, a distinguished administrator, for his very generous eulogy of me, and my gratitude is extended also to Mr. Hutchinson. I do feel it is a privilege to be at the head of the Association; its achievements have been recorded year by year in the Reports. Those who are members of the Council are most constant in attending its meetings and closely examining the work of the Association. As for Mr. Brown, we all know he is an inseparable adjunct of the Association, and has done everything to forward its good work. I must also say a word of commendation of Mr. King, who, though in the background, is always working for our good.

I accept with pleasure, once again, your election of me as your President. While sensible of the honour, I realize that, as time goes on, you will require a younger and more energetic President than myself. Meanwhile I express my appreciation of the kindness you have shown me.

Mr. G. P. DICK: I have the honour to ask you to accept my proposal, which is the election and re-election of members of the Council. The names are those of retiring members given in the Report; but there is one change, the addition of the name of Sir Abdul Qadir in place of Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, who has returned to India. It would be presumptuous of me to say anything regarding these members of the Council, whose standing and merit you all know so well. I ask you to accept the resolution.

I will add a word of appreciation from another body to which I have the honour of belonging, the Anglo-Indian Association—a word expressive of the great gratitude they feel to you, sir, and all the members of the Association, and in particular for the efforts on our behalf of Mr. Brown. (Applause.)

Sir LEONARD ADAMI: I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution.

Carried unanimously.

Sir JAMES MACKENNA: I have the pleasure to propose for election as members of the Association the Righ Hon. Sir Shadi Lal, Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S. (retired), and Mr. Ralph Nye.

Sir ERNEST HOTSON: I have much pleasure in seconding this proposal.

Carried unanimously.

This concluded the business of the meeting.

THOUGHTS ON THE RUSSO-JAPANESE SITUATION

By Hugh Byas

The second and final article of the Manchukuo Protocol, which regulates the relations of Japan and Manchukuo, reads:

> Japan and Manchukuo, recognizing that any threat to the territory of either . . . constitutes a threat to the safety and existence of the other, agree to co-operate in the maintenance of their national security, it being understood that such Japanese forces as may be necessary for the purpose shall be stationed in Manchukuo.

Japan having thus assumed responsibility for the defence of Manchukuo, the new State has become strategically an extension of the territory of Japan. If, with this in mind, the reader will look at the map, he will see that the Russian Maritime Province is a huge salient jutting southwards into the Sea of Japan.

In time of war Japan's security requires that sea to be a *mare clausum*. Nature has powerfully collaborated with the general staff. The Japanese islands lie off the extremity of the Asian continent, a breakwater a thousand miles long like an arm crooked at the elbow. The wrist is at the Strait of Tsushima, less than a hundred miles wide, and at the shoulder only a narrow channel separates North Saghalien from the mainland. This easily closed sea is Japan's sally-port if she again has to fight Russia; it is her back door on Asia if she should ever be challenged by a fleet from the Pacific. All that has been said about Antwerp in hostile hands being "a pistol pointed at the heart of England" can be said about the Russian salient thrust into the middle of the Japan Sea with the port and fortress of Vladivostok at its tip.

This situation, in which the elements of permanence and stability seem so lacking, marks a phase in the secular contest between Japan and Russia for overlordship of the vacant lands of Eastern Asia. It is a contest between nations, but the nations are driven by impersonal forces—the irresistible expansion of Japan beyond her crowded islands and Russia's glacier-like drift towards open ports. The relations of the two countries for the past forty years are the record of that struggle. It began when modern Japan's first foreign war (with China in 1894) had given her possession of Dairen and Port Arthur. Russia, enlisting the diplomatic support of Germany and France, compelled Japan to return

the peninsula to China. A year later the Russians installed themselves in the territory from which they had evicted Japan. They made Port Arthur a formidable naval base, and they built a railway connecting it with the Trans-Siberian system. With Dairen (Dalny) as commercial port and Port Arthur as naval fortress, Russia pegged out a claim to all Manchuria and its harbours. In the Boxer rebellion (1900) Russia overran Manchuria with troops and evacuated only under extreme diplomatic pressure.

By then it was clear that the lists were being set for a struggle to determine between Japan and Russia which was to be the subordinate and which the supreme Power in Eastern Asia. In 1901 Sir Ernest Satow wrote to Lord Salisbury that the only question was whether war would break out immediately or not until Japan and Russia had completed the preparations in which, then as now, they were engaged. The war came in 1904. The result was a division of the prize. Japan, victorious but exhausted, acquired Korea and saved herself from being perpetually excluded from the continent. North Manchuria, with the Russian direct railway to Vladivostok, remained the Russian sphere; South Manchuria became the Japanese sphere. That settlement endured for almost thirty years. Had the Japanese accepted it as a satisfactory adjustment of rival needs and ambitions? The evidence suggests that some had, but others, who proved stronger, had not. During the ill-fated Siberian intervention of the Allied and Associated Powers, Japan sent such a preponderant force to the mainland that suspicions were aroused. The intervention failed and the Japanese troops were withdrawn. In the brief clash of 1929 between Russian and Chinese armies for control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister, stood aside and allowed the Russians to assert their rights by force of arms. Two years later the Mukden railway explosion set the Japanese garrison of Manchuria on the move, and every chancery asked how far the islanders would go. Baron Shidehara steadfastly respected Russian interests, and the Japanese advance halted at Changchun. But when Shidehara fell, the Japanese pushed forward to Harbin and Tsitsihar. The Russian sphere ceased to exist. The new state was created, its boundaries the Great Wall of China on the south and the Amur river on the north, and Japan became its guardian. Russia had suffered her second setback. The first deprived her of the great ice-free port of Dairen. The second expelled her from North Manchuria, abolished her control over the direct route to the Maritime Province, and left her with a half-frozen port at the tip of an insecure salient.

In settled parts of the earth, peopled by long-established communities, such situations may become innocuous by custom and

duration. But Eastern Siberia, till yesterday, was no man's land. Russia has extended to the Bering Strait simply because Siberia happens to form part of the land mass of Eurasia. Unobstructed by other claimants, Russia wandered to the extremity of the continent, seeking to satisfy her immutable need for open ports. A thin sprinkling of colonists at the end of 6,000 miles of railway is hardly an adequate title. Japan is nearer than Russia, her available military resources, including transport, much greater. Of the extensive claims which Russia staked out, nothing now remains but the salient of Vladivostok. Can Japan tolerate its continued existence in her own sphere? Does Russia value it so highly that she will risk another war in its defence?

It is the situation itself, therefore, which seems pregnant with "inevitable war," unless, indeed, those "rising forces" with which Soviet Russia professes to march can find new solutions for old problems. Note that if the salient is dangerous it is dangerously weak. Russia's only approach to it (except by sea) is over the long railway which rambles round the northern boundary of Manchukuo. Russia is weak; her internal stability might scarcely resist the shock of war; and her Western neighbours are unreliable. Japan is in militant mood. Her armies have had two years' experience of campaigning in Manchuria. The temptation to round off their exploits and make Eastern Asia once and for all "secure" is obvious. Against this ominous background the recent alarm of impending war found ready credence.

But before we follow the prophets who say war will come this summer or next, it is necessary to look closely at the signs and portents on which the prophets depend. There is a difference between a situation which, if unrectified, contains germs of war and one in which war is already as good as determined. An examination of the evidence seems rather to indicate that the danger has been avoided. The situation remains, but Russian and Japanese statesmanship still has an opportunity to deal with it by peaceful means.

In judging the immediate outlook it is important to remember that the alarm was first raised in Moscow, but not until the Russians had made extensive military preparations. On October 10 President Roosevelt wrote his letter to the Soviet chief of state which resulted in American recognition. On October 9, America's intention being then known, exultant Moscow sounded the first note of the tocsin. It published intercepted dispatches, alleged to be from General Hishikari, Japanese Ambassador and Commander-in-Chief, to the Tokyo Government, which, if they were authentic, revealed Japanese complicity in plots to take possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Publication of another Government's private correspondence is

provocative act. The Japanese Government received the challenge with studied calmness. Although the Tokyo office of Tass the Russian official news agency) sent every Tokyo newspaper a copy, only one of the smaller journals published it. Officials treated the disclosure lightly as one more case of fabricated documents, and the press took its cue from the Foreign Office. A carillon of tocsin notes followed that opening peal. Molotoff, Litvinoff, Budennyi, Voroshiloff, and Bluecher engaged in a crescendo of challenging speeches, accusing Japan of aggressive designs and boasting of Russia's defensive powers. "We have barred our frontier with a lock of steel and concrete strong enough to resist the sharpest teeth. . . . Hayashi grumbles about our 300 airplanes (in Siberia). I will not say whether we have more or less, but I will tell you this—we surely have and will have more than the Japanese. . . . We fear no comparison with the enemy in tanks and aviation. . . ." said Bluecher to the All-Union Communist Congress on January 11. The spokesman of the Foreign Office in Tokyo complained to foreign correspondents of the Russian leaders' "violent and provocative words against Japan and Soviet press accusations that Japan intends to invade Russian territory. No such provocative speeches have been made by any responsible statesman in Tokyo," he accurately declared, and Mr. Hirota, in his opening speech to the Diet, was able to point the contrast of the Siberian frontiers: "Japan is certainly setting up no new military establishments along the Manchukuo-Soviet frontiers, Moscow propaganda notwithstanding."

The seeds of alarm were skilfully planted and the harvest was good. The Japanese Ambassador in Rome sought explanations from Mussolini regarding a syndicated article in which Il Duce had discoursed in the Hearst press about the risk of Japanese aggression in Siberia. The Foreign Office spokesman in Tokyo cited a speech in Philadelphia by Mr. William C. Bullitt, United States Ambassador to Moscow, and a statement by M. Herriot in Paris as evidence of the effects of Soviet propaganda. Shortly after Mr. Litvinoff's visit to America, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* was reporting that "high army and navy officers are convinced that war between Russia and Japan is just a matter of time."

The Foreign Office in Tokyo treated those alarms with quiet contempt. The spokesman suggested that if the Russians really believed in the coming attack they would be preparing instead of shouting. But shouting was a method of defence. By telling the world that Japanese militarists were making plans to seize the Maritime Province, the Russians were ensuring that public opinion would find Japan guilty if war broke out. Recognition by the United States increased Russia's self-confidence, but that

self-confidence had firmer bases than propaganda or diplomatic gestures. It rested on Bluecher's assurance: "If war bursts like thunder in the Far East I promise you in the name of the Far Eastern Army that we will answer the attack with such a blow that the foundations of capitalism will quiver and crumble."

The Soviet's defensive preparations were complete when the barrage of propaganda began. The War Offices of Washington and Europe, as well as of Tokyo, have now a fair idea of their nature and extent. The Far Eastern Red Army, which General Vassily Bluecher commands, comprises some 200,000 troops east of Chita. This force is well equipped with tanks and possesses several hundred planes. Squadrons of bombers are stationed at Vladivostok, which is only 700 miles from Tokyo and Yokohama. Those "children of the Five-Year Plan," as Bluecher called them, are prepared to "repay their debt to the Soviet Union not only on the borders, not only on the front, but deep in the rear of our imperialist opponent." The warning is clear, and the Japanese have begun exercising in air defence the populations of Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, and Kobe, the inflammable, wooden-built cities where their administration and industry are concentrated. To guard against the risk that Vladivostok might be cut off, huge fortified positions have been constructed in at least three areas—Pogranichnaya, Blagovestchensk, and Manchuli—the "lock of steel and concrete" of which Bluecher boasted. When the Manchurian affair began in September, 1931, the Soviet Far East was virtually defenceless. It might then have been overrun by a raiding force. It is now so heavily protected that attack would mean a first-class war. Japan is not ready for that, and it is doubtful whether she considers Eastern Siberia worth a first-class war. But if the Soviet's present alarms are insincere, it must be recorded to their credit that they have removed any temptation to profit by Russia's weakness.

Whether Russian fears were well founded remains an unanswered question. Soviet speeches first drew public attention to the situation, but they did not create it. The Russians have quoted Japanese newspaper utterances threatening the invasion of Siberia, but the statements of newspapers are not always evidence of the policy of governments. They have pointed to bellicose utterances by General Araki, but General Araki talked and wrote too much to be always taken seriously. His volubility, however, created the impression abroad that the Japanese army was headstrong, and prepared foreign readers to believe the Russian charges. More substantial evidence was not lacking. The fighting services and the nationalist politicians proclaimed, in season and out, a coming emergency, a national crisis. Their campaign was accompanied by large military and naval programmes. For two

successive years the Budget has been loaded with a deficit almost as large as the total revenue, and the munitions industry has boomed. While the fighting services strengthened themselves at home, Manchukuo was constructing ports, railways, and roads with a speed suggestive of something more urgent than commercial enterprise. A new port was opened at Seishin and Rashin on the coast of Korea, and a railway carried across the mountains to connect the port with the Manchurian system. Next a line was carried from Lafa (east of Kirin) to Harbin. Work is proceeding at a rapid pace on another new railway which will bring the Japanese up to Heiho on the Amur, opposite Blagovestchensk. Another new line from Yenchi to Hailin brings the new port at Rashin within 200 miles of the Russian frontier in the rear of Vladivostok. Some 2,000 kilometres of motor roads have been constructed, and the Russians allege that fifty air-fields have been prepared. The roads and air-fields are essential if Manchukuo is to be delivered from banditry, and the railways will conduce to the development of the country, but their strategic value is plain. They give Japan an additional line of communication with North Manchuria, they bring her communications up to the Russian frontier, and they facilitate the cutting of the Trans-Siberian route and the isolation of the Maritime Province.

It must not be forgotten that Japan is responsible for the defence of Manchukuo, and these may be defensive measures. It may be honestly argued that Japan has as much reason to fear Russia as Russia to fear Japan. That the Japanese army should assure itself of the strategic advantages Manchukuo offers is, in the opinion of most Japanese, not a premonition of war, but a safeguard against it. But those preparations, the speed with which they are being made, the strengthening of the army and navy, and the bombastic talk which has furnished an obligato to the deeper music of the arsenals, are the not negligible materials with which Russia has painted her picture of coming war.

It was not surprising that the Russians should be alarmed. But if there ever was any danger of a Japanese surprise attack it has been warded off. The Russians have made themselves too strong. The fact that Japan allowed Russia to complete those elaborate defensive preparations strongly suggests that the danger was less concrete than it appeared to the anxious watchers in Moscow. There may well have been soldiers who thought the time opportune to secure Japan's safety by making the Sea of Japan a Japanese lake and thrusting Russia's frontiers back, but it is a long step from such strategical aspirations to a national war. The risk, if there was any, that some frontier incident during Japan's bandit-hunting operations might give the army an excuse to act without waiting for the Government has been dispelled by the

Russian preparations. The opportunity has so clearly been lost that one must doubt whether it was really sought. At all events, it is plain that nothing can be settled by raids or surprise attacks. Mr. Hirota's policy of seeking a solution of all outstanding issues by diplomatic means holds the field. That policy was approved by the Cabinet after it had been exhaustively examined by a committee consisting of the Prime Minister and the Ministers of Finance, War, Marine and Foreign Affairs. General Araki soon afterwards found an opportunity to resign. The first of the outstanding questions, the transfer to Manchukuo of Russia's rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway, is now being negotiated at Tokyo. Mr. Hirota has informally thrown out a pregnant suggestion that Russia and Japan and Manchukuo might refrain from military concentrations near their respective frontiers. In this proposal may lie the clue to an agreement about Vladivostok. While these efforts to establish a better relationship are in progress, time for reflection has been gained. The war which has been avoided so far may be avoided altogether.

The situation with all its unanswered questions remains. Is Russia reconciled to a position which leaves her vast territory of Siberia without an ice-free port under her own flag? Is she prepared to dismantle Vladivostok and make it a peaceful port as the price of retaining her gateway in the Japan Sea? Is it beyond the power of statesmanship to provide a land-locked area like Siberia with access to the sea? One surveys the problem and feels that if national destinies are still to be decided by nationalist principles, another Russo-Japanese war is "inevitable." But the last was inevitable only because the clique then in power in Petersburg refused the moderate concessions which would have satisfied Japan. Governments of tomorrow, concerned with economic issues which touch the forgotten man more closely than frontiers and flags, may find new ways of reconciling differences as great as those which constitute the Russo-Japanese question.

FRANCO-BRITISH CO-OPERATION IN THE FAR EAST

By René Tranchand
(Attaché au Cabinet du Gouverneur-Général de l'Indochine)

The reasons for a policy of co-operation between France and England in their Far Eastern possessions are obvious; but a clear statement of them seems needed for that large public which, sometimes, remains indifferent to colonial questions, and does not always realize the importance of the problems that arise in the relations between the national capitals and the colonies.

These two great powers which govern or control the two greatest colonial empires are in closest agreement in performing a duty which is similar for each and which each has to bring to a successful issue, far away from the metropolis, and in face of largely similar difficulties.

In the first place, they cannot with safety ignore the teachings of their common experience in the civilizing mission which they have to fulfil, and which is the justification for their presence in a foreign land. The training of the indigenous people in our manners and customs and our Western science requires great care, and when the master has given the pupil the groundwork there still remains what is by no means his least duty. Indeed, as experience has shown in India and Indo-China alike, it is those who have acquired some knowledge of our culture, but have not assimilated it rightly, who need the greatest care in handling; as they are supplied with instruments which they think they are quite capable of using their susceptibilities increase, and it takes all the wisdom of our two nations to solve with fairness the new problems which thus arise. In particular, the communist propaganda carried on among our neighbours as among ourselves will be all the more easily restrained after we have considered together the means of protecting from it the young people trained in our schools, whose European education makes them more open to a Utopia which they think to be generous, without being aware of its impracticability and its serious social danger.

In pursuance of this social outlook, a closer co-operation between France and England in the Far East seems no less expedient as regards their economic interests. For instance, Indo-Chinese exports to Hong-Kong and Singapore, merely in rice and dried fish, amount to a hundred million francs yearly; from the same ports, especially the Straits Settlements, our Asian colony imports

a large quantity of varied products which balances those exports. These exchanges, which form a large proportion of the foreign trade between the two French and English possessions, fully justify attention to some common study of the markets and their possible development. An agreement in principle would allow of their pursuing a reasonable economic expansion and carrying on their trade with better knowledge, with advantages alike for the colonies and the mother countries.

Lastly, the similarity of their soil and their products brings English Malaya and French Indo-China still closer together. Useful exchanges of scientific information have already been made between many private agencies, and it is desirable that similar exchanges should be arranged between the higher administrative staffs. Such measures, together with colonial science, will promote the prosperity of our possessions.

And thus the task which the United Kingdom and the Republic have undertaken can be achieved by their fraternizing beyond the seas in their mission of civilization and progress.

(*Translated.*)

ANGLO-FRANCO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP

A banquet of the Réunion-Mauritius Society was given on May 12 at the Iéna Club in Paris, in honour of Dr. J. Rivière and Maître Ribet, on the occasion of their recent promotions in the Order of the Légion d'Honneur. The dinner was presided over by Admiral Lacaze, formerly Minister of Marine, President of the Colonial Institute, and Battonier of Saint-Auban. The speakers for Dr. Rivière were: Admiral Lacaze, who handed to him the Insignia of Commander of the Légion d'Honneur; Professor d'Arsonval, of the Institute; Joseph Bedier, of the French Academy and Director of the College of France; Dr. Dartigues, President of the Latin Medical Union; Dr. Molinery, on behalf of the medical press; Mr. Pezzani, in the name of the Mauritians. For Maître Ribet, the Battonier of Saint-Auban spoke. At the banquet Dr. Rivière eulogized the close Anglo-Franco-American co-operation for the greatest good of civilization. There were present: Sir Robert Cahill, Counsellor of the British Embassy; Captain le Breton, military and naval attaché of the United States in Paris; Senator Benard; Deputy Auguste Brunet, formerly Minister, representing the Island of Réunion; Mr. Laurence Hills; Colonel Dr. Fiske, the new Governor of the Island of Réunion; Mr. Chateau; and many personages, colonial, medical, and of the Paris Bar.

(*Translated.*)

THE NATIONAL PARKS IN JAPAN

(See Plates A-D at the end of the article)

In March of this year, following the detailed investigations and preliminary discussions between the authorities concerned, the three scenic areas of Unzen, Kirishima, and Seto-Naikai—the last named being known abroad as the Inland Sea of Japan—were officially designated as national parks. The three places were selected from among the twelve scenic sites, which had been provisionally chosen for national parks in October of 1932, the rest being Akan, Daisetsuzan, Towada, Nikko, Mount Fuji, Japan Alps, Yoshino-and-Kumano, Daisen and Aso.

General Descriptions of the Three Designated National Parks

Of the three national parks thus far designated, Unzen and Kirishima, both in the island of Kyūshū, are volcanic in character and exceedingly rich in diverse natural features.

The Unzen National Park covers the central part of the historically famous Shimabara Peninsula, near the port of Nagasaki, to the extent of 32,000 acres, and contains the Unzen Park, which was formerly maintained by the Prefecture of Nagasaki at an outlay of several million yen, besides Mount Fugen, 4,300 feet high, and other volcanoes, and here and there plateaus and tablelands covered with different kinds of vegetation. In the upper part of the peaks grow various deciduous and broad-leaved trees, whose crimson foliage in autumn gives a touch of exquisite colour to the scene, while in winter they are gloriously laden with hoarfrost. Half-way up the mountains there are found, among the thick grasses, gorgeous clumps of the round-leaved Japan dwarf hollies and azaleas which are peculiar to this district. From the park, one can command a very picturesque vista of the coastlines and mountains far and near. Nature has lavishly endowed the Unzen National Park with colourful attractions.

The Jigoku Bonchi or the "Hell Terrace," constituting the centre of the Unzen area, where the Unzen Spa is, lies 2,000 feet above sea-level. Here the mean temperature in summer is about 20 degrees Centigrade, while in winter time there is little or no snow. For this reason, the place has been for many years a

favourite holiday resort for foreigners residing in China and the South Seas region. The park is provided with excellent railway and motor transport services, as well as first-class hotels, bungalows, golf links, swimming pool, archery ground, skating rink, riding grounds, and other facilities and accommodation for tourists.

The Kirishima National Park, extending over the Prefecture of Kagoshima and the Prefecture of Miyazaki, covers a vast area of 55,000 acres. The park possesses the romantic atmosphere of the South and contains many spots of historical and legendary interests. Its configuration, like that of Unzen, is volcanic, and is naturally very rich in scenic attractions. Eighteen lofty volcanoes shoot up in close proximity, including the Kankoku-dake, towering to the height of 5,600 feet, the Takachiho, sacred to the hearts of all Japanese as the mountain on which the grandchild of the Sun Goddess made his descent from the heavenly abode to found the Empire of Japan. The craters of these volcanoes are exceptionally large. Some of them are still active and pour out voluminous smoke high into the sky, and others are dotted with hot springs, while still others are turned into lakes of crystal water. The scene, as viewed from above, is typical of the volcanic landscapes of Japan. Within the precincts of the park are scattered more than twenty hot springs, most of which are found above the altitude of 2,500 feet. Naturally the climate is very mild and agreeable, making the place an ideal resort in summer, as well as in winter, for snow falls rarely in the district.

Apart from its interesting natural formation, the Kirishima National Park has an abundant wealth of vegetation. From the base to half-way up, the mountain is covered with forests of evergreen broad-leaved trees, including the vast primitive forest of 15,000 acres, and above this level to almost the top are found immense clumps of azaleas, which in the months of May and July blossom forth in their full glory, transforming the entire mountain into a multi-coloured fairyland where one literally wades through flowers. It is to this fact that the popular use throughout Japan of the name of "Kirishima" for azaleas owes its origin. No less beautiful is the autumnal scene. In the month of October the foliage of the entire mountain is tinged with crimson, and especially wonderful is the sight around the Lake Onamiike, five miles in circumference, where the glowing tints of the leaves are vividly reflected in the calm waters.

Mount Kirishima comprises two peaks, the Eastern and the Western. The Eastern Peak is the celebrated one of Takachiho, already mentioned as the holy spot where the ancestral god of the Imperial House descended from heaven. The mountain rises to the height of 5,200 feet, overlooking, beyond the undulating

hills and mountains that cluster at its foot, the vast panoramic view of the mountains and rivers of both the Kagoshima and Miyazaki Prefectures, including the active volcano of Sakurajima, Mount Kaimon, and the Bay of Kagoshima. On its south-western slope, at an altitude of more than 1,600 feet, stands the shrine dedicated to the grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu O-mikami, which was erected more than two hundred years ago. The edifice with its embellishment of red lacquer and gold, blending harmoniously with the verdure of the surrounding forest, is extremely impressive.

The Kirishima National Park, by virtue of its ideal site and incomparable beauty, is destined to become a favourite tourist resort. The work of providing the park with all necessary conveniences and accommodation is progressing rapidly.

While the two parks already described are mountain parks, the Seto-Naikai National Park is an ideal marine park. It covers an immense area, the Bisan Seto, which embraces the most representative archipelago of the Inland Sea, consisting of 124 islands of different sizes, and is on the coasts of the three Prefectures of Okayama, Hiroshima, and Kagawa.

The beauty of the scenery in this newly designated national park is beyond description. Numerous pine-clad islands, large and small, rise above the clear blue waters of the sea, exposing to the sun here and there their weather-beaten bodies of red-brown granite. Their shapes vary and reveal the artistic workmanship of the elements. On the polished shores of gleaming sand grow age-old pine trees whose gnarled branches hang down over the surface of the water. The park, as a whole, may well be called a floating dreamland. Its surpassing beauty is celebrated all over the world. The scenery is more alluring if viewed from one of the islands or a height along the coast than when it is seen from a steamer.

The park contains many places of special interest, such as Yashima, the site of the famous battle of yore, Gokenzan and the Kanka-kei canyon, and the Ritsurin Park of Takamatsu. There are many other scenic spots which have been recently introduced to the public. With the establishment, which is now under consideration, of modern hotels, camping grounds, seaside houses, and other conveniences on several of the most suitable islands, the Seto-Naikai National Park will be perfectly equipped to give comfort and joy to all comers.

The Nine Provisionally Selected Places to be Designated Later as National Parks

1. *The Selected National Park Site of Akan.*

This site consists of two extensive areas of Akan and Kussharo in Hokkaido, which constitute a world-famous volcanic caldera. The place abounds in lakes of varied size, of which Akan, Kussharo, and Mashu are noted, each with its peculiar beauty, while there are rugged chains of active volcanoes, such as O-akan, Me-akan, and Kamuinupuri. The magnificence and variety of the geological features of the place are the most remarkable in the scenery of volcanic origin in Japan. The forest covering the greater part of the place consists of so-called northern coniferous trees, another characteristic feature of this site.

In addition to the above, it is possible to use the place for sightseeing drives and walks, mountain-climbing, recreation, boating, fishing, and other pastimes. Notwithstanding the fact that it is situated in the remote eastern part of Hokkaido, it is comparatively easy of access, and therefore has a bright prospect as a national park.

2. *The Selected National Park Site of Daisetsu-Zan.*

This site is in an alpine region which forms the ridge of Hokkaido, with three large volcano groups, Daisetsu-Zan, Takachi, and Shikaribetsu. Of all the proposed sites, it has the largest area of primitive scenery. The forest of northern coniferous trees which covers the greater part of the present site is the largest representative virgin forest in Japan. A number of spacious plateaus which connect mountain peaks, and the imposing old craters, magnificent gorges, waterfalls, marshy meadows, permanent snow valleys, alpine flower-beds are all here in one area, an excellent feature of the proposed park.

It is situated in the central part of Hokkaido, and can be utilized for nature-study, sightseeing, mountain-climbing, and particularly for various kinds of winter sports.

There is no private land within the area, and this is considered a great advantage for the scheme of a national park.

3. *The Selected National Park Site of Towada.*

The special feature of this site, not far from Aomori, is that it has as its centre the noted Towada Lake, most conspicuous among the volcanic caldera-lakes, and that it is favoured with an exquisite natural arrangement of diverse elements of scenic beauty

such as mountains, valleys, lakes, and marshy meadows, among which the quiet and sequestered gorges of Oirase and the view of the Hakkoda volcanic ranges are most conspicuous.

The woods of deciduous latifoliate trees that cover the greater part of the area are one of the most beautiful groves in the country.

Not only can the place be utilized for the usual purposes of study and recreation, but it has the advantage that the greater part is state property, and suitably situated for the general plan of national parks throughout the country. In addition, there are fairly good facilities for communications.

4. *The Selected National Park Site of Nikko.*

This site consists of a number of volcanic ranges such as Nantai-zan, Shirane-san, and Hiuchi-dake. Within the area, there are such artificial lakes as Chuzenji-ko, Yuno-ko, and Ozenuma; and such famous marshy meadows as Senjoga-hara, Ozega-hara, Shobu-daira, and Kinu-numa. The varied scenery presents an interesting panorama, and in addition a wealth of deciduous, latifoliate and coniferous trees, alpine plants and other peculiar marsh vegetation embellish the neighbourhood. In short, the scenery of the environs can be said to represent one of the loveliest spots in the country.

The place may be visited for its shrines, temples, and places of historical interest, as well as for various pleasure-seeking objects. It is very conveniently situated.

5. *The Selected National Park Site of Fuji.*

Mount Fuji, which is the centre of this site, is a typical single conical volcano. It is greatly admired and revered by the Japanese as a sacred mountain. Its imposing and graceful outline is well known all over the world as representative of the Japanese scenic beauty. On the summit there is a large crater, and forty more parasite cones stud other parts of the mountain. An extensive plain sweeps up to its base. Lava-streams, five picturesque lakes, the belt of tall trees, the ocean of woodland, extend around the northern base of the mountain; everything combines to make the view of the spot so superb that it defies description.

The present site is not only advantageously situated, but also is well suited for pilgrimage to the temples, shrines, and spots of historical association, and the existing park arrangement would facilitate its future development as a national park.

6. *The Selected National Park Site of the Japan Alps.*

The site occupies the whole area of the so-called "Northern Japan Alps," which include Kami-kochi, Shirouma, and Tateyama, and is a typical mountain district of the Alps type in Japan. Geologically, the region is mostly of granite formation, but in such parts as Midagahara, Goshikiga-hara, Kumono-taira, Yake-dake, and Norikura-dake volcanic configuration still exists, and this is a feature peculiar to the present site. The lofty peaks of Shirouma, Tateyama, Yari, and Hodaka are all so imposing and majestic, and the snowy valleys surrounding those mountains, together with the alpine flower-gardens, are a wonderful sight. Added to this, the quiet and mystery borderland of Kamikochi and the rough, primeval region of Kurobe valleys make this site most enjoyable. The area of this site is larger than that of any other, and accordingly the area of beauty spots is also relatively extensive.

The study of nature, sightseeing, mountain-climbing, and camping are the principal attractions. There is very little private land within the area.

7. *The Selected National Park Site of Yoshino and Kumano.*

This site occupies a vast region in the south of Nara, extending from the Yoshino mountain range, with Omine-san and Odaigahara in its chain, to the valleys of the Kitayama and the Kumano, and stretches to the shores of the Kumano sea. The Kitayama and Kumano rivers flow through the rocky districts, forming the gorges of Osugidani and Kitayama-kyo, both of which are noted for their unique beauty. Again, the coast of Kishu which faces the outer sea is typical of the seashore scenery in Japan. In short, the site is a combination of excellent mountains, forests, valleys, rivers, and seashores such as is not seen in any other of the proposed sites.

The site is dotted with places of historical interest, and there are also temples, shrines, and places of historical interest in the neighbourhood.

8. *The Selected National Park Site of Daisen.*

This site consists of a number of tholoids. Mount Daisen, the loftiest of them, is not only the highest mountain in the Chugoku district, but its height is surpassed by none of the tholoids in this country. The base of this mount stretches into an extensive plain, with undulating peaks of Mounts Hiru-sen, Yahazu-sen, Senjo-zan, and others in its train, and offers a magnificent

view. In addition, the place looks out upon the Japan Sea, and commands a fine view of Yumiga-hama, Nakaumi, and Shinji-ko. An extensive virgin forest of beech trees surrounds the upper portion of the mountain, while pine-groves cover the lower half, and aloes are found on the summit.

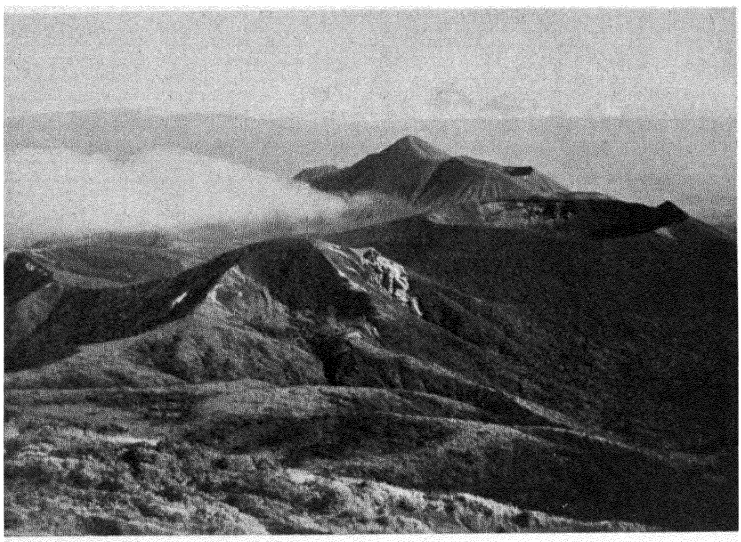
The site is suitable for the visit of shrines, temples, and historical places, and for sightseeing, mountain-climbing, and various winter sports.

9. *The Selected Site of Aso National Park.*

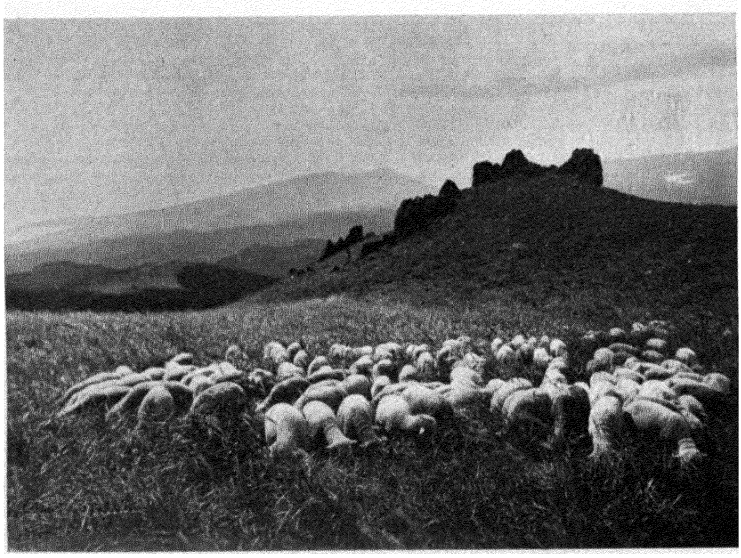
This site is on a compact volcano with a lake base which is of striking magnitude, where Naka-dake, one of the central volcanic cones, is still active, and the sight of its furious eruption is most awe-inspiring. The mountain range that circles twenty miles around the ancient crater forms an extensive belt, and particularly its Eastern portion, known as Naminogahara, reaches far up to Kuju with a rolling chain of hills in its train. Its wonderful view, large proportions, together with that of the surrounding mountains, deserve to be known all over the world. Behind the mountains there is Neko-dake, noted for curious peaks, and the Kikuchi River, with beautiful valleys and ravines, both of which add charm to the scenery of the place.

VIEW OF MT. ELLI FROM THE BASE OF MITCH

PLATE B



THE SUMMIT OF TAKACHIHO AS VIEWED FROM MT. KANGOKU, KIRISHIMA NATIONAL PARK, KYŪSHŪ.



KINUGASA-YAMA IN THE NATIONAL PARK OF UNZEN, KYŪSHŪ.

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THE SETO INLAND SEA, NATIONAL PARK.



A HOT SPRING IN THE UNZEN NATIONAL PARK, KYŪSHŪ.

A HOT SPRING IN THE UNZEN NATIONAL PARK, KYŪSHŪ.

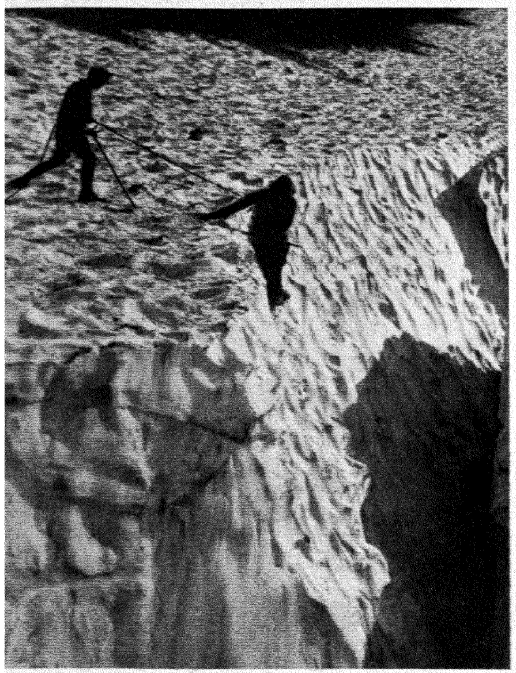
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STILL WATERS AT DOROHATCHO, YOSHINO PROVINCE.

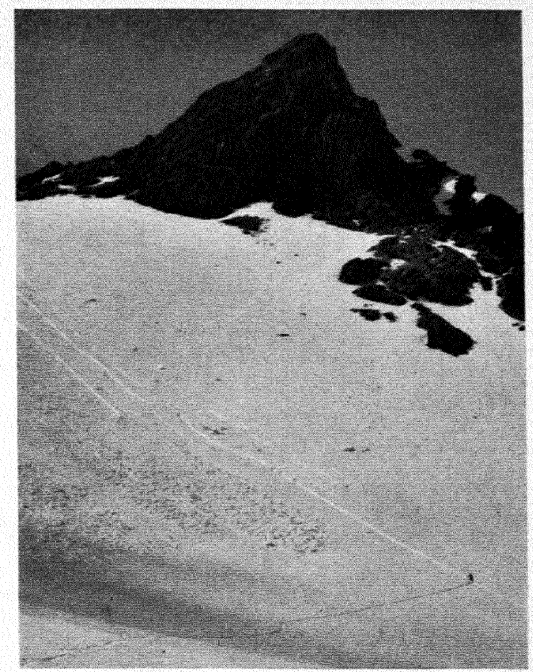
THE JAPANESE ALPS

PLATE III



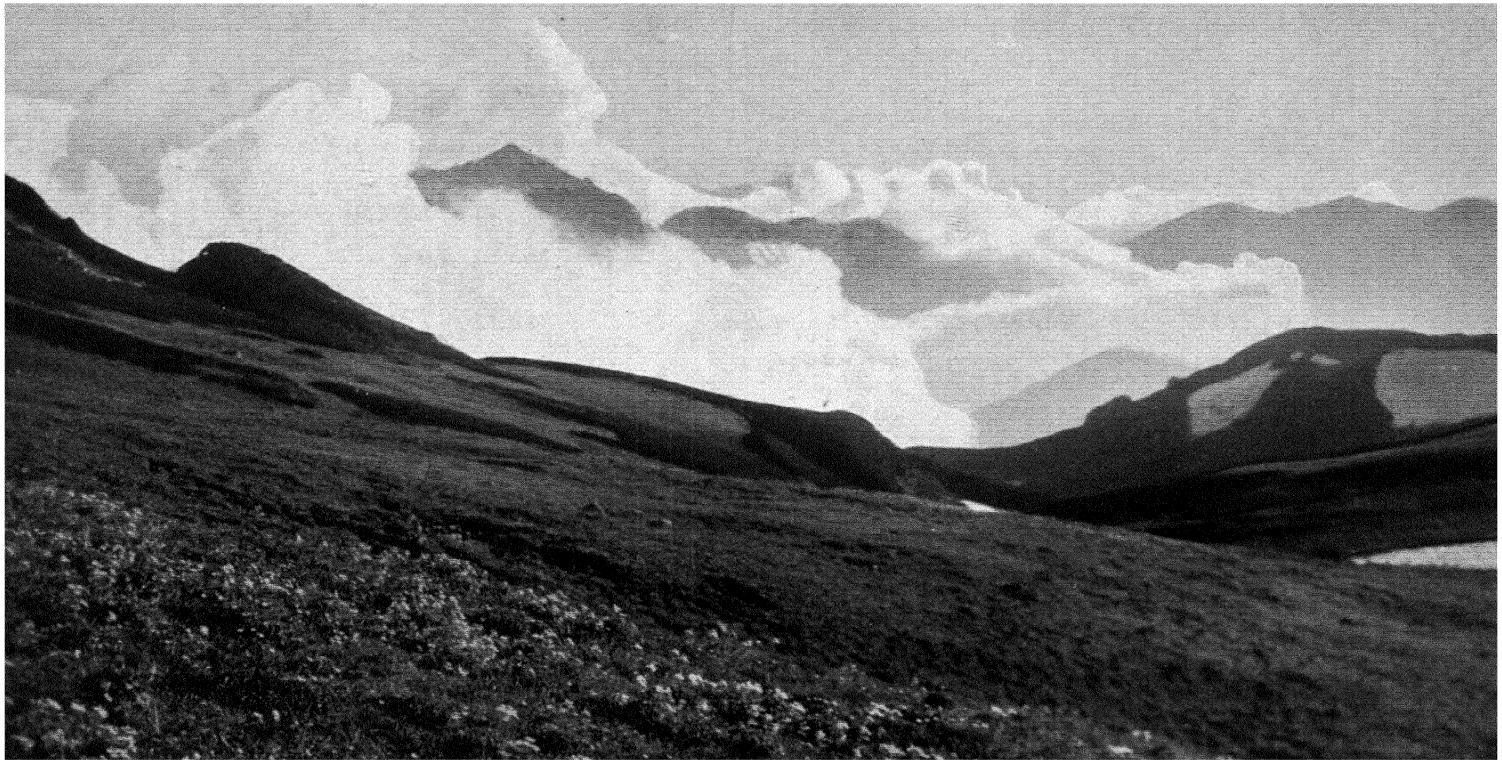
MOUNTAIN CLIMBING IN THE NORTHERN ALPS.

PLATE I



YARIGATAKE

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O-HANA-BATAKE, MT. SHIROUMA.

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PLATE II



LAKE "OH-ÌKE," NEAR THE SUMMIT OF SHIROUMA.

To face page 521.

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INTRODUCING THE JAPANESE ALPS

By Kin-ichi Ishikawa
(Member of the Japanese Alpine Club)

The Name "The Japanese Alps"

In the middle part of the main island of Japan there are three important mountain ranges. They are, from north to south, the Hida Range, the Kiso Range, and the Aka-ishi Range, which are more commonly known as the Northern, Central, and the Southern Japanese Alps. It is not definitely known, I believe, who first called these mountain ranges the Japanese Alps, but there is no doubt that the publication, in 1896 in London, of a book called *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps*, by Rev. Walter Weston, gave them this name. The reason why I refer to the point is this: In recent years there has been a great epidemic of naming mountains, rivers, ski-ing centres, and so on after foreign names. Nippon (Japan) Rhine, Nippon Riviera, Nippon St. Moritz, Nippon this and Nippon that. Nippon Lorelei in the Nippon Rhine was perhaps the most far-fetched of all, because there was hardly any similarity between these two rocks, either in form, colour, or surroundings. This epidemic had spread to such an extent that it provoked a natural reaction, with the result that most places dropped their "Nippon" suffix and foreign names, but the "Japanese Alps" remained.

It is interesting to note that Englishmen were the first people to climb the Japanese Alps out of love for climbing and also for the purpose of scientific observation. In Japan, various mountains had always been climbed for some religious purposes. The world-famous Mount Fuji (12,390 feet) still draws thousands of people in summer. To these people the mountain is the embodiment of a spirit, a goddess whom they worship. These climbers are divided into groups, each headed by a leader who is not only a guide but also a spiritual teacher, and whose orders the members of the groups must strictly obey. Of course, a great many people climb Mount Fuji purely for the sake of climbing. Today climbing is done throughout the year. Winter climbing of Fuji, unheard of until quite recently, is enjoyed by many first-class mountaineers because the feat combines ski-ing and ice technique.

There are also many high mountains which religious persons climbed in bygone days. Yari-ga-Take (Plate I.), to which refer-

ence will be made later, was first climbed by a Buddhistic monk called Banryu, in 1828.

When a party of surveyors first climbed Tsurugi (9,853 feet) of the Tateyama Group, about twenty-five years ago, they discovered to their amazement the broken head of a monk's staff hidden in a little cave quite near the summit. This evidence of a former climber gave the party a real shock, because they discovered it while they were glorying in what they thought was the first ascent of this difficult mountain.

The Tateyama Group, particularly the mountain called Oyama (9,816 feet) had for many years been regarded as something sacred by the people who lived in the region of its northern base. A young man was not quite a "man" until he had climbed this mountain. At the summit of Oyama, one finds a shrine around which innumerable pebbles are scattered. These pebbles were brought up from below by generations after generations of these youthful climbers. There is a kind of folk-lore story which tells that once upon a time, Oyama and Hakusan (9,787 feet, about 50 miles west of Oyama) tried to see which was taller, and discovered that Oyama was "the height of a saddle" shorter than Hakusan. The pebbles, you see, were brought up to the summit by young local patriots in order to make their own mountain higher than its rival!

General Characteristics

The general characteristics of the Japanese Alps are: (1) The altitude around 10,000 feet. (2) The amount of snow found in summer. (3) The existence of "cirques" said to denote that these mountains once had glaciers. (4) The exposed rock-faces. (5) The existence of "O-hana-batake" (Plate II.) (flower fields) where various alpine flora blossom in profusion quite near the summit of the mountains. (6) The abundance of natural hot-springs in the mountains.

Comparison between the Northern and Southern Japanese Alps

Of these mountain ranges, the most climbed is the Northern; comparatively few visit the Southern Alps. Since the Central Alps are the least climbed, we shall omit this range entirely and focus our attention on the first two named. There are some interesting reasons given for this difference in popularity, which I will introduce here, because they give the characteristics of the Japanese Alps which a foreign reader might like to know.

The geologist tells us that the Northern Alps are chiefly made

of granite, quartz, with aqueous rock, and here and there spouts of volcanic rock of later age. The Southern Alps, however, are mostly of aqueous nature. Added to this, the difference in temperature and amount of snowfall give these ranges quite a difference in appearance. The Northern Alps have more peaks of "aiguille" form than the Southern, the mountain-tops of which are mostly round and gently-sloping. Consequently, the number of peaks differ greatly between these two ranges. The Yari-Hodaka ridge, the highest point in the Northern Alps, has eight peaks within four miles, whereas the Shirane group in the Southern Alps has only four within the same distance. The highest of the latter, Kita-dake, has the altitude of 1,047 feet, the same as the Inner Hodaka peak. The names of the peaks, too, tell their own stories. Whereas in the Northern Alps there are such names as "Yari" (Spear), "Tsurugi" (Swords), "Gaki" (Hungry Devil), and "Aka-oni" (Red Devil), in the Southern Alps the mountains have less fearsome names, such as "Kita-dake" (North Mountain), "Aino-take" (Midway), "Hijiri" (Saint), and so on, and the only awe-inspiring name is "Noko-giri" (Saw), which, after all, is not at all as shocking as "Hungry Devil" for example.

There is another important reason why the Northern Alps attract more climbers than the Southern, and that is the abundance of snow in the former in summer. (Plates I. and III.) The prevailing wind in Japan in winter is north-west, which brings vapour from the Sea of Japan, dashes against the screen-like formation of the Northern Alps, and turns the vapour into snow. One finds at least two snow gorges extending over nearly two miles, more than a dozen about one mile in the latter part of July and beginning of August, in the Northern Alps, whereas there is scarcely any in the Southern Alps. This fact is responsible for the existence of numerous lakelets and pools of crystal-clear water at a considerable height in the Northern Alps. Any mountaineer would appreciate these lakelets and pools, not only for their beauty but also as a source of supply of water for camping and so forth, which is utterly lacking in the Southern. (Plate IV.)

The abundance of moisture in the soil of the Northern mountains may be the explanation why there are so many more varieties of alpine flora in that region than in the Southern mountains. The beautiful flowers of the Primula variety which greet the eyes of climbers of the Northern mountains are very seldom seen in the Southern mountains.

The "cirque," known as the relics of glaciers, are numerous in the Northern and rare in the Southern Alps. This is also explained by the difference in the snowfall.

To me the joy of mountaineering consists in lying full length

on the soft, green grass of a high plateau, sort of "alp," after two or three hours of strenuous climbing. The Northern Alps are full of such plateaus, good places for lazy climbers like myself, and also for camping. These plateaus form a contrast to the knife-like ridges and sharp aiguilles in the vicinity. The ridges of the Southern Alps are much wider, and here and there form themselves into such plateaus.

As for hot-springs, the Southern Alps, which are not volcanic in structure, have only two or three, while the Northern Alps can really be proud of their number. It is such a comfort to discover hot, clear water, gurgling out of sand along a mountain torrent, dig the sand, put some little rocks and stones into a circle, and bathe, especially after a long day's walking. The Shiro-uma Group, which lies at the northern end of the Northern Alps, boasts of a hot-spring bath-house at an altitude of 8,514 feet!

Popularity of Mountaineering in Japan

Perhaps the most popular mountain in the Japanese Alps is Yari-ga-Take (10,432 feet), which stands at the northern end of the Yari-Hodaka Ridge. (Plate I.) From the "shoulder," where stands quite a modern mountain-hut, a huge spear-shaped rock rises to a magnificent height. This rock is accompanied by a smaller rock called "Ko-yari" (Little Spear), to ascend which is only possible for those who thoroughly understand the technique of rock-climbing.

There are several routes leading to the summit of "Yari-ga-Take." The easiest and the most pleasant is to go by motor-coach to Kamikochi, thence walk along the Azusa-gawa River, which runs along the foot of Yari-Hodaka Ridge, having as its source the snow-field which lies on the eastern side of the mountain.

Kamikochi is certainly a beautiful place and attracts a great number of visitors. The latest statistics that are available (1929) tell me that during that year 15,000 climbers visited Kamikochi, and 10,000 out of this number climbed the Yari. Since then the motor road from Matsumoto, a city where one gets off the train from Tokyo, Osaka, or elsewhere, was constructed, and naturally the number of visitors increased. The majority of people go in summer, and Kamikochi of today is a very gay climbing centre. However, in 1919 from five to six thousand climbers came to Kamikochi: in 1909, seventy or eighty. When the Rev. Walter Weston first visited this place in 1891, he found only one man, with the name of Kamonji, living there, fishing and hunting all by himself; he took Kamonji as his guide for his climbs in the Japanese Alps.

This increase of visitors to Kamikochi shows the tremendous increase in popularity, in recent years, of mountaineering in Japan. When I first climbed Shiro-uma in 1913, there was only one hut near the summit, large enough to hold about twenty; bare earth was the floor, walls made of piled pieces of rock, very uncomfortable and draughty. Today, there are several huts near the summit, and one of them is said to be capable of "packing in" one thousand people. When I made an eight-day climbing tour in 1914, we had tents, blankets, ground-sheets, pots and pans for cooking, provisions and so forth, and we did not meet a single party during those eight days. Today, the same route is dotted with huts where food, bedding, and at some even a hot bath, are provided, so that all one needs to take along is a small rucksack, into which a rain-coat, sweater, camera, knife, a tooth-brush, and so on are crammed.

The climbing of the Japanese Alps primarily was done in summer only, but in recent years more and more people began to climb in early spring, late autumn, and in winter. The popularity of ski-ing has much to do with winter climbing. As an unfortunate accompaniment of winter climbing, quite a number of people get killed. Between January, 1923, and August, 1933, 125 were killed, out of which only 49 met their death in summer—that is to say, during June, July, and August. This list included a few cases which took place at various mountains which do not belong to the Japanese Alps; and as to skiers, only those who used skis as a means of climbing were listed. Those killed by volcanic eruptions are also omitted.

The causes of death are as varied as those found in any other mountains. They include avalanches, snow-storms, and consequent exposure, falling, lightning, and heart-failure. In January, 1934, a party of six skiers, while climbing Asama Yama, an active volcano not far from Tokyo, was overwhelmed by an avalanche and all were killed. The fact that there were two young girls in the party shows the popularity of ski-ing and mountaineering among Japanese women.

ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES

By Professor J. Coatman

There has long been a pressing need for a first-class book in English on the Dutch East Indies. De Kat Angelino's massive second volume has many merits, but it is not easy to get a clear picture of the system of administration, the economic structure, and the social and political development of the islands from its pages, ably and conscientiously written as they are. Angoulvant's *Les Indes Neerlandaises* is a most valuable treatise on all sides of life in the great Dutch dependency, but it is not an easy book for English-speaking readers to tackle. But Professor Amry Vandenbosch's book, *The Dutch East Indies*, published by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (Michigan) last year, is exactly what we want. In less than 400 pages he deals clearly, adequately, and authoritatively with all aspects of the public and social life, the economic structure, and the politics of the Netherlands Indies. The place of the islands in world politics is shown and there is a deeply interesting chapter on the nationalist movement in Java. Here is a book which nobody can afford not to have read if he aspires to anything more than the most superficial knowledge—newspaper headline knowledge, in fact—of one of the most important of recent developments in Colonial Policy. Every year brings Colonial Policy more and more into the forefront of world attention and deeper and deeper into the heart of international relations. For colonial possessions are all the time increasing in importance as sources of supply of vital tropical products, and as markets for the industries of distracted metropolitan countries desperately looking for outlets in a world hag-ridden by economic nationalism. Professor Vandenbosch has given us a study of weight and power, dynamic in quality and presentment, as befits his subject, which is itself dynamic and ever developing and changing.

The customary division of the Dutch East Indies possessions is into two groups—Java and its tiny neighbour Madura; and the "Outer Possessions," namely Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the great number of lesser islands strung out through the waters east of Java. The latter is the centre of the whole of the Dutch East Indies—geographically, economically, politically. Although Java has less than one-fourteenth of the total area of 733,000 square miles, she has over two-thirds of the total population of 61,000,000.

Her population growth has been prodigious, the numbers of her people having multiplied at least tenfold since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is inevitable that her development should determine the development of the other possessions, that to outsiders she and her conditions should be synonymous with the whole of the Dutch East Indies and their conditions, and that Dutch Colonial Policy should centre in her. In the discussion which follows we shall, therefore, be talking of Java except when some other parts of Netherlands India are specifically mentioned.

It is clear that the great expansion of population, mentioned above, could not have occurred had not two main conditions been fulfilled. The first is the existence of a quite extraordinary combination of physical circumstances. The second is immunity from external attack and internal disorder. Both these conditions have been fulfilled, and today we see Java and Madura supporting a population of 41,000,000 on an area of a trifle over 51,000 square miles. Thus Java has the densest population in the world, and, *mirabile dictu*, only 6 per cent. of the people live in cities of 24,000 and upwards. The almost incredible fertility of Java's soil is the explanation of this phenomenon, and the fact that there is very little of her surface which cannot be utilized. From sea-level to her highest hilltops there is cultivation everywhere, three crops a year in places, and almost every kind of economic vegetable life is, or could if necessary be, produced within her borders. Added to her unique physical advantages is the devoted and brilliant scientific research which has made the country the *locus classicus* in certain branches of agricultural scientific research.

The population figures for the Outer Possessions are of a more normal colonial complexion. Sumatra, with an area more than three times as great as Java and Madura, has only one-fifth of their population. Dutch Borneo, which is more than eight times as large as Java and Madura, has one-tenth of their people, whilst Dutch New Guinea, with almost exactly three times the area of the two central islands, has less than one-fortieth the number of inhabitants. Naturally, the economic, administrative, and social conditions and problems of the Outer Possessions are immeasurably more simple than those of Java. Their economic development has begun and their potentialities are vast, but it will be long before they present their Dutch rulers with very complicated or intractable problems. At first sight it would seem to be a natural solution of certain Javanese economic and social problems to get millions of Java's people to migrate to the Outer Possessions, notably to Sumatra, which is separated from her by hardly more than a stone's throw of water. But the Javanese are un-

willing to migrate, and the Dutch have to turn to foreign Asiatics, particularly to the Chinese, for their labour supply. In this fact there lies latent the germ of many a formidable problem of the future.

Java, then, is the brightest jewel in the crown of Holland, and Dutch policy in regard to her is the pith and marrow of their whole Colonial Policy. The mere historical narrative of the Dutch dealings with Java has an infinity of interest and importance for us. From the naked exploitation of old Dutch East India Company days, through the régime of forced culture to the more humane and enlightened policy of the present day, Professor Vandenbosch takes us in one ably written chapter (Chapter III.). It is a pity that space did not permit him to bring out the quite extraordinary comparison between Netherlands and British India. In conditions of all sorts, in problems of administration, even to some extent in population, the two countries are strikingly similar, whilst the character of the problems which they both afford to their foreign rulers seems to have steadily approximated with the passage of time. It is impossible now to say what form the Dutch administration of Java would have taken had there never been the period of British rule. It is possible that the Dutch would have developed a satisfactory form of indirect government which would have left the Native States as real living units like the Indian Native States. Raffles, the British administrator, put this out of the question. He applied to Java the notions of the Bengal Permanent Settlement with the Javanese " Regents " playing the rôle of the Bengal " Zemindars." There is no reason to doubt that, had British government of the island continued, the system of administration in Java today would have been that of a British Indian province. The interesting growth of the present highly individual form of indirect government in Java is more fully described by Angelino than by Vandenbosch, although the latter is far more clear and concise. To a student of comparative colonial administration nothing could possibly be more instructive than a comparison of the growth of the principles on which the administration of Java is based with the growth of the corresponding principles in India on the one hand, and in Nigeria on the other. Better than all, perhaps, would be such a comparison between the Dutch East Indies and Malaya, where perhaps the most satisfactory of all forms of indirect government is being worked out in the Federated States. Here is a rich field for students to work in the future.

But the Dutch in Java have a problem which does not face the administrators of " indirect " rule anywhere else in the colonial world. For they have a full-fledged representative system of government superimposed on the simpler organs of adminis-

tration which make up the framework of their "indirect" government. The Volksraad, both in complexity of composition, in its system of communal election, in its powers and limitations, and in its actions is singularly like the Legislative Assembly of British India, and, indeed, it is obvious that the latter is the model for much of what is done by the nationalist members of the Volksraad. American readers will find a similar close analogy in the system set up by the Jones Act in the Philippines. There is much that is attractive to British readers in the Regent system, whereby the greater part of the day-to-day contact between the administration and the man in the fields is entrusted to natives, and, moreover, to natives who command respect by reason of hereditary position, and who have received a thorough and up-to-date training. Naturally, final control is in the hands of higher Dutch authorities, but the control is normally not very obtrusive, and the Regents, assisted by the Regency Councils and their executive off-shoots, the Regency boards of deputies, have a much freer hand than do their confrères in directly administered countries such as British India. But it remains to be seen how this system will fit in with the growing democratization of the Central Legislature and Government. At present, there does not seem to be any fixed policy of devolution of autonomous power on the natives of Java by extending the functions and authority of the Volksraad and the Provincial Councils. It may be that the authorities hope that the present development of indirect government through the regencies, and the continuous growth of the functions and powers of the municipalities, will render any important changes at the centre unnecessary. This hope, if it be indeed held, would seem to be a vain one in view of the trend of opinion inside the Volksraad and inside Java at large. However that may be, the coexistence, and the development side by side, of a system of "indirect" government and a representative system modelled on Western democratic lines, make Java one of the most interesting countries in the whole world from the point of view of the student of colonial administration. The interest becomes even more apparent when we remember that Java now is the theatre of political life in the real and accepted sense of the word. For the intelligentsia and many of the working-classes are now politically self-conscious and are organized in regular bodies for the achievement of defined and definite ends. Professor Vandenbosch's chapter on "The National Awakening" is of high interest and should be read by all who want to understand the tides of feeling which are now sweeping through the Far East. All the time one reads this chapter, the conditions of British India are brought powerfully into one's mind, and here again it can hardly be doubted that much of the actual technique and method of

political agitation is being imported from British India together with the general inspiration. Indeed, it would be most instructive for the serious student to read with Professor Vandenbosch's work some authoritative book on contemporary Indian political developments.

The economic problems of the Dutch East Indies are far from negligible despite the unrivalled natural resources of both Java and the Outer Possessions. In the first place, the Government itself introduced the cultivation of such crops as sugar, rubber, tea, coffee, quinine, palm-oil, and tobacco and then gradually allowed it to be undertaken by private enterprise. But the latter was, and is, almost entirely foreign. There are, for example, practically no native-owned sugar plantations, although the natives have undertaken the cultivation of certain of the other "money" crops, notably rubber. Large-scale enterprises have thus grown up, and although the natives' rights in the land are now protected as far as possible inside the framework of the system which has grown up, the alienation of land in *latifundia* and the growth of population have resulted in the typical family plot of land in Java being reduced to about two acres. Further, there are very few natives in executive posts in the big agricultural enterprises, whilst the middlemen are mostly Chinese. Therefore we have now a picture of a dual Java, so to speak—the small-scale native cultivations and the big agricultural estates of 1,000 acres and upwards. The stockholders of the latter are non-resident and profits go abroad. We find in Java the same problem of unemployed intelligentsia as we do in India, and, further, during the slump, there has been unemployment among the workers in the big agricultural and mining enterprises. Naturally, in these features of the economic life of the country there are causes for grave perturbation, and the Governments of Holland and the Netherlands Indies are by no means unmindful of them. The danger of the general situation can be inferred to some extent from the fact that rice, the staple food of the people, has to be imported into Java.

The islands are richly endowed with mineral as well as agricultural resources and potentialities. They rank third among the tin-producing areas of the world, and gold, silver, coal, and oil, to mention the more important commodities, are also exploited. The Government keeps a very tight control over mining concessions, and, in fact, operates important mining concerns itself. Most of the mineral resources are in the Outer Possessions and, as we have seen, it is a strange and arresting fact that, in spite of the over-population of Java, it is all but impossible to get any migration from that island to the other possessions, even to Sumatra. Foreign labour, mostly Chinese, has to be employed.

Quite rightly, the Dutch are proceeding cautiously in the matter

of industrial development. Java has already a quite impressive list of manufacturing industries, but they are mostly ancillary to the agricultural and transport industries. The slump has hit the islands very hard indeed, and the Government are feeling their way to permanent economic policy. The further development of scientific research and increase of production of primary materials are features of the economic policy of the islands today, but, obviously, in view of world conditions, these cannot bring permanent economic safety and prosperity to the country. The tariff policy of the Dutch East Indies has always been a liberal one. Holland clearly has no interest in embarking on a restrictive policy since she is not a great manufacturing country herself, and freedom of international trade is as important to her Far Eastern possessions as it is to Malaya.

Altogether, the political and economic problems of the Dutch East Indies are of first-class importance and of fascinating interest, and Professor Vandenbosch's book will help all its readers to understand them.

BENGAL AND ITS JUTE INDUSTRY

By R. W. Brock
(Late Editor of *Capital*.)

Of all the Indian Provinces, Bengal probably benefited least by the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution, and for two main reasons: one financial, the other economic. Financially, in contrast to Madras and certain other Provinces, Bengal obtained no appreciable addition to its resources under the Meston Settlement; on the contrary, in order to preserve the semblance of a balanced Budget, the Provincial Administration was forced to impose heavy new taxation, the proceeds of which were almost entirely monopolized by the Reserved Departments, leaving only the most insignificant sums at the disposal of the new ministers. In such circumstances the unreadiness of the Swarajist Party and its allies to work the new Constitution, however reprehensible, was not altogether surprising, and the political unrest so peculiarly evident in the Province in the last decade has been due largely to the position of Constitutional sterility so created. Had the financial resources allocated to Bengal been adequate to enable reasonable grants to be made to the Transferred Departments, it is safe to assert that no great difficulty would have been encountered by successive Governors, either in selecting competent ministers or in securing adequate support for them in the Provincial Legislature. In reality, however, mainly owing to financial difficulties, the Transferred Departments in Bengal under the present Constitution have achieved very little, and, despite the diversion of half the proceeds of the jute export duty to the Provincial Government in Sir George Schuster's last Budget, the prospects of more substantial achievement under the new Constitution are not very much brighter. It is hardly necessary to adduce detailed justification for that statement: suffice it to say that, in a Province with a population numbering approximately fifty millions, the Provincial Government has a revenue not exceeding £10,000,000 to finance requirements so varied and comprehensive as Police, Education, General Administration, Civil Works, Justice, Medical, Jails, Excise, Public Health, Agriculture, Registrations, Stationery and Printing, Forests, and, last but not least, Industries. In other words—to quote only one illuminating comparison—under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution the Bengal Government was allotted, for all purposes, a smaller sum

than the London County Council spends on education alone. In effect, under the Meston Settlement, all the expanding revenues —such as Customs duties and income tax—were retained by the Government of India, while most of the Departments calling for larger expenditure were assigned to the Provincial Governments, and, in particular, to the Indian Ministers, such as health, education, agricultural improvements, etc. It was peculiarly unfortunate that in Bengal, as I have already noted, the ministers were left to face the Legislature with empty pockets: a position not conducive either to political popularity or constructive achievement. Provincial taxation in Bengal was extended to the limits of tolerance and productivity; but of the total revenues collected in the Province from all sources, about two-thirds were taken by the Central Government, whose expenditure is mainly incurred outside the Province, leaving the Provincial Administration only the exiguous income already mentioned.

Calcutta, that is to say, collects revenues which the Delhi Administration distributes—mainly in Upper India. Perhaps the process I refer to can be illustrated most vividly by instancing the yield of the jute export duty. Jute is grown virtually only in Bengal, and in the rural areas is the principal source of income, while in Calcutta jute manufacture is the principal industry. In the last decade, however, the Central Government has collected between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 by this form of taxation, and has retained the whole amount, allowing the Provincial Government to finance, for example, even the Agricultural Department, to whose efforts, prior to the world depression, the progressive improvement in the outturn and quality of the jute crop was largely due. Analogously, while the extension of the mill industry in Calcutta threw additional expenditure on the Bengal Government, the Central Government monopolized the revenue from income-tax, which represents the principal method of securing for the State a reasonable percentage of the substantial profits this industry, until recently, has obtained. Here again, therefore, Bengal was unable to retain any share of the taxation collected within its own borders. Very large sums flowed out: only insignificant rivulets flowed back.

Furthermore, since the adoption by the Central Government and Legislature of the policy of industrial protection, the "drain" of taxation from Bengal has been supplemented by an equally formidable, but more insidious and indefensible, denudation of its resources in the form of the higher prices charged to consumers for a large and increasing variety of manufactured goods produced by industries located in other parts of India. It is possible to argue, with some semblance of justification, that the imposition of protective tariffs has yielded substantial gains to

India as a whole and that, from this very broad standpoint, Bengal has shared in the gains so derived. Directly, however, as an economic and administrative unit, Bengal has suffered as a consumer of industrial products, as the result of the protectionist policy, without deriving any compensating benefits as a producer owing to the fact that none of the important industries protected are located within her own borders. Paper manufacture is a partial exception, but the capital and employment involved in this industry are relatively insignificant, and in regard to the major industries protected, such as cotton manufacture, steel and associated industries, salt, sugar, etc., no elaborate calculations are required to demonstrate that the cost of high protection and high prices to Bengal has greatly exceeded the gains. Quite clearly, protective tariffs are framed, in India as elsewhere, exclusively in the interests of industries producing mainly for the domestic market, whereas of the three industries in which Bengal is primarily interested—jute, tea, and coal—the jute and tea industries are essentially exporting industries, depending pre-eminently on markets overseas, while the coal industry has never been materially prejudiced by foreign imports and only desires (but has never yet secured) "protection" from the subsidized competition of the Government of India's own collieries. Consequently, the cultivator in Bengal, in the interests of industrial development, is paying very much more for his clothing, for certain building materials such as galvanized sheets, for such a simple but universal necessity as matches, and for such foodstuffs as salt and sugar, than would be necessary if protective tariffs, reinforced by revenue surcharges, had not forced prices to such artificially high levels. The burden of protectionist price levels was heavy enough when the cultivator was receiving reasonable prices for his own produce; it is, of course, still heavier now that the cash value of his staple products has been approximately halved by the incidence of the world depression. Somewhat ironically, indeed, in the interests of the Indian Budget, the lower the level to which commodity prices have fallen, the higher has been the level to which import duties have been raised, in order to maintain the revenue from Customs, despite the smaller volume of imports, at its pre-slump total.

Perhaps enough has been said to show that Bengal, at least, has little reason to enthuse concerning its political or economic situation, whether it looks backward or forward. As a result of the distribution of financial resources between the Central and Provincial Governments the Bengal Administration is left with an annual revenue, as we have seen, of approximately £10,000,000, to meet the varying administrative and social needs of a population of 50 millions, or say four shillings per head per annum for

all purposes excluding only defence. As there is no reason to anticipate any early or substantial increase in this income, the chances of increasing the present attenuated expenditure on what are called the "nation building" services such as education and health are correspondingly limited. It must not be overlooked that the diminutive scale of Provincial revenues rules out any considerable expansion in the volume of State employment, while the limited scope for further industrial expansion in Bengal precludes any considerable increase in the near future in the volume of industrial employment. Most of the professions, unfortunately, are already overcrowded relative to the scope available, and there remains only agriculture. In this industry the position and prospects are measured by the official calculation that since 1929 the cash value of the staple crops of India has fallen by 47 per cent. In this cataclysmic decline no product has fallen from a greater height or to a lower level than jute, on which the rural and industrial welfare of Bengal is mainly dependent. Probably the political future and the economic structure of Bengal are more closely linked with the fluctuating fortunes of the jute industry than is generally realized. Without jute, it is no exaggeration to assert, rural Bengal would sink into chronic insolvency and Calcutta would fall to the commercial and industrial status of Madras. In such a situation there is food for gloomy reflection in the grim circumstance that the future of the jute industry will be determined less by any measures of rehabilitation that may be attempted in India than by the trend of world prices and world trade. In support of that estimate it is enough to recall the events of the last four years.

As observed in the recently published Report of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, an average jute crop at the beginning of the century was about 6,000,000 bales; but in 1926-27 the enormous output of about 12,000,000 bales was reached.* Average harvest prices rose gradually from about Rs. 4-1 per maund at the beginning of the century until the peak year 1925, when the abnormal average harvest price of Rs. 16 per maund was realized. Since 1930-31, however, the Committee lament, "we have been in the grip of the worst depression the world has known, and the value of jute has fallen as low as a harvest price

* One rupee = 1s. 6d.; one lakh Rs. = £7,500; one crore Rs. = £750,000; one bale of jute = 400lbs.

"In Bengal," the Jute Enquiry Committee say, "there is the same chaos in regard to weights and measures as in other parts of India. . . . The weights vary according to the number of *tolas* in a *seer*—40 *seers* always making a *maund*. Thus while the standard *seer* is 80 *tolas*, a local *seer* may vary from only 60 *tolas*, or 60 *sicca* weight, to 110 *tolas* (110 *sicca*)." Nominally, however, a bale of raw jute is regarded as containing 400 lbs., or 5 *maunds*.

of little over Rs. 3 per maund. On this basis the aggregate value of jute to Bengal was probably not more than one-fifth of what it was in 1926. The result was something approaching financial paralysis in the Province, which itself was a demonstration of the very great importance which jute has assumed in the economic life of Bengal." In Bengal today there are 94 jute mills, with approximately 60,000 looms, consuming about 60 per cent. of the total production of jute. The total number of looms in other countries is estimated at about 45,000. Unfortunately, America, the biggest buyer of Bengal jute manufactures, has had to reduce its purchases, owing to acute trade depression, and other large buyers have had to follow suit. A more serious factor is that the decline in the demand for jute is not due exclusively to the trade depression, which sooner or later should disappear, but, as pointed out by the Indian Jute Mills Association, to competition, as a result of which the industry is faced with the possibility of a permanent diminution in the demand for its goods. Competition, it is pointed out, has developed along two main lines—viz., (1) the increased adoption of bulk handling of grain is progressively eliminating jute sacks as containers for grain in transit; (2) the substitution of jute by paper, and to a less extent by cotton, for the making of bags. In the opinion of the Jute Enquiry Committee, it is probable that the losses due to bulk handling and to the use of paper are permanent, also that they may increase. This "means correspondingly reduced jute production, and, therefore, less income for the cultivator. The danger is real, and the remedy is to put forward every effort to retain trade which the industry now holds; also to initiate at the earliest possible date a policy of research, vigorously pursued, with the object of discovering fresh markets or new uses for jute, thus minimizing the loss of trade caused by competition." The future economic welfare of Bengal depends upon the vigour and success with which these important recommendations are implemented.

Jute is of vital importance not only to Bengal but to India as a whole. The value of the annual exports of jute and jute manufactures, as noted in the minority report of the Jute Enquiry Committee, accounts for about half the total value of exports from Bengal and over 25 per cent. of the total value of Indian exports as a whole. Directly, jute is of great economic value to the agricultural masses, who account for 80 per cent. of the population—to such an extent, indeed, that the proportion of the value of jute to the total value of the marketable crops of the Province exceeded in some years even 80 per cent., the average for the ten years 1920-21 to 1929-30 being 48 per cent.—*i.e.*, about half the total. The extent to which the cultivators have benefited from the development of the industry is measured by the calculation

that the value obtained by them from the sale of this single crop in the decade ending 1929-30 exceeded Rs. 35½ crores, or approximately Rs. 7-8 per head of the total population of Bengal, including men, women, and children. In 1925-26, a year of exceptionally high prices, this average income was practically doubled, rising to Rs. 15 per head. Today, no primary commodity shows a steeper decline from the high level thus achieved.

In the survey conducted by the Indian Jute Mills Association, already mentioned, it is pointed out that competition from paper bags has affected the demand for jute goods principally in the United Kingdom, South Africa, Australia, and America. Paper interests have, during recent years, carried out an extensive campaign in favour of the adoption of their goods at the expense of jute, and this has been responsible for a considerable loss of trade in jute bags, not only in the major industries but also—and perhaps to a greater proportionate extent—in the retail trades which formerly used large quantities of small makes of jute bags for the marketing of their goods. But the principal loss to the Calcutta mills has undoubtedly been in respect of the cement trade of the United Kingdom, South Africa, America, Germany, and Denmark. A conservative estimate places the loss to the jute industry of Bengal involved in the change-over to paper in the United Kingdom and South Africa alone at upwards of twenty million cement bags per annum. Wide hessians have been displaced largely in the Australian dried fruit trade by a product known as "Sisal-kraft," and it is quite probable that competition of this nature may extend to other fruit-producing countries. In the United States cotton bagging is gaining in use and popularity: the diminished demand for cotton having stimulated American cotton interests to take active steps to foster the adoption of cotton bags and bagging in preference to jute both internally and in foreign markets. The low price of cotton recently, its lightness and the consequent saving in freight, its greater strength and its more attractive appearance, especially from the point of view of the retail trades, have contributed to the success of the campaign carried out in its favour. Jute goods in short—and this applies throughout, in the consideration of substitutes—have, to a large extent, lost their former advantage of comparative cheapness. Agitation in favour of the bulk handling of grain is active in the United States and Australia and has recently extended to the Argentine, where a Government Committee has been appointed to prepare detailed plans. In Egypt, Government is banning the use of jute for cotton baling, while in Australia the abandonment of jute woolpacks, in favour of some alternative material less deleterious to the wool, is under active consideration.

A factor not mentioned in the report of the Indian Jute Mills

Association, but one which is bound to reduce the demand for jute bags, is the apparently permanent contraction in the international grain trade owing to the increasing tendency in industrial countries to revive their own agricultural production: a tendency reflected in the recent history of wheat production and distribution. In this direction the jute industry is subject to the same handicaps as the shipping industry, one of whose spokesmen, the Chairman of the United British Steamship Company, recently pointed out the extent to which international trade in cereals is contracting. For example, in 1929 Germany produced for herself 3,000,000 tons of wheat. In 1933 she grew 5,000,000 tons, reducing by 2,000,000 tons what she would otherwise have imported overseas. Italy in 1929 produced over 6,000,000 tons of wheat and in 1933 over 7,000,000 tons. Great Britain has grown 500,000 tons more wheat and 500,000 tons of sugar which otherwise would have been imported. In these three countries alone increased agricultural production has deprived about 600 vessels of employment for one-third of a year, and the conditions which curtail the utilization of shipping also curtail the demand for jute packing. In view of such considerations, it appears probable that world consumption of the limited range of jute manufactures on which the Calcutta mills have hitherto concentrated has passed its zenith and that, if output within any calculable period is to return to productive capacity, an indispensable pre-requisite is a greater diversification of production than has heretofore been attempted or even contemplated. It would be shortsighted to underrate the commercial, as well as the technical, impedimenta to the fulfilment of such a programme, for its adoption would undoubtedly intensify competition with mills overseas, and tariff obstructions would probably be fully employed to hinder the entry of new products into new markets. Nevertheless, no possible line of development can be neglected, and the Calcutta industry has indicated its realization of the needs of the situation by the adoption of a programme of action comprising, not only the appointment of Jute Trade Commissioners to be located in the principal consuming countries, but also the establishment of a Technological and Scientific Research Department, in which connection Dr. S. G. Barker, Director of Research to the British Wool Industries Research Association, has been invited to visit India in the near future for the purpose of studying the position on the spot and of formulating a research scheme suitable to the industry's requirements. In a recent circular to the Calcutta mills recommending the provision of funds adequate to meet the expenditure involved the Indian Jute Mills Association alludes to a preliminary note on the subject of jute research, in which Dr. Barker has emphasized that it is just as necessary that work on

behalf of the jute industry should be carried out at an organized Research Institution in Great Britain as it is that laboratories should be established in India itself.

Scientific research, however, is a form of long-term planning, and, recognizing that economic research is an essential prerequisite, the Association, as already noted, contemplate the employment abroad of travelling agents with an intimate knowledge of the trade: one to operate in Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, the second in North and South America, and the third in Australia, New Zealand, and the Far East. It is frankly acknowledged by the Jute Mills Association that the manufacturing side of the Indian industry at present lacks an organized system of following up the uses to which its products are ultimately applied, and that it has so far made no endeavour either to keep in touch with consumers or to push the sale of its goods in competition with others. This administrative deficiency, which has been for so many years a source of loss and reproach, will be overcome by the appointment of the new Trade Commissioners, whose duties will vary according to the circumstances obtaining in the particular countries in which their investigations will be pursued. For instance, it is suggested, in Europe one of the initial tasks will be to obtain accurate information relating to the working of the Continental mills, the extent to which their trade is expanding overseas and further possibilities in that direction; and also to report on the factors which are diverting business from Calcutta. Analogously in Australia and the Far East attention will be devoted to the compilation of a report on the increasing use of grain elevators, accompanied by a survey of the jute industry in Japan. Apart from these necessary variations, the functions common to each of the oversea agents, it is contemplated, would be to conduct an economic survey—from the point of view of the jute industry—of each of the territories concerned, to collect reliable data regarding crops, the uses to which jute goods are put, the possibilities of finding new outlets for jute, and on any other subject having a bearing on the jute industry of Bengal; they would keep in close touch with manufacturers in the matter of complaints, would assist buyers in obtaining the article best suited to their needs, and would generally provide the necessary link between the mills and their consumers, working as far as possible in collaboration with the trade agencies which at present exist. In brief, what the Jute Mills Association "visualize is that the trade should eventually have, in each of the principal consuming countries, intelligence officers acting, under instructions from headquarters, as the trade's own Commissioners and providing the necessary liaison between the manufacturer and the consumer."

In concluding this inadequate survey of jute problems and prospects, I have space only for one short additional comment.

Economic planning has recently become one of the major preoccupations of the Bengal, as of the Central and other Provincial Governments in India; but it is clear that, to the Province immediately concerned, no issue is of greater immediate urgency and importance than the rehabilitation of the jute growing and manufacturing industry, which has suffered, and continues to suffer, from the violent derangement of world trade and the disastrous decline in commodity prices. Constitutional Reform, however desirable *per se*, will bring neither peace nor prosperity to Bengal unless the inauguration of the new Constitution coincides with a recovery in the price level of—and the world demand for—jute and jute products; and such a recovery, as the evidence testifies, although conceivable, is, despite the somewhat belated campaign of the Jute Mills Association, by no means assured.

THE ROMANCE OF TWO RUINS

By Ranjee G. Shahani, b.a., d.litt., f.r.s.l.

I

Beauty and sadness, in the Hindu mind, are near akin. And this is a sentiment that is more than merely racial: it belongs to the essence of the critique of taste.

But the critique of taste is manifestly very incomplete. We look in vain among philosophers for any clear pronouncement concerning the relation between death and beauty. The poets give us whatever glimpses we have. Shelley says:

> "Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

Keats, again:

> "Ay, in the very temple of Delight
> Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine . . ."

These are utterances that give much food for thought. It is not my purpose to elaborate any theory of æsthetics: I will only say that by the testimony of the poets themselves fragility is in itself a charm and grace. The dog-rose, the May-fly, the lightning flash—these are things that touch us most, perhaps because of their very evanescence. Durability, it seems to me, somehow detracts from the miracle of beauty. As Virgil puts it:

> "Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt."

Yes, it is mortal things that move the soul.

No wonder that some have so great a passion for ruins. To me, at least, they are things inexpressibly beautiful. The mid-day sun is a tyrant devoid of beauty: his splendour is dearly purchased. The calm evening has a benediction of its own. So power in retrospect: all its contemptible elements have burnt out: only its romantic appeal remains. Distance, by itself, seems to throw a magic haze over all things. True enough. But our problem goes deeper than that. The fact is, the phenomenon of death is inherently beautiful. Is it any wonder that the most dainty of peoples, the Japanese, have chosen the cherry blossom as their emblem? This is an apt tribute to the miracle of the moment.

"Beauty," said Lafcadio Hearn, "is an anticipation of sorrow." This was a penetrating thought—a thought in which the entire East will participate. Ruins, many of us Easterns will

tell you, are an embodiment of sorrow itself. They are like patience on a monument, smiling at grief. This is the secret of their appeal.

But how few English know anything of the grandeur of their splendid Raj in India! Few indeed. What poet has been moved to write an ode to the splendour of the Taj Mahal? I know of none. Lord Curzon, be it said to his glory, is one of the rare spirits who seems to have been captivated by its glamour. But few of the British writers appear to have been thrilled by this dream in marble.

May I venture to hope that the ordinary educated Englishman at least will acquaint himself more deeply with the finest jewel in the British Crown. But, alas! India, as a whole, is a sealed book to him. Let me evoke for him the bygone grandeur of two places of which possibly he has never heard—Golconda and Warangal. But of the first he has doubtless some sort of notion. With the Koh-i-Nûr (the Mountain of Light) in the British Crown he has probably some dim acquaintance. It is said to have come from the mines of Golconda. Let us linger over this.

II

On a granite ridge, some six miles north-west of Hyderabad, stand the remains of the ancient city of Golconda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. The narrow stream of the Musi runs within gunshot of the walls. And the surrounding country is made by the successive outpourings of volcanic rocks building up a series of plateaux of lava-sheets. From the military point of view no better location could have been chosen for strategic purposes.

In outline the fort is diamond-shaped, with a rough pentagon (the *Naya Quila*) joined on to one of its faces. A strong castellated wall three miles in circumference, with eighty-seven well-preserved bastions, each from fifty to sixty feet high and built of massive blocks of granite, some of the blocks more than a ton in weight, encloses the fort. The eight ponderous gates would have defied any artillery of the seventeenth century. The sharply piked facings of the gates made them immune against the advance of elephants.

On the walls were mounted a great display of the guns of the period, some of them really effective—in function as well as appearance. A deep ditch, fifty feet broad, runs outside, and along the southern side there are traces of a second parallel moat.

But Golconda is really a series of separate forts included within the same lines of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outermost enclosure into which we enter by the *Fath Darwaza*

near the south-eastern corner; it is an immense area strewn with the remains of mansions, bazaars, temples, mosques, barracks, powder magazines, stables, and even cultivated fields. Here, in times of stress, the entire population of Hyderabad could take refuge.

As we proceed inside along the grand main road for some quarter of a mile, we arrive at the *Bala Hissar* gate. This leads us, up a toilsome ascent, to a higher level. Here we find a wealth of structures: a three-storied armoury, powder magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, beautiful gardens, large wells, lodgment places for travellers, and even a temple dedicated to Hanuman!

Further west, a flight of steps cut in the solid rock leads the traveller up to the very apex of the edifice, which stands on a foundation of solid granite, its walls composed of huge blocks, massive and shapeless. This is the heart of the citadel, the Acropolis of Golconda; and here the ancient Dravidian Rajas of the land built their first stronghold, filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones. Here also stand, cut in the rocks, the cave-temples of these ancient people. Certainly it was a true poetic fancy that guided the primitive designer of this ancient fortress. Not only does the citadel dominate the landscape, but somehow seems to shape it. This brings to mind the fact that primitive peoples show a curious predilection for picturesque outlooks for their resting-places. There is a grave in South Devonshire looking out upon the sea. The view is splendid, almost the choice of a primitive parent; for the burial-place goes back beyond the Stone Age. Some primitive peoples, it would seem, were possessed of a faculty rising above genius. One can only call it inspiration.

Such thoughts crowd upon the mind as one contemplates the ancient structures of Golconda. But here also one is in presence of the stratification of human cultures; pre-Vedism and Hinduism and Islam interfused without conflict. It is a tragic irony that, whilst this is so, the peoples themselves were ever at each other's throats. There is peace between the dead: war is a sign of life, not of death. The *isms* can get on well together, but it is very, very seldom that we find them alive. Life means struggle. . . .

But let us take a look round from the top of the two-storied palace of the Qutb Shahi kings. A magnificent panorama unfolds itself in endless vista. On a clear evening the dim outline of the ancient fort of Bhonagar, some thirty-five miles distant, can be seen to the north-east, rising from the plain like some monstrous egg of an invisible roc. To the east lies the city of Hyderabad, its domes and minarets gleaming in the light of the setting sun like lanterns in a Chinese garden. Far away to the

north-east we glimpse the mirror of the Hussan Sagar lake, and farther beyond glisten the white barracks of the British troops. Away to the right of these is the sacred Moula Ali hill, at the foot of which a palace nestles in a garden—a favourite retreat of His Highness the Nizam during the hot months of the Indian summer. Below, at our feet, we see the ruins of which we have already spoken—the Fort of Golconda, the massive fortifications of which defied for eight months the redoubtable Aurangzib and, but for treachery, would have kept him away altogether.

Since the days of Akbar the Imperial armies had been pouring into the Deccan, but Golconda had defied all their efforts. Aurangzib was determined to overcome its stubborn resistance. He had despatched one of his sons with that intention. But the prince, a good-natured, easy-going young man, had secret sympathies with the indolent ruler of Golconda, and deliberately procrastinated. Bungling, petty jealousies, ineffective skirmishes which vainly harassed the Mogul troops, filled up the programme. Fresh levies, supplies of money, insistent orders from the Emperor were in vain. Aurangzib decided to continue the operations in person. A touching incident is narrated of his conduct. One day Aurangzib was reconnoitring outside the fort. An expert gunner of the King of Golconda came running to his master, and, pointing to a figure on the plain, said: "There's the Emperor! Give me the order, and I'll shoot him." Abu-l-Hassan shook his head. "No," he said, "gentlemen don't fight like that." The gunner obeyed, but to show his skill, demolished the tent of one of the generals. This caused panic, and the Emperor realized in what peril he had stood.

At last, after a protracted siege and treachery, Golconda succumbed. "The Moguls," an Indian historian tells us, "poured into the fortress and raised a shout of triumph. The King, hearing it, knew that his hour had come. He went into the harem and tried to comfort the women, and then, taking his seat in the audience chamber, waited calmly for his unbidden guests. He would not suffer his dinner hour to be postponed for such a trifle as the Mogul triumph. When the officers of Aurangzib appeared, he saluted them as became a king and received them courteously. He then called for his horse and rode with them to Prince Azam, and was presented to Aurangzib, who treated him with grave courtesy, as king to king, for the gallantry of his defence of Golconda atoned for many sins of his licentious past." Yes, Aurangzib was outwardly courteous to his foe, but never forgave. The unhappy Abu-l-Hassan was sent as a captive to Daulatabad, where he languished in prison for fourteen years, till his death from some unknown cause in 1701. He was buried near the tomb of Syed Rayual Raoya, and his unfinished

mausoleum, which he was himself erecting before his downfall, may still be seen there. Abu-l-Hassan, with all his faults and shortcomings, was popular with his subjects, and many tales of his personal prowess and valour are still current in the Deccan.

Aurangzib immediately took possession of the conquered territories; and it was from this time that Golconda was practically deserted in favour of Hyderabad, and little by little its glory waned.

But a swift Nemesis overtook the victor. His enforced absence from his capital had brought on trouble at home: the North was seething with discontent. The Deccan had been conquered at a great sacrifice, yet all to no purpose. The Emperor was an old man of ninety, disillusioned, broken, utterly disheartened. At the moment when his power reached its zenith, and was greater than that of Akbar, he saw with fearful clarity that, when he laid down his sceptre, his empire would come to naught. He had staked all on Golconda, and Golconda had broken him.

But what had Golconda been? The mart of the Eastern world. Here, in its great bazaars and rich emporiums, merchants from all parts of the world congregated and bartered and heaped up fortunes. One might see Persians, Abyssinians, Greeks, Dutch, Portuguese, French, and already English.

Yet the country was, as it still is, mainly agricultural. In the lowlands the staple crops were rice, millets, and pulses, while, on a smaller scale, the dye-crops, indigo and chay-root, were produced for use in connection with the weaving industry, and tobacco, then a recent introduction, was grown largely for export. The chief mineral products were iron and steel of high quality, manufactured some distance inland, and exported from Masulipatam; but soon diamond-mining on a large scale had developed at Kollur. But more about this last in due course.

The main exports of Golconda were cotton goods, iron and steel. Indigo was transported across the peninsula and shipped to Persia from the West Coast; cotton yarn was sent to Burma; and various other items contributed to what was, for the time, a large export trade.

Methwold, a contemporary writer, was specially struck by the cheapness of provisions. "In briefe," he tells us in his Relation, "it is a very fruitfull countrey, and, occasioned by many of the inhabitants abstinence from any thing that hath life, all kind of victuall are very cheape and plentifull, as eight hens for twelve pence, a goat or sheepe for ten pence, and for eighteen pence or two shillings a very good hogge; the like of fish and all other provisions in the towne, but in the countrey much better cheape." This account must have appeared to the people in England a miracle of cheapness. Golconda was verily a country of heart's

desire. But what follows must have taken away their breath with sheer wonderment. "A citie that for sweetnesse of ayre," continues the chronicler, "conveniencie of water, and fertility of soyle, is accounted the best situated in India, not to speak of the King's Palace, which for bignesse and sumptuousnesse, in the judgement of such as have travelled India, exceedeth all belonging to the Mogull or any other prince: it being twelve miles in circumference, built all of stone, and, within, the most eminent places garnished with massie gold in such things as we commonly use iron, as in barres of windowes, bolts, and such like, and in all other points fitted to the majesty of so great a King, who in elephants and jewels is accounted one of the richest Princes of India." This must have excited, not only admiration, but also cupidity. Here, in truth, was another Eldorado.

Not less enthusiastic are the narratives of Tavernier and Thevenot. Reading them, one feels that the kingdom of Golconda must have been of boundless resources. Marco Polo's account is scarcely less exuberant. Milton himself, Puritan as he was, could not resist the appeal of so rich a word as Golconda, and managed to find place for it in his verse. So great was the magic of the name that a French writer, Marquis de Boufflers, composed a story, *La Reine de Golconda*, in which his mistress appears under the guise of the Queen of Golconda. This is the highest destiny he could devise for the simple peasant girl that he adored. Indeed, some are bold enough to assert that the "Valley of Diamonds" in the Sinbad story relates to the mines of Golconda. Other narrators are more sober. Methwold, for instance, tells us that the diamond mines were discovered by accident. A simple goatherd came across a strange-looking stone, and, not knowing that it had any value, sold it for a trifle of rice. The diamond, thus idly picked up, passed from one to another, until it fell into the hands of some who recognised its worth. One question led to another, until they found out the source. Then began what we can only call a scramble.

People from various parts of the kingdom flocked to the new mines. No fewer than 30,000 souls could be found at work, some digging, some filling baskets, some lading out water with buckets, others carrying earth to a certain selected patch of ground, and then, after exposing the material for a day to the hot sun, sorting out what remained. In the residue were found the diamonds. The King farmed the workings to a body of goldsmiths, reserving all diamonds above ten carats to himself.

The barren land that had proved so rich in mineral wealth was its own undoing. The Emperor at Delhi had heard of the wonderful output, and sent ambassadors to claim his share. The mines were closed down.

Later on, we are told, Mir Jumla, who at one time had farmed the mines of Kollur in Golconda, and was reputed to be the wealthiest man in the kingdom, after a difference with his sovereign, transferred his allegiance to the Mogul. When Shahjahan was leading an expedition to Kandhar, Mir Jumla presented to him a priceless diamond, with the intimation that it would pay him far better to go for Golconda than for the rough hazard of a stony waste. This gift to Shahjahan was no less than the splendid diamond that now shines in the Crown of Britain. But its fortunes (a thrilling story) are less widely known. Suffice it to say that Tavernier saw it and handled it in the reign of Aurangzib. From Aurangzib it passed to his feeble descendants. Then it was appropriated by Nadir Shah, who, on seeing it, named it *Koh-i-Nûr*, or the Mountain of Light. Eventually it came into the hands of Ranjitsingh, the "Lion of the Punjab," and was one of his proudest possessions. On his death it passed on to his heirs. When the British annexed the Punjab it was part of the booty they annexed from the treasury. These are the fortunes of a little stone.

Such reflections come to the mind of anyone who from the Acropolis of Golconda gazes on the scene around. One is drawn again and again to the spot whose human tide has ebbed, perhaps for ever, and where all intrigues and human ties are over. All is peace. Overhead fly the kites, and the small birds twitter in the branches beneath. There is but solitude and silence and the "noiseless noise" of the wind among the leaves.

Here one is almost enamoured of death. What better place for the last sleep under the stars? One would lie undisturbed by the paltry troubles of human greatness until the very bones were dust and the world itself had become a shadow.

Such thoughts may have been in the minds of the founders of Golconda. Not far from the old fort stand the tombs of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, an apt reminder to each new ruler that, whatever might be his power and prestige, death lay not far away. He had only to look around to see the littleness of human greatness.

III

In antiquity, it seems, Warangal does not yield pride of place to Golconda. Very probably the two forts were contemporaneous. But history in the proper sense of the word is scarcely met with in the Hindu world with which we are dealing. It may be that the writers of the day were so preoccupied with the things of the spirit that they had neither time nor inclination to spend themselves over what they would have considered trivialities. So it

comes about that we have innumerable commentaries about the utterances of Kalidasa and even of Buddha, but concerning their precise dates we have only conjecture. It is a racial peculiarity, and we can dismiss the matter at that.

It is therefore futile to pursue further any quest of dates in matters special to Hinduism. It is to Muslim invaders that we owe any chronological precision. "The authentic history of the Deccan," says the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "only begins with the thirteenth century A.D." Alas, this is only too true. The preceding period is practically a blank. But we may claim to know when Warangal came to an end. "When in the beginning of the fourteenth century," says Fergusson, "the Muhammadans from Delhi first made their power seriously felt in the south, they struck down the Kingdom of Hoysala Ballâlas in 1310, and destroyed the capital of Helebîd; and in 1322 Orangal or Worangal, which had been previously attacked, was finally destroyed." If Fergusson is to be relied upon, the end of Warangal came before that of Golconda.

But what is Warangal? In the first place, it is an ancient fortified town after which a district and a division in the Hyderabad State receive their name. The Warangal division forms the eastern portion of the Nizam's dominions and extends from the river Penganga in the north to the Kistna in the south. The ancient town of Warangal is situated on the Nizam's State Railway, some eighty-six miles north of Hyderabad. It is some 1,000 feet above sea level and lies on the watershed separating the basins of the Godavari and the Kistna in the lower part of their course. The land surrounding it consists of large undulating plains of reddish sandy loam and black soil, broken here and there by fantastically shaped piles of enormous granite boulders and basaltic dikes. From all this it is clear that, from a military point of view, Warangal occupied an advantageous position, for access to it was difficult. Owing to this reason, evidently, the place was found suitable for erecting a fort in the period that we are dealing with.

The fortress of Warangal was founded, so historians tell us, by the Kakatiya King Ganpati, and was completed, according to some, by his daughter, or, according to others, by his wife. Her name in either case seems to have been Rudramba. It appears from all the evidences that she was a remarkable character. As there was no male heir to the throne, she assumed the reins of government. Her rule lasted no less than thirty-eight years and was marked by most able administration throughout. Marco Polo, who visited the Court, bears eloquent testimony to her capabilities as a ruler. "This kingdom," he writes, "was formerly under the rule of a king, and since his death, some forty

years past, it has been under his queen, a lady of much discretion, who, for the great love she bore him, never would marry another husband. And I can assure you that during all that space of forty years she had administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better, and as she was a lover of justice, of equity, and of peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before." It would seem that the East has been prolific in masterful women—women the equals and even superiors of men. Such a type, so far as my knowledge goes, is less in evidence in the Western world. History does not furnish us with many women of the calibre of Nur Jahan and European literature is not rich in such types. But India itself affords us many notable examples. Rudramba certainly belonged to this special class. In A.D. 1295 she abdicated in favour of her grandson, who had just attained his majority. The young man justified her selection, and became one of the most powerful princes of his time.

After this the history of the fort became kaleidoscopic—it passed from hand to hand with varying fortunes. At last Warangal was captured by the Bahmani forces, and, on the break-up of that kingdom, it fell into the hands of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda. There is nothing heroic or splendid about the decline and fall of Warangal. It passed on its way to oblivion. One can still admire its relics and the ruins that the Nizam and his Government still keep in repair. The world owes a debt of gratitude to His Exalted Highness for his scholarly interest in Art, and to that patron of learning, Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance Member. The publications of his Government do honour to the Nizam's patriotism and to his taste. A learned friend suggests to me that these publications might be made even more attractive by a somewhat more sensitive and delicate literary style.

But why linger over minor points? Our concern just now is with the ruins themselves.

Some memorials of the Kakatiyas may still be seen at Warangal, and at Hanamkonda, the original capital of the Hindu Rajas. The earliest of these, according to the legend, is the magnificent "temple of the thousand pillars" at Hanamkonda. This edifice was built by Prataparndradeva I., and is esteemed one of the finest examples of Chalukyan architecture now extant. It exhibits the best characteristics of that style. The temple is dedicated to the god Rudra (the thunderer), who was possibly the tutelary deity of the Kakatiyas, and contains, carved on a square pillar in what is now an outlying portion of the temple, a long Sanskrit inscription in the old Kanarese character with an exordium of eight lines in old Telegu commemorating Mahama-

ndaleshwara ("the great Lord") Rudradeva, son of Prolaraja. To this inscription, which is dated in Shaka 1084 (A.D. 1162-1163), we are indebted for all the knowledge we possess of this dynasty. The temple also contains another inscription of much later date, in Telegu, commemorating the heroism of a Muhammadan general named Shitab Khan. The existence in a Hindu temple of a laudatory inscription to a Mussalman general distinctly calls for some explanation. The fact is, as Dr. Hirananda Sastri has pointed out in his able monograph on Warangal, Shitab Khan was by birth a Hindu of no particular caste. Indeed, he was very possibly a pariah to whom a transfer of his religious allegiance was a thing of no moment. All that counted in his life was the satisfaction of vanity. A perusal of the inscription in his honour lends countenance to this interpretation.

The next monument of importance is the inner or stone wall of Warangal. This was begun by Ganpati and completed by Rudramba, who also built the outer wall of the city. The circumference of the stone wall is 4 miles 630 yards, and though it is evidently of Hindu workmanship, as appears from the architecture of the gateways, it must frequently have been repaired by Mussalmans, for countless stones carved with figures of Hindu gods and their attendants, which have been removed from the large temple which stood in the centre of the inner fort, have been built at random into the wall, their carved surfaces being sometimes turned inwards for the better concealment of representations abhorrent to the piety of the Muslim.

Of the immense temple of which we have been speaking there remains nothing but four magnificent gates. The former enclosing walls have disappeared, leaving aimless gaps. From the large area that the wall must have enclosed, and from the exquisite carvings of the stones used in repairing the fort wall, there can be no doubt that the Warangal temple far excelled in magnificence the "temple of the thousand pillars" at Hanamkonda. What it must have been in its perfection almost baffles imagination.

Now the hand of death is over all. At Warangal we are privileged to see Art in one of its twilights. It is like walking in a graveyard, where we tread on relics that were once vividly alive. Pathos and beauty are here at one. And so good-bye to our ruins. "Our brain is scented," as Jahângir would have said, "with the odour of crushed petals," the odour of the Past.

MYSORE: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE*

By M. C. B. Sayer

If there is one figure in all the Empire which appeals to the imagination of the British public it is the Indian Maharaja. His palace is one of the few secure retreats left to romance by our prosaic civilizations. His name conjures up visions of all the splendour of the East—elephants and tigers and hosts of magnificent retainers, and emeralds the size of pigeons' eggs. In a limited sense this popular conception is right. There may be a difference in degree between the six hundred odd States, ranging from Hyderabad, with an area of 83,000 square miles, a population of 12½ millions and a revenue of over £5,000,000, down to minute holdings in Kathiawar, only a few acres in extent, with an annual income equivalent to little more than that of an ordinary artisan. Yet many are patriarchal or semi-feudal in character and their medieval atmosphere still lingers. "The marching life of Moghul and Mahratta times has yielded to the sustained quiet of British rule, but the old spirit survives in many a story and many a hope."

There could be, nevertheless, no greater mistake than to think of the Indian States simply as effete survivals in the picturesque, which endure only through our support and survive by reason of our half-contemptuous toleration. "Even the great festivals which are celebrated every year on the ancient occasions in every Indian State," as Professor Rushbrook Williams has so aptly said, "are something more than opportunities for pomp and pageantry. However archaic or even obsolete they may appear to the sophisticated eyes of the Western observer, they still stand for the ancient identification of the government with the governed; for that intimate personal touch between ruler and ruled which the West has been content to lose. As the elephant procession winds slowly through the streets of the capital city, and as the celebrations of the day find their culmination in the stately assemblage of the Durbar, the observer who penetrates beneath the surface of things can detect the traces of an unbroken political tradition which is still vividly real to the heart of India."

We in British India have lost much by the isolation imposed on us by the differences of culture and of faith which divide us from the mass of the people. In the Indian States there may still be found obtaining through each limited area a sense of unity which

* Mysore Revenue Administration Report for 1932-33, with the Government's review thereon.

goes far to transcend even the bitterness of the Hindu-Muslim feud. There are, of course, more prosaic reasons for the relative immunity of the States as a body, though the number of exceptions is, unfortunately, growing, from the virus of communalism. Despite the improvement in communications, the States for the most part are still somewhat inaccessible, and their general remoteness, combined with their smaller natural fertility, have precluded the growth and advance seen in the past three generations in British territory. Through the same two factors—the comparative isolation and the relatively sparse population—apart from all other considerations, the States have been slower than British India to be affected by the changed economic conditions resulting from British leadership. The continuity of their political forms has helped also the survival of their earlier economic organizations, and viewed from the standpoint of Western industrialism the States have been more backward than British India. This has in some measure been remedied in recent years, but, in any case, if the States were slower to adopt new forms and to make industrialization their aim, their rulers were in their own generation wise. They were not necessarily conservative, though many of them were; they were not even apathetic. They simply did not happen to be Europeans, convinced without argument or experiment that whatever was best for Europe was best for India. They had other reasons for their hesitancy. The problems of economic reconstruction are on broad outlines the same as in British India. Increased education, better sanitation and medical aid, the improvement of agriculture, the resuscitation and reorganization of handicrafts—assisted where necessary by modern mechanical improvements—these all involve increased governmental revenue and expenditure. The States, contrary to the popular belief, are not so wealthy as British India. They have no considerable rich middle-class and the banking system in general is less developed.

In spite of these and other disabilities, to which we shall refer later, at least one State has gone further in some respects than British India in recognizing that good government today consists as much, if not more, in providing for a people's physical and economic well-being as in ministering to its moral and spiritual needs. This State is Mysore. More than half a century ago, before ideas of constitutional reform had assumed definite shape in British India, Mysore was the first Indian State—indeed, the first part of India—to make a genuine attempt to associate the people in the work of administration. Within a few years of its rendition in 1881, under the wise direction of the late Maharaja, aided by a Prime Minister of exceptional foresight and ability, Mysore was universally acknowledged as a model State; and this proud distinction has been worthily sustained during the thirty-two years

of the rule of the present Maharaja, H.H. Sir Sri Krishneraja Wadiyar Bahadur.

But without going so far as to imply that the inhabitants of some Indian States are better off, materially as well as morally, than under the more comprehensive régime of the British Indian provinces, the events of the last ten years dispassionately observed would certainly seem to suggest that the results of enlightened Indian rule, as measured by the contentment of the sixty-nine million Indian States subjects, are not necessarily in all respects inferior to the benefits of Western civilization. It is not an accident that the District Officer who, as the masses view government, is the real governor of British India, is popular and respected in his district, inasmuch as he establishes the relations which should prevail between a beloved Chief and his subjects. But has this fact, and all the knowledge of Indian character which lies behind it, been sufficiently appreciated by the framers of the White Paper?

Far from being "mere historic survivals of an unburied past," the rulers of Indian India, with some few exceptions, are experienced and hard-working men of affairs whose dominions require to be governed no less than Ireland and the Black Country, and whose standards of administration, when due allowance has been made for the essential differences of aim, if not methods, compare not unfavourably with those of neighbouring British Indian provinces. To argue, for instance, that the population of the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore will be worse off from the standpoint of the ratepayer accustomed to a high level of municipal efficiency, if and when the area is retroceded to the State, is to invite a retort which is as strictly in accordance with hard facts as it is damaging to our own self-esteem.

Behind the scenes of Eastern splendour which marked the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon, last December, to one of the most enchanting cities that it has ever been the writer's lot to see and which can rightly claim to be "the Garden City of India," there stands as excellent an example of sound and efficient administration as India has to show. To do justice to this more prosaic side without destroying the element of romance is not easy. It is rather like trying to challenge the fitness of Cinderella to discharge the functions of a Crown Princess; to probe too deeply would rob the fairy tale of its charm. But the task must be essayed if we desire not only to see Indian ideas of government in operation but also to grasp the true significance of India's long history.

Try as we may, we can never ignore India's past in any plans for her constitutional future. For it is a commonplace among careful observers of Indian conditions that no bureaucratic system,

however enlightened and efficient; no system of representative Western institutions, no matter how liberal, really suffices to satisfy the need which the ordinary man experiences of being able to go with all his troubles to the individual in whose power lies the effective redress of wrongs. The record of Mysore shows that this insistence of the ancient right of personal access to the ruler, which even today is so marked a characteristic of the constitution of every Indian State, is in no way inconsistent with modern constitutional practice. Thus "the model State," as it is called, has a peculiar interest for the student of Indian institutions and administration.

As in all parts of India, Mysore's present pre-eminence is due in great measure to its past history. The story is long and as yet imperfectly deciphered, but perhaps its most significant chapters have been lived within quite recent years. Muslim rule has existed in the territory which now constitutes the State, but its duration was short. Its mark is less apparent than in the countries lying further to the North, and British rule, after fifty years of vigour, was terminated by the rendition of the State to the present ruling family. The modern State thus consists of an indigenous superstructure erected on a British foundation which owed comparatively little to its Muslim predecessors.

This fact has considerable significance when conditions in Mysore are compared with those in British India, on the one hand, or in the more northerly States on the other. One striking peculiarity of the State may be mentioned in the first place—the differentiation of the legislative body from the official organ of public opinion. In British India the Central and provincial legislatures are expected to fulfil two functions, not necessarily connected: they frame laws but at the same time voice popular aspirations by way of resolutions and interpellations. In Mysore, a distinction, perhaps more apparent than real, is drawn between the deliberative and the legislative functions.

The Representative Assembly was first established by executive order in 1881 to enable the representatives of the people, especially in rural areas, to approach the Government with local grievances and problems and to receive at intervals an account of the Durbar's aims and achievements. This body, under the scheme of constitutional reform introduced ten years ago, has been put on a statutory basis and has also now to be consulted on all proposals for the levy of new taxes as well as on the general principles of legislative measures before their introduction into the separate Legislative Council. The franchise, at the same time, has extended and women are no longer disqualified on the ground of sex from standing for election. The Legislative Council, a much smaller body, with a non-official majority, exercises under the re-

formed constitution powers, generally speaking, similar to those of the provincial legislatures in British India.

In addition to these two constitutional bodies, there is another council, known as the Mysore Economic Conference, which was inaugurated by His Highness in 1911 with the object of associating public-spirited non-officials with the officers of government in the examination of problems connected with the development of the economic resources of the State. It was rightly considered that such questions, as distinct from those of general administration, required special treatment and that their solution in many cases could only be attempted by joint action. This pioneer effort in economic planning on a national scale, which British India at long last has decided to emulate, has already many notable constructive achievements to its credit. The Economic Conference is mainly responsible for the large expenditure on education, the establishment of the University of Mysore and of the Bank of Mysore, the creation of the Department of Industries and the starting of several new indigenous industries, large and small.

The practical consequences of this differentiation between legislative and deliberative functions is worthy of consideration in connection with the White Paper proposals, either in conjunction with, or as a possible alternative to the setting up of Second Chambers in the provinces. It may be argued, conceivably, that even the existing provincial Legislative Councils are too unwieldy for efficient law-making and at the same time too small to permit of the adequate representation of a numerous and heterogeneous population. This dual disability will be accentuated if and when the Councils are enlarged in accordance with the recommendations of the Franchise Committee. It may well be that a more satisfactory line of development is indicated in the direction to which Mysore has managed successfully to conduct its own affairs.

Nor is this the only respect in which the Joint Select Committee can derive valuable guidance from Mysore's pioneer experience in the art of popular representation. The Franchise Committee considered at some length whether, if the immediate adoption of adult franchise were impracticable, it might not be possible to make the village an electoral unit. This suggestion, attractive as it appeared at first sight, was rejected on the ground that the villages of modern India had in the vast majority of cases no self-governing institutions of their own and, therefore, no representative body which could be made the medium for placing electors on the electoral roll. "The revival of the panchayat system," the Committee added, "is of quite modern origin, and the total number of panchayats in British India today is only 11,770 out of a total of some 458,000 villages." Although the great majority of the 16,483 villages in which the population of Mysore, according to

the 1931 Census, is distributed are small—the average is less than 350—there are now some 10,600 village panchayats, or councils, responsible for public health, sanitation, roads, wells and, in some cases, forests, tanks, and temple charities in their respective areas.

Admittedly, the results have not been uniformly satisfactory. Almost all the councils have levied obligatory taxes and twelve of them had recourse as well to optional levies. As democratic bodies in more advanced Western centres have often found to their cost, it is comparatively easy to impose taxation; the difficulty is to collect the proceeds. Some of the councils have sought a way out in insistence upon weekly labour for communal purposes—an expedient which might advantageously be more widely adopted in the West—and work to the value of over one and a half lakhs of rupees is reported to have been completed during the year under this system, which is being extended.

Although the period under review was one of relative prosperity for the agriculturist, the bumper harvests were considerably discounted in Mysore, as elsewhere, by the continued fall in prices of food grains and other primary commodities. The ryot had great difficulty in paying the annual assessment and other Government demands, in spite of the grant of substantial concessions. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that the Revenue Commissioner again remarks upon the unsatisfactory character of the collection work, which is attributed partly to the economic depression and also to the "negligence of the Village Panchayats themselves in not taking timely and effective steps to collect their dues." A considerable portion of the outstanding arrears, more than half of which, as in previous years, have accumulated in two districts, are a legacy of the old Panchayats and Unions and in due course will be written off. On the whole, though, the system is stated to "be gaining ground and becoming very popular" and striking results have been achieved in some villages.

A great deal, naturally, depends on the enthusiasm and energy of the Amildars, who are evidently becoming more alive to their responsibilities in this respect. Many councils, taking advantage of the cheapness and availability of electricity, for example, are gradually substituting electric light, or petromax lamps, for the familiar kerosene "buttis" in street lighting. Twenty villages are already lighted by electricity, and plans to promote its extended use are under official consideration.

The annual expenditure on revenue account for which the councils are responsible exceeds £60,000 and the large accumulated funds in hand for works of permanent utility have enabled the State Government to sanction a scheme for the recruitment of a special staff of Panchayat Inspectors with technical experience to assist in the construction of new roads, bridges, and causeways

and the layout of villages in accordance with a settled programme of rural development. Not the least gratifying feature of the growth of these village councils has been the keen and active interest shown by non-official members of the community in their work, thereby laying the foundations in Mysore of a social service movement, much as we know it in this country.

The revival of the ancient form of local self-government, in short, is yielding encouraging results and the Mysore Durbar, which has wisely rendered every aid and encouragement to the movement, is apparently in a fair way to solve a problem with which practically every province in British India has tried in vain to grapple. It is, incidentally, not always realized how many of the activities which we in the West regard as being inherent in the State have in Indian India for many centuries been discharged by semi-voluntary co-operative effort through the family, the village and the caste. For just as even now in many Indian States the family and the kin accept a considerable degree of responsibility for the good conduct of the individual citizen, traditionally the Indian village has always constituted the real governmental unit in India.

In many other parts of the country, particularly in those areas where British centralization has not impaired the ancient political structure, the village is still charged with ordinary police duties; the village council still remains the tribunal for petty cases, both civil and criminal; and the village possesses and exercises the right to tax itself, quite independent of State permission, for common village purposes. Caste, in which generic term for convenience may be included the occupational guilds, moreover, provides a higher integration of social life along particular lines than that which the village with its restricted area can compass. The caste guilds and caste councils still play the most important part in the life of the ordinary citizen throughout India as a whole; but while in British India their direct political influence has tended to operate through less overt methods, they are openly recognized in the Indian States as among the major directing forces in the sphere of politics.

Nowhere more notably, perhaps, than in Mysore have the benefits of Western civilization, in the shape of representative institutions as well as the many public utility and industrial enterprises for which the State is justly famous, been secured at less sacrifice of all that is best in the traditional usage and ancient customs. Sir Mirza Ismail's addresses to the Representative Assembly are remarkably clear and businesslike documents in which the essential is distinguished from the relatively less important to a degree unusual in India, and it is in no arrogant spirit that the material and moral progress of Mysore are invari-

ably contrasted with such progressive Empire countries as Canada and Australia. Sir Mirza Ismail is fully conscious of the fact that adverse natural conditions may permanently prohibit advance to the level of the examples which he has selected for comparison. The selection is made deliberately on the sound ground that it is desirable to set a high ideal at which to aim so that there may be no temptation to be content with a record that, judged by most standards, undoubtedly represents a remarkable achievement.

Many factors have contributed to Mysore's renown and prosperity. First, it is equipped with a modern and efficient administration and appears to have found a happy solution of the problem of recruiting its personnel, which is the occasion of such anxiety in many Indian States. Secondly, the organization of the departments designed to assist public enterprise in matters of agriculture, mining, and industrial development, though not perhaps theoretically perfect, has been built up on sound and practical lines. Thirdly, in spite of the fact that the service of its funded debt, including the archaic tribute, or cash contribution, to the Paramount Power, for which there is no longer any moral or economic justification, absorbs nearly one-sixth of the gross revenues of the State, the financial position is eminently sound; taxation is not severe and a small surplus is assured in ordinary years after making substantial provision for remunerative capital expenditure. Finally, the State is the owner of valuable and productive property; its assets include the railway system, the irrigation works and the great hydro-electric enterprise, yielding a net return even today of over 4 per cent. on the capital at charge.

Particular stress is laid on the stability of the State's finances for the reason that finance in the past has rarely been a strong point in Indian administration. Few of the changes resulting from the advent of British rule have been more beneficial to the people than the introduction and gradual popularization of wise and orthodox financial principles. But Mysore, as we have said, is by no means satisfied with this record.

The Government aspires to progress in many directions, of which only a few need be mentioned. The exploration of the forests is considered to be still incomplete, the sugar industry is being revived and many minor forms of industrial development, like the new trade with this country in granite, are being taken in hand, though the heavy drain of the tribute is proving a formidable obstacle to progress in every field. The great need is still for improved communications—that cry of so large a part of India. More roads and many internal lines of railway are still wanted, while the State should not, and probably will not, be content until it has a line leading down to the Western Ghats to a serviceable seaport. A glance at the railway map is sufficient

to afford convincing proof of the reality of this need. If a new natural port does not exist, one will have to be made, and the writer is confident that the new Federal Railway Board will not allow differences of jurisdiction between port and hinterland, or the conflicting interests of existing lines, to delay unnecessarily the realization of a project of such importance to the South of India.

Nor do material needs only exhaust the aspirations of this progressive State, which comprise still further extensions of education, a larger and more effective measure of Local Government and other schemes of which space forbids mention. Taking, however, the record of the State as a whole, congratulations are due alike to the founders and to the builders for a standard of attainment which means so much to the population—over six million souls—inhabiting its territories.

THE KASHMIR CENSUS REPORT

(See Plates E and F at the end of the article)

THE taking of a Census in a country presenting such geographical, racial, and social difficulties as Jammu and Kashmir must be very great. The large measure of success that has attended the present work is due to the elaborate preparations and tireless endeavour of the officers concerned, assisted by the cordial co-operation and the "friendly attitude and goodwill of the people," some account of which is given in the Introduction.

The Report opens with a description of the geographical position and extent of the country and mentions some of the physical features. The total area of the State, as adopted for the Census, is 84,471 square miles, the greatest in size of all the Indian States, the next being Hyderabad with 82,698 square miles. For administrative purposes it is divided into two parts: (*a*) comprising ten districts and (*b*) consisting of two jagirs and seven illaqas.

On the night of February 26, 1931, when the Census was taken, the population numbered 3,646,243, of which 1,938,338 were males and 1,707,905 females. This gives an average of 43 persons to the square mile, but in an agricultural country such as Kashmir the density varies very greatly in different areas, being governed by natural conditions, the extent of irrigation by means of canals, and other causes.

Canal engineering was extensively practised in Kashmir from remote times; the Report refers to a 21-mile-long canal constructed by Raja Ram Dev 5,000 years ago to bring water to Martand temple. The existing ruins of the great temple at Martand, built by Lalitaditya, are of about the early eighth century A.D., so Raja Ram Dev's was evidently an earlier one. The present Martand canal takes off from the Liddar river and with its distributaries has a total length of $34\frac{1}{4}$ miles, irrigating an area of about 1,500 acres. Up to 1923 there were also six other large canals in the Jammu and Kashmir Provinces with an aggregate length of about 370 miles, estimated to irrigate an area of about 146,500 acres.

After 1923 the Public Works Department was divided into three administrative sections: (1) Roads and Buildings; (2) Irrigation; (3) Electricity, each under a separate engineer; and, says the Report: "Since this scheme marks an era in the inauguration of a vigorous policy of development it is only fair to quote briefly the highly beneficial intentions of the Ruler, which show the

depth of patriotic feelings and irresistible love for the welfare of the people." The quotation from the Ruler's note referred to expresses the recognition of the need for better roads of communication and for further development of irrigation. These two needs he rightly considers can be most efficiently served by entrusting them to the care of separate officers.

During 1931 the Zainagir canal, started in 1932, was completed, and adds a further potential area of irrigation of 18,000 acres. Other extensions are in progress. The result of this activity is declared to be that "places which at one time appeared wilderness and uninhabitable . . . are now full of green fields and well-grown fruit gardens. The price of the land has considerably increased and the inhabitants are now in a comparatively prosperous condition."

This extension of available agricultural land and the provision of running water ought to contribute towards improvement in the health of the country. During the ten years ending in 1930 there have been nine visitations of plague in Jammu and one in Kashmir. The deaths from this cause in Jammu were over 5,000, but as the previous decade showed a mortality nearly 50 per cent. higher an improvement of some kind is indicated. Cholera and smallpox have taken heavy toll, the deaths for the ten years being over 25,000. Both of these diseases seem to be worse in Kashmir than in Jammu. There is, however, a slight drop in these figures as compared with the previous decade. 388,478 deaths are vaguely attributed to fever. But in spite of these drawbacks the Report says: "To sum up, it may be safely concluded that the decade has been exceptionally fortunate and propitious as compared to its predecessor on account of its enjoying complete immunity from the hellish visitation of influenza which carried away about 45,000 souls. . . ."

Hospitals and dispensaries have increased from seventy-six in 1921 to ninety-one in 1930, and the number of out-patients rose from 735,395 to 1,130,412. The work of these institutions would be considerably lightened if a livelier sense of hygiene could be awakened among the people and sufficient facilities provided for its application. Primitive habits which may be relatively innocuous in rural places are dangerous when practised in crowded towns and cities, and so long as these remain diseases directly due to uncleanliness must continue to scourge the unfortunate masses. It is, however, reassuring to read in the Administrative Reports for the past three years that great efforts are being made to provide a proper system of drainage and sewage disposal.

An interesting account is given of the improvements in communications. The difficulties presented to the engineer in constructing and maintaining roads over a country of hills and

forests, subject to the erosive action of drainage from lofty mountain ranges under the seasonal changes of temperature and rainfall with the consequent fluctuations in the rivers and streams, are exceedingly great. The manner in which these have been met and overcome is testimony enough to the skill, experience, and tenacity of all concerned in the work. The seriousness of the need for the extension of proper roads was shown during the recent disturbances, when military and police were greatly hampered in their movements.

But the best of roads can be rendered useless when Nature's forces are in destructive mood. How often has one been held up on the Jhelum Valley road by sudden landslides and wrecked bridges! The floods of August, 1929, in the Jhelum and Indus Valleys carried away the Kohala, Kishengunga, and Domel bridges, cutting off all road communications between Kashmir and the Punjab. On that occasion the disaster was partly caused by the bursting of the Shayok Dam, when the Shayok river rose to a height of 93 feet. With their usual promptitude, however, the Public Works Department quickly restored communications. The whole of the city of Srinagar was threatened by inundation, as it has often been before, but thanks to the prompt and energetic action of the authorities, encouraged by the personal and untiring supervision of the Maharajah himself, the weak points in the bunds were strengthened and the danger averted.

The Jhelum Valley road runs for a distance of 132 miles in Kashmir territory, from the Kohala bridge to Srinagar, and is a splendid motor road carrying a ceaseless stream of traffic. The additional 64 miles from Kohala to Rawalpindi is in British territory. This is the main artery connecting Kashmir with India. Then there is the Garhi-Habibullah road branching off from the Jhelum Valley road at Domel and joining the railway at Abbotabad. A third cart road, joining Kashmir and Jammu, is the Banihal road, opened in 1922 and described as " the biggest and costliest feat accomplished in the history of the State Public Works Department." It has a total length of 203 miles and crosses two passes—those of Patani, 7,000 feet, and Banihal, 9,000 feet. It took about twelve years to complete and cost Rs. 43,000,000. There are several other good roads serving various parts of the country of which 2,522 are unmetalled or kachcha (spelt variously " katcha " and " kutcha " in the Report), the total road mileage in 1930 being 3,035.

Industrial development is dealt with at some length and records steady growth, whether always in the right direction must be left to time to prove. A new portfolio of Commerce and Industries was provided in 1922, " resulting in the creation of a new

Department of Industries under an expert." This is said to have had the effect of "spreading an industrial atmosphere" and "creating a desire in the people to take to industrial pursuits," a statement supported by a list of "important industries established during the decade." Among these are included cotton carpet factories, said to be employing 1,210 persons. Presumably this is distinct from the woollen carpet industry which has been in active operation for many years, thanks to the enterprise of a few Europeans. "Willow Works," one of the new industries, were started in the Amar Singh Technical Institute. Suitable willow trees from England were imported, for curiously enough none of the indigenous willows were suitable for good class work. These first trees, raised from cuttings, were most carefully planted and grown by an expert from Yorkshire, who was selected with the approval of the Durbar. He not only created a splendid model willow-garth in which he taught students how to grow and cut the rods, but he also taught them how to prepare and make them up into high-class baskets, chairs, etc., for which a considerable demand immediately arose.

With the exception of match-making, which employs only 20 persons, the industries enumerated could all be moderately successful in meeting local demands. Fruit preserving could, under efficient direction and management, find a more extended market in India. The future of silk is beset by formidable obstacles which may prove too much for it. At present the two factories at Srinagar and Jammu respectively employ 1,538 persons, and the cottage industry of silk-rearing affords supplementary employment to thousands of villagers.

Some of the activities named would perhaps be better dropped as their chance of success is very doubtful. The ambition of so many States to emulate the mass-production of others, who have the advantages of a long start and a different and perhaps more suitable mentality, is deplorable. The charm and commercial value of the products of each country lie in individuality. With the extinction of this quality the distinctive attraction fails. The resultant decay by atrophy of skilled craftsmanship is one of the most disastrous sequelæ of modern human progress. Close acquaintance extending over some years with the crafts and craftsmen of Kashmir convinced the writer that for skill they were second to none, but it was obvious that such skill, although still to be found, was being rapidly dulled and destroyed by commercial exploitation. One of the latest proposals is to introduce improved looms for the manufacture of *puttu*. This is the first step towards changing the character of a hand-spun and hand-woven cloth which now has a distinctive character. Can it be supposed that when it is so developed as to have lost its peculiar qualities

and its appeal to those who like such fabrics it will successfully compete with the products of Bradford or any of the other great cloth-weaving centres? In the long run it would be far more profitable to encourage and develop excellence in the handicrafts of the country for which it has become famous, than to risk being swamped in the maelstrom of world competition.

That the natural resources of the country are rich is well known, and although many of these are unusable at present on account of their inaccessibility, this difficulty in course of time will doubtless be overcome.

The forests under the control of the Forest Department are extensive, covering an area of 10,141 square miles, and the net revenue in 1930-31 was 47.80 lakhs of rupees, having nearly doubled in ten years, and representing about 29 million cubic feet of timber extracted. Crude resin to the extent of 55,000 maunds were tapped. These activities have provided work for about 1,000 of the rural population.

The promotion of education in agriculture has been in progress for some years, but the zemindar does not appear to have responded to the efforts made in his interests so enthusiastically as could be wished. The Census shows a total of 751,385 agricultural workers. It speaks of hordes of intermediaries between grower and consumer "who intercept a major portion of the profit, and while the agriculturist gets very little the consumer has to pay much more." Quite a Western touch, this.

Fruit growing should be a very profitable industry, and in recent years the apples and pears grown from imported trees were highly successful, but latterly there seems to have been deterioration. The ravages of the San José scale has taken heavy toll, and whole orchards of fine trees have had to be burnt in the efforts to arrest the spread of the disease. What amount of success has attended these measures does not appear.

Steps to improve livestock are being taken and eighteen veterinary hospitals are now in operation in the State. Co-operative societies seem to have spread all over the country and are said to be beneficial to the agriculturist and to artisans. Courts of Law have increased although litigation is said to have decreased.

The Police Force has been enlarged and the status and pay of all ranks raised at an increased cost of 71·8 per cent. "As regards offences, those against State and public tranquillity, murders and other offences against person exhibited an increase, while dacoities, thefts, and house-trespasses suffered a decline. In murders, dacoities, and other offences against the person the district of Mirpur holds an unenviable position, while in theft the Srinagar district stands first. In house-breaking and trespass the Jammu district seems abnormally adept."

The Army include the Imperial troops (829) and Indian States Army (4,794).

Speaking of female occupation, we are told that 7 per cent. are employed in foodstuffs, while trade in fuel is also "a favourite pastime."

In dealing with vital statistics we are told bluntly that they are unreliable, "rotten and fictitious" as "the agency through which these records are gathered is both illiterate and irresponsible." Details of the distribution and movement of the population occupy about twenty-seven pages. The province of Jammu seems to be slow in the growth of its population and during the ten years lost heavily by influenza and in some districts by malaria. Kashmir Province, on the other hand, presents a brighter aspect, the Census figures showing "that the decade has been blessed with piping times, except for the disastrous floods of 1985 and 1986 [1925, 1926].

The Report goes on to deal with incomes of individuals and housing. Comparisons of income per head and standards of comfort between countries if used to indicate relative degrees of happiness or contentment are usually misleading. They are especially so when applied to such utterly different modes of life as those of East and West respectively. There is just as much, probably more, discontent between Western communities in regard to relative standards of so-called comfort as between those of East and West. Taking the relative average annual incomes of Great Britain and India, as quoted at £95 and £8 respectively, it is quite possible that the Indian enjoys a higher average of contentment than the Briton. The complex ways of life in the West do not necessarily bring contentment, and the imitation of these ways by the East with inadequate pecuniary means can only result in dissatisfaction. To quote the Report: "It is now become the fashion for the well-to-do to take their wives with them to the cinemas"; and again, "women have discarded the loose and untidy dress of centuries and are seen in up-to-date India *saris*. The return of scholars of various communities after training in the foreign countries has imported far more advanced and liberal ideas the permeation of which in their respective communities is every day liberalizing the atmosphere." Well, of course, £8 a year will not discharge these liberalizing demands, and so discontent must follow. This may make for what is called progress, but will carry with it increasing mental and bodily discomfort and unhappiness. But the whole subject is too controversial to enter upon in this short review.

A note on decaying industries refers to shawl weaving. This was killed by the machine-made imitations produced in great quantities in France and England. The same fate has overtaken

the blanket (*loi*) industry. Whether this is entirely due to machinery may be questioned. During the Great War, under the rule of the late Maharaja, there was urgent demand for woollen cloth and Kashmir was asked to arrange for large quantities of *puttu* to be made. Samples were called for, produced and approved. Orders were placed, but when the goods were tendered for delivery they failed to come up to standard and the matter had to be dropped.

Paper-making is an ancient industry in Kashmir and the paper was of excellent quality. In course of time the makers became careless and the quality suffered. The Durbar, anxious to help the paper-making community and to rescue an old and reputable industry from extinction, engaged a European expert to investigate and report. The report showed that good hand-made paper could be produced, and in fact was produced under the expert's supervision, and that all the needs of the State could have been met at sufficiently economical rates. But the makers themselves resented interference and preferred to run in the old grooves.

The number of literates in the State is 123,885, showing an increase of 71 per cent. over the 1921 figures, "which is a proof positive of the State's concern for the welfare of the masses." In fact, "literacy is spreading at such a high rate that the corresponding increase of the population dwindled into insignificance, and it is clear that the citadel of illiteracy, strong though it looks, is not impregnable and is sure to be blown up some day." This is a very inspiriting prognosis. In the table showing the variation in the advance of literacy in the various religious sects we find that Brahmanic Hindus have increased by 56 per cent., Arya Hindus by 418 per cent., and Muslims by 88 per cent. "The progress of literacy amongst Christians, 42 per cent., shows what the Missions have done for amelioration of the lot of the lower strata of public life in the country." There are eight female to every hundred male literates.

In a comparative statement of progress in literacy of all castes, it is sad to see that the Balti is "guarding the rear while the Jats, the Arains, and the Sheikhs have grown sick of the precipitous climb." But "no doubt their weariness . . . will soon yield to a resolute will to resume the uphill march which, though at first dreary, is bestrewn with the roses of a happier and fuller life." These encouraging words should stir the laggards to be up and doing. Out of a total population of 3,646,243 only 19,469 are literate in English. There are 1,246 educational institutions as against 670 in 1921. Of these the number for girls is 133. The indigenous Maktabs and Pathshalas number 144 and are dying out as the more popular Government schools increase. The number of scholars is 77,574. In 1931, 172 students from the

Prince of Wales College, Jammu, went up for the University examinations, of whom 87 were successful. In 1930, 257 went up from the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, and 106 passed. Technical education is controlled by the Director of Industries. There are nine technical institutes, as compared with one in 1921, and the number of students has risen from 81 to 484.

Under the head of Literary Activity we are told that "the outstanding event of the decade was the success of journalism in finding a couple of votaries in Mr. Mulk Raj Saraf, B.A., and Pandit Ganga Nath, B.A.," who started the first weekly in the State, the *Ranbir*, which "has the largest circulation in the State and the number of its readers is considerable." This was followed by several others and there is expectation of the number increasing. These and the papers imported from India constitute the chief evidence of literary activity.

Language is dealt with in an interesting chapter and shows a bewildering number of tongues. Kashmiri, with its five dialects, is spoken by 1,413,166. Shina, the language of Gilgit Valley, is used by 63,918. Panjabi is spoken in Jammu and Mirpur by 392,201. Gojari, a dialect used by Gujjars, 317,762; and there are many other varieties of speech.

Under Religion is the following interesting statement: "The fate of the country seems at present inextricably bound with religion, since each of the religious communities have their separate personal laws which govern their daily life and conduct, and the development of the country towards democracy is also proceeding on religious or communal rather than nationalistic lines. Since franchise and representation to the various public bodies, the provincial legislative councils, and the central legislature is again based on communal considerations, it is but natural that the people have become habituated to class themselves under religious labels instead of economic or social divisions."

The religions represented in Kashmir and Jammu are grouped under the following heads: Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist, Christian, and Jain. Each of these is split up into many different sects and castes. This part of the Report is contained in Chapter XII., and is full of interesting matter relating to the many races, tribes, and hereditary occupations which constitute the subjects of the State.

The Report is lavishly furnished with statistical tables and graphic charts, sufficient to satisfy the demands of the keenest enthusiast for such form of instruction.

On the whole, the typography is good. Measured by the usual Government Press, Calcutta, standard, it is in many respects definitely superior, and the Jammu Ranbir Government Press is to be congratulated on its achievement.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Anant Ram, B.A., Census Commissioner, and Pandit Hira Nand Raina, B.SC., LL.B., Assistant Census Commissioner, the compilers of the Report, have done their work with a thoroughness which calls for the highest praise, and in doing it have surmounted difficulties which to many would have been overwhelming.

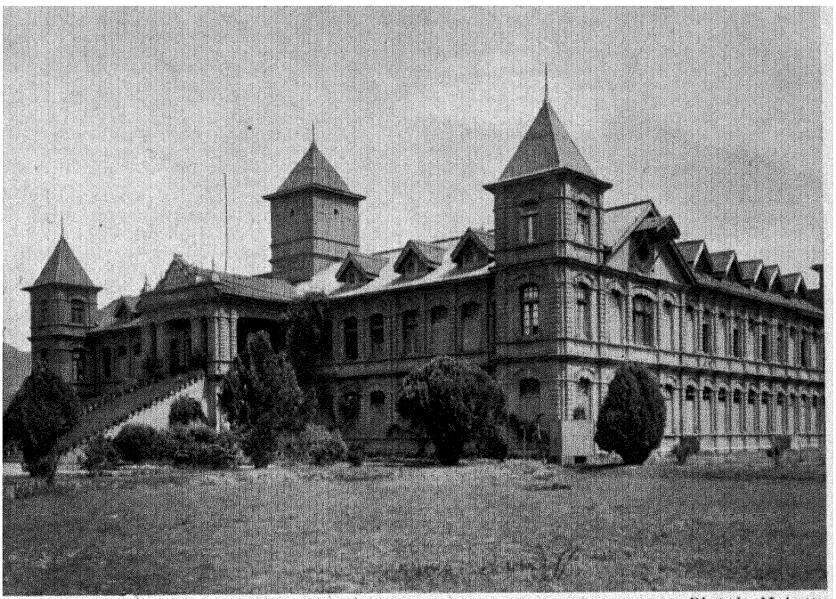


Photo by Mahatta.

THE TECHNICAL INSTITUTE AT SRINAGAR.



Photo by Mahatta.

A CANAL IN SRINAGAR.

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PLATE F



Photo by Mahatta.

THE UPPER STRETCHES OF THE BANIHAL CART ROAD.

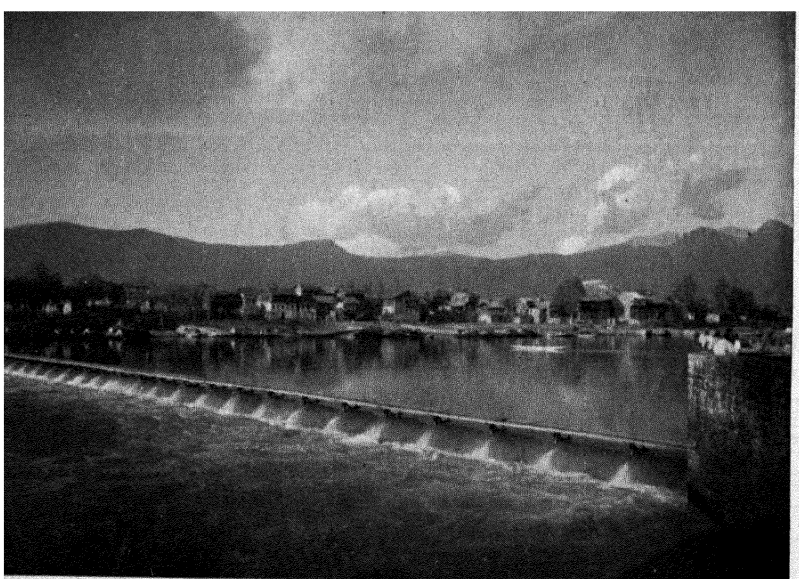


Photo by Mahatta.

THE BARRAGE AT SRINAGAR.

To face page 569.

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PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES

By John de La Valette

I

Gwalior: A Prosperous State—A Martial People

The time is drawing near when the youthful Ruler of the important State of Gwalior will reach the age at which he will assume personal responsibility for the government of his realm. Since his accession in 1925, this has been exercised by a Council of Regency, having his mother, the Dowager Maharanee, widow of the late Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindhia, for its president. It is, therefore, appropriate to take stock of the past history and present position of the State, and this is clearly and concisely done in a book, recently published by the Government of Gwalior under the title of *Gwalior of To-day*.*

In its opening chapters a rapid description is presented of the scattered portions of this State, which aggregates some 26,400 square miles in area and the population of which, according to the 1931 census, exceeds $3\frac{1}{2}$ million souls. There is also a useful sketch of the country's history and that of its dynasty, ending with the well-known late Maharaja, who suddenly fell ill and died in Paris, whilst on his way to London, in 1925. Maharaja Madhav Rao had succeeded his father in 1886, and took over the reins of government in 1894. From then until his untimely death more than thirty years later he was the initiator and guiding spirit of the many reforms which were carried out in his State. Among these special attention is drawn to the separation of judicial and executive functions which, it is claimed, has been advanced beyond the stage reached in British India. It is to his late Highness, too, that his subjects owe the establishment of representative institutions, such as the various municipal and district boards, the Auqaf Committees, the Majlis-i-Am, and the Majlis-i-Quanun. The latter is the expert body which advises the Government on legislation to be promulgated, and comprises, in addition to the members of the Government, unofficial members from the Majlis-i-Am, this being a representative body the members of which are, unlike those of corresponding assemblies in other parts of India, not elected direct, but nominated to repre-

* Published by the Publicity Department of the Government of Gwalior under the orders of the Home Member, and printed at the Alijah Darbar Press, Lashkar, Gwalior.

sent different group interests. It supplies, therefore, a corporat type of representation, rather than one based on constituent area

In other directions, too, his late Highness brought abou numerous improvements within the State—for instance, in th matters of education and public health, and also in protecting an making better known the remarkable archæological treasures c Gwalior.

Western methods of medicine and surgery were practically ur known in Gwalior State before the commencement of his reigr A modest beginning was made in 1887 by organizing a Depar ment to provide medical assistance on Western lines. Startin with half a dozen small institutions in 1887 and an outlay o 18,000 rupees, the organization grew until at present there ar 135 hospitals and other medical institutions, both for treatment o European and on indigenous lines, entailing an annual outlay b the Government of over five lakhs of rupees.

Somewhat similar progress is shown in regard to educatior There was hardly anything in the nature of public instructio before 1860, when Maharaja Jayaji Rao sanctioned a budget prc vision of some 17,000 rupees, increased the following year t 20,000 rupees. From 1863, when Sir Michael Filose was appointe Director of Education, a steady programme of expansion wa started and carried on to this day, when the annual budget i around thirteen lakhs of rupees. In addition to primary an secondary education, there are now opportunities for higher edu cation, the institutions being affiliated to the University of Agra Provision has also been made for special classes of students, sucl as on the one hand the sons of the nobles, an important clas in the State, and on the other the children of the backwar criminal tribes, which are gradually being induced to settle dow peaceably.

Other special institutions provide technical education or cate for students of Sanskrit, whilst the education of girls also receive careful attention.

In a State like Gwalior, which was carved out by conques during the troubled times when the rapid disintegration of th Mughal Empire gave the Mahrattas a chance of which they availe themselves to the full, chiefs and petty nobles naturally played a important part. On the one hand, there were the military ad herents of the Sindhias, like these Mahratta by race, who accom panied them in the course of their campaigns, and, having share in their exploits, were rewarded with grants of land in the con quered territories, most of which their descendants hold to this day

Next came the chiefs and nobles who had been settled in thes parts prior to the advent of the Mahrattas, the majority of then being Rajputs. These either maintained the grants bestowed o

them by earlier Rulers, or else held their lands from the subsequent Mahratta princes.

To these classes should be added a few families founded by adventurous and successful soldiers of fortune. All of them today form the large land-owning class in the State. An interesting chapter is devoted to their histories, including those of the principal families. Lovers of mediæval lore should, it seems, find material in Gwalior for a whole series of historical novels.

Nor has the military spirit of these warrior chiefs abated in recent times. Whenever Britain has been at war, the Ruler of Gwalior and his subjects have loyally come to her support. In 1900, for instance, when hostilities broke out in China, his late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Sindhia not only presented a hospital ship to the British Government, but proceeded in person on General Gaselee's staff. Again in the Boer War, as in the European conflagration of 1914, the resources of the State were promptly placed at Britain's disposal, and in the latter case also its armed forces.

Forthwith the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Gwalior Lancers furnished units and detachments for remount purposes in France and Mesopotamia, whilst other detachments proceeded to the North-West Frontier districts, eventually taking part in the Waziristan campaign of 1916-17 and the Afghan war of 1919. The third Gwalior Infantry battalion was mobilized as early as September, 1914, and proceeded to Africa, taking part, on the morning after its arrival, in the unsuccessful attack on Tonga. After this it was despatched to Mombasa and joined in the operations in East Africa until 1917, and subsequently in the Waziristan campaign. The fourth battalion arrived at Suez in November, 1914, and, after taking part in the defence of the Suez Canal, was eventually incorporated in the forces which conquered Palestine. In the course of this campaign the battalion took over a section of the trenches in front of Gaza, and, as part of the 20th Infantry Brigade, gave a good account of itself in the third battle of Gaza. It was not until January, 1919, that this battalion returned to Suez and thence to Bombay, after more than four years' continuous service overseas.

The Gwalior Transport Corps showed itself a worthy successor to the Gwalior Imperial Service Transport which took part in the Chitral Expedition of 1897-98 and the Punjab and Tirah Expeditions of the same period. Detachments of it arrived at Marseilles as early as November, 1914, and, soon proceeding to the front, were present at the battles of Festubert, Neuve Chapelle, La Couture, La Bassée, Bethune, and Ypres.

Subsequently other detachments proceeded to Gallipoli and Salonika, the remainder eventually being sent to Mesopotamia, where it took part in the battle of Kut and many another engage-

ment. Returning to India after 3½ years' service abroad, the outbreak of the Afghan war caused it forthwith to be despatched to the forces operating in that theatre. It was only after more than five years' absence abroad that these detachments reached their home quarters again. Altogether a record of which the Ruler and the martial people of Gwalior may well be proud.

The romantic thoughts engendered by the bare enumeration of the movements of these Gwalior troops, joining in British battles in many parts of the globe, have made me, I fear, encroach upon the space allowed for reference to the more matter-of-fact contents of this interesting book on Gwalior. For here are to be found meticulous accounts of the working of its central government and municipal administration. Of law and justice you may read; of humanized prisons and sumptuous darbars. How revenue is spent on vast irrigation works, and in turn is by it engendered; how communications have been improved by railway enterprise, and more recently by motor services; how trade and commerce are fostered, and industry created and led—of all this you may read. And—strangely fascinating, though somewhat baffling to the Briton—of a sort of inland "free port," without any sea around, you will find a thrilling account, and how it seems to work, and stimulates industrial enterprise and trade.

But to me the lure of Gwalior would seem to lie in its numerous artistic treasures, its gorgeous palaces and formidable forts, even though I miss some of the more modest but entirely enchanting specimens of the indigenous master-builder's achievements with which those of us who are interested in the living art of India have been made familiar.

In conclusion, here is an excellent work on Gwalior. It leaves the clear impression that the young prince, His Highness Maharaja George Jivaji Rao Sindhia, when he will shortly assume the personal rule of his prosperous State, will do so under the most favourable auspices. Having, moreover, the noble and eminent examples of his immediate predecessors to guide him, his people and the well-wishers of his State will feel assured that he will worthily carry on their work.

II

Nawanagar: "Ranji"—and After

For those who knew, and therefore admired, the late Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, His Highness Ranjitsinhji Vibhaji, the recently published Administration Report for that State* will have a pathetic interest. They will see it once more in the businesslike,

* *Administration Report for the Nawanagar State*, 1932-33. (Printed at the Nawanagar State Press, Jamnagar.)

informative mould into which he shaped it, illumined here and there by some of those telling graphic charts the full meaning of which he had so completely mastered, that he could quote facts and figures in minute detail from memory—and never go wrong.

But, for the first time in twenty-five years, it is not to him that this report is presented. The administrative year with which it deals had scarcely been completed, and the drafting of the report itself had not been put in hand, when, on April 2, 1933, the twenty-sixth anniversary of his accession to the gadi, that brilliant sportsman and fine gentleman suddenly passed away after a very short illness.

It is fitting, therefore, that the present report should contain a biographical sketch of the life of the late Jam Saheb, who, apart from having been an outstanding example of a wise Ruler of an Indian State, will, under the affectionate name of "Ranji," live in the hearts of the British people as long as cricket counts for anything among them.

Of the great strides which were made in Nawanagar during the twenty-six years of his reign a few figures must here suffice to give an indication.* One of the Prince's earliest reforms was the placing of land revenue on a cash basis, combined with various measures for the securing of their land to the occupants, and the granting to them of transfer rights theretofore unknown. The effect which these various measures had upon the better utilization of the soil is demonstrated by the fact that, whilst the value of all crops was in 1907 barely 66 lakhs of rupees, it attained in 1929, the last normal year which preceded the world-wide slump in agricultural prices, the figure of 287 lakhs. Not only so, but the share of this revenue taken by the State, though, in absolute figures, it increased from 16¾ lakhs of rupees in 1907 to 28½ lakhs in 1929, actually declined as to its percentage of the total from 25 per cent. in the former to 10 per cent. in the latter year. In consequence the cultivators' share of the total yield of agricultural produce rose from 49 lakhs of rupees in 1907 to 258¾ lakhs in 1929, or more than five times.

Another sphere in which a great deal of constructive work was achieved is that of public works of all kinds. In a letter to the late Jam Saheb a Political Officer, describing the condition of Jamnagar at the time when his late Highness succeeded, wrote:

> "I have realized that your work from the beginning has been a rather difficult one, because you have been left a place

* For those interested in a fuller account of these remarkable achievements, it may, perhaps, be permissible to refer to my book, published on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Prince's accession, entitled *An Atlas of the Progress in Nawanagar State*, published for the Nawanagar Government by Messrs. East and West, Ltd., London.

> which is fit for the abode of a gallant but dirty animal, and you will find it very hard, in the unsatisfactory finances to which you have succeeded, to convert it within a reasonable period into a place where a gentleman of the modern ideas with which you are imbued can reside without dismay and difficulty and without creating intolerable liabilities."

Yet that is exactly what the late Jam Saheb achieved. "Within a reasonable period" and without in any way burdening his subjects, or "creating intolerable liabilities," three hundred miles of new roads were built and brought up to the standard required by modern motor traffic which he provided; slums were cleared throughout the capital and replaced, not only by a new palace, but by a whole string of public buildings, including an excellent market, by shops and dwelling-houses. Of the opportunities for acquiring the building land made available by these clearances, the population availed itself by buying sites in Jamnagar valued at some £517,575 and in the country to an aggregate of over two hundred thousand pounds. Adding to this the value of the buildings erected on these sites, £1,600,000 sterling was spent by private individuals or by the Municipality of Jamnagar, in addition to the outlays financed by the Government. Furthermore, land was reclaimed and port accommodation improved, the great works at Bedi Port being a remarkable achievement in themselves. Finally, irrigation works were undertaken on an effective scale. On all of this, excluding the Bedi works and the railways, over one million sterling was spent. And, as we have seen, at the same time the incidence of taxation on the population was reduced from one-fourth to one-tenth of their income.

Bedi was an undertaking that lay close to His Highness's heart. Visualizing its great possibilities, he improved the port until it was capable of accommodating steamers of 12,000 tons and providing them with rapid despatch, as well as with warehousing and railway accommodation, adequate to handle the increased traffic which resulted. To this end over a million and a quarter sterling was spent. But the result is demonstrated by the increase in traffic figures. Import traffic rose from 26,000 tons with a value of 37½ lakhs of rupees in 1907 to 152,000 tons and 241¾ lakhs in 1931, an improvement of more than five times in volume and over six times in value. During the same period exports increased in weight from 15,000 to 40,000 tons and in value from 22 to 71 lakhs of rupees, an improvement not so marked as that in regard of inward traffic—which latter was, of course, to an appreciable extent, accounted for by the Java sugar trade which Bedi attracted and developed—but still one worthy of note.

On railway construction, too, important sums were spent,

amounting to about one million sterling. Part of them were raised by the issue of debentures, the remainder being financed out of current State revenue. As all the railway and tram lines are on a profit-earning basis, this investment has proved both of direct advantage to the State and of benefit to the people.

If in addition to all this we take account of the work done to stimulate trade and industry, to improve public health and provide widespread educational facilities, to raise the standard of agricultural methods by systematic research, propaganda, and encouragement, and at the same time bear in mind the dilapidated condition of the State and its finances twenty-five years ago, as well as the famine and other calamities which overtook it in the early years of Ranjitsinhji's rule, we may confidently assert that his were a well-spent life and a beneficent reign.

Two projects in which he was keenly interested he did not live to complete. The settlement of the dispute with the Indian Government over the arrangements affecting Bedi Port, though it had come within closer distance of achievement, is still outstanding. The method of federation which is to embrace all parts of India within one entity will have to be settled without him. If the latter will largely depend upon the attitude of his brother princes, the former is one of the problems that await his successor to the gadi of Nawanagar. To no one could the late Prince have delegated this task, together with the others which he left to be continued, with greater confidence than to him whom he selected to be his successor: his nephew, the present Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, His Highness Shri Digvijaysinhji Saheb Bahadur, who, with the approval of the Government of India, was placed upon the gadi on the afternoon of April 3, 1933.

About forty years of age, the present Jam Saheb was, like the other members of the late Ruler's family, carefully educated with an eye to the taking of a constructive part in the government and administration of the State, and thus benefiting the people by example and advice. His Highness served in the Indian Army, where he proved himself a capable and keen soldier. From here he was called by his uncle to take charge of the Nawanagar Infantry, and, as we now know, generally to prepare himself for the task which was to devolve upon him. As enthusiastic a sportsman as his predecessor, he is not only an excellent cricketer, but a noted tennis player. The sporting traditions of his uncle seem, therefore, likely to be continued under the present Ruler.

The main task which awaits him is that of consolidating the great improvements achieved during the preceding twenty-five years and of providing for his State's place in the new India which is shaping. As the basis for this great work, His Highness has received a State which is in a thoroughly sound and satisfactory

condition. Not very extensive in size (barely 3,800 square miles), with a population of rather over 400,000 souls, Nawanagar State is financially sound and administratively well organized. In his efforts to consolidate and build up on that which he has inherited, the new Ruler of Nawanagar will receive the hearty good wishes of all those who have followed the progress of his State with interest and admiration.

BRAINS VERSUS BALLOT-BOXES

By K. K. Lalkaka

To whatever quarter of the globe we turn today, the inherent weakness of democratic forms of government is becoming more and more evident. Dictatorships are springing up out of the crumbling debris of democracies. These will prove beneficent in so far as the dictators are wise and use their power for the good of the people. A well-meaning but foolish autocrat will bring as much misery and suffering to his people as would an intelligent man who used his power to gain selfish and unworthy ends. Human nature being what it is, even large and sufficiently enlightened democratic groups have not been free from the scourge of corrupt politics. Such a state of affairs makes for instability. Even in the benevolent despotism of an honest, capable, and intelligent dictator, the element of instability is present, since he is mortal. In such circumstances the continuation of wise and efficient government becomes problematic.

Perhaps the only exception today is Great Britain. Though some of her Dominions have in recent years suffered from the ravages of dishonest and inefficient politicians, Great Britain herself has, in the main, maintained a standard of government which would deter an impartial observer from recording an unqualified verdict against Democracy. Yet on a careful examination of the British system of government one begins to realize that over nine hundred years of experience, strife and suffering have gone into the making of the present British Constitution.

Looking at England today one asks whether, after all, the best form of government would not be an aristocracy of intellect, even though it is realized that, while there are some brilliant men engaged in the political life of the British Isles, the best brains of the British people, nevertheless, have been kept out of politics. Furthermore, it is not sufficiently recognized that in a plethora of scientific technique, invention, and discovery, we are suffering from the results of maladjustments of all kinds because of our inaptitude to bring to bear a scientific outlook upon the highest form of corporate management which in the last analysis is what a government amounts to.

There is, however, one great Dependency on which Great Britain has conferred the blessing of an impartial, stable, and efficient government distinguished for its even-handed and honest

administration. Till 1921, the year in which the Government of India Act of 1919 came in force, India can be said to have been governed by an aristocracy of intellect, an oligarchy of experts carefully picked and well trained in the art of governing. Even as far back as in the eighteenth century, whenever the time came to renew the charter of the East India Company, the British Parliament directed an exhaustive enquiry into the Company's administration. The result of such enquiries is embodied in a series of reports—a veritable storehouse of valuable information gathered with considerable labour—at an interval of every twenty years, beginning with 1773. The last report of this series was published in 1853. However, soon after the Indian Mutiny of 1857, India passed into the hands of the British Crown.

There followed competitive examinations in England for the Indian Civil Service, the members of which have won for it world-wide fame. For over half a century they were responsible for the legislative as well as executive administration of India. There have been nevertheless occasions when the ignorance of the British Parliamentarian has foiled the good intentions of these civilians in India. The Service has been distinguished for the efficient and honest administration of a large, heterogeneous Dependency just because, for the most part, its personnel has been confined to men of exceptional ability with brilliant academic careers, and it has been called upon to maintain very high traditions. Particularly in the case of some of the British members of this Service, the question of tradition has been a personal matter since the family has been distinguished, generation after generation, for giving its best in serving India. Thus it may truly be said that the Indian Civil Service is the finest of its kind in the world.

It is characteristic of this senior service that with the very valuable assistance of sister services like the Indian Medical Service, the Imperial Forest Service, the Imperial Police, etc., but in face of innumerable difficulties, its members have concentrated every ounce of their energy on the stupendous task of evolving order out of chaos, of building up and maintaining in efficient condition a machinery of administration wherein no personal motives serve as grist to the mill. All the same—in spite of the misleading representations of a noisy and turbulent but not disinterested minority—its members, who even today are looked upon by the vast majority of Indian people as their rulers, have not failed to maintain personal contact with the ruled. By holding the scales evenly, these experts in the art of ruling have given wide currency to such expressions of gratitude as *ma-bap sarkar* (government which may be likened to one's parents) and *gharib-parvar* (which means protector of the poor).

Today all this is changing, greatly to the disadvantage of the poor Indian masses whose ancient customs and internal dissensions keep them ignorant, illiterate, and poverty-stricken. Attempts are being made to scrap one of the finest administrative systems in the world which has been the envy of all nations. In its place it is proposed to introduce a democratic form of government totally foreign to the native genius of a conglomeration of diverse peoples governed and swayed by primitive instincts, pagan ideals, and at a time when Democracy has bitterly frustrated the best hopes of an unthinking world.

The bogey that these changes in the constitution of India are to be in fulfilment of pledges has been exploded in other quarters by writers much abler than myself. What is noteworthy is the fact that those who desire to bring about a change are primarily swayed by high-sounding catch phrases like "self-determination" and "all men are equal." This deplorable tendency is at the root of Great Britain having had no definite, clear-cut Imperial policy in recent years. In its place refuge is sought in make-shifts and political formulæ contrary to Britain's responsibilities, particularly in the East.

Humanity has not reached as yet that stage of mass intellectual development where the average man is capable of doing a little thinking for himself. So far there is not even manifest the willingness on his part to do it. Unless the average man is capable of a little elementary scientific thinking, Democracy will not help a world perplexed and bewildered at the consequences of its own folly. Most of us on occasion talk foolishly, but at least let not those who aspire to shape the destinies of millions of their fellow-men think foolishly. Therein lies danger. The present attempt to substitute in India a government by ballot-boxes for a government of brains, is a glaring example of that peculiar type of loose thinking which because it is devoid of wisdom tends to become dangerous.

BOMBAY,
June 1, 1934.

MADAGASCAR: A FRENCH PROVINCE

By Léon Réallon

(The author has been an official in the French Colonial Service in Indo-China, Madagascar, Tahiti, and elsewhere, and has visited British Dominions, Colonies, and Mandated Territories.)

(See illustrations at the end of the article.)

The situation of Madagascar east of Africa, and the fact that the mapmakers have to show it in its exact position—*i.e.*, quite close to the Black Continent—might cause it to be regarded as a dependency of Africa, but the truth is quite otherwise. Madagascar is not African, but Asian. Everything connects it with Asia—the formation of its soil, its animal species, and the origin of its human population. It is quite as worthy of the attention of those who study Asian matters as are the Malay Islands of Java and Sumatra, which in many ways it resembles.

In the early ages of the earth, Madagascar was a part of the great continent of Gondwana, of which Australia and Ceylon are the most easterly remains. South America and Southern Africa were also parts of that continent, and it is less surprising to us, after learning this, to recognize in Brazil and the south of India the same soils, minerals, and precious stones as in the great Malagasy island. Separated from Australia towards the end of the secondary epoch, Madagascar probably continued for some time connected with the Indian peninsula, and there are found among the fossils of Madagascar African species such as the hippopotamus, as well as species that are peculiar to the Sonda Islands. It finally became an island at the close of the tertiary age. It does not seem to have known the human race until very late in the ages of humanity, and in this respect it is interesting to note that, despite the distance which the sea had set between it and Asia, its chief population is Asian, and that its language, though more or less altered in different parts of the island, is a Malay dialect scarcely differing in its language forms from those of Sumatra and Java. Strange is the destiny of this Malay race which came down from the high mountain lands of Central Asia and through the Indo-Chinese peninsula and spread itself in the great islands of Insulinde, to swarm towards the Philippines and Japan and the oceanic archipelagos to Easter Island on the east and Madagascar on the west.

The human population of Madagascar, however, is not entirely Malay. Among the people of the coast negroid elements may easily be observed; the frizzly hair and other distinctive traits o

the black race are fairly common. These may be partly attributed to former Makoan slaves bought in Mozambique (Masombiky) in times not far back. In some parts of the island there may be found traces of Semite or Indian, and even Cambodian, elements; but the most important part of the population is of Malay origin. Owing, however, to the lack of written records, it is not possible to decide at what period the Malay immigrants, who were to give rise to the Hova kingdom, the most developed and powerful in Madagascar, began to land there in successive migrations. But the tales handed down among the Malays and Malagasies very nearly agree in placing it between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The immigrants who had been for some time settled on the east coast were compelled by their spirit of adventure and conquest, as well as by the difficulties of life on the coast and the hostility of the races already established there, to go up to the high plateaux of the centre, where they absorbed the aborigines and founded the Hova kingdom, of which the Andrian castes or nobles directed the destiny with some distinction up to the time of the arrival of the conquering Europeans. The greatest king of the Hova dynasty, Adrianampoinimerina, who ruled from 1787 to 1810, was at the same time a conqueror, a legislator, and an administrator full of good sense and shrewdness. During the reign of his successors the Hova kingdom, in its contact with the French and English powers, allowed itself to be attracted by the outward forms of the civilization of the Europeans. In alternations of enthusiasm or xenophobia it became involved in the intrigues of those two powers, only to succumb finally before the French expedition of 1895 and the revolution of Galliéni in 1897. Queen Ranavalona III., who was banished to Réunion and then to Algeria as the result of an abortive conspiracy, is the last Malagasy sovereign.

Christianity, which was introduced into the Hova kingdom by English missionaries of various Protestant bodies in the reign of King Radama I. and then by Jesuit fathers, who came from France, modified the manners of the court and the population and, in spite of the violent opposition of the national paganism, ended by becoming predominant. Under Ranavalona II., his Prime Minister built by the side of the queen's palace a chapel for Protestant worship, and proclaimed himself head of the new national Church. At the present day, though many customs of a pagan character have not disappeared from the villages of the Imerina (Tananarive), Christianity is practised by all the Malagasies of the highlands; there are few villages which have not both their Protestant church and their Catholic church, where, every Sunday, the faithful never fail to pray together, and especially to sing together those old religious hymns of England and France which charmed our infancy and which

ever recall in our souls, far from our native land, so many memories and emotions.

Whatever be one's opinion in religious matters, it is generally admitted that it is to Christianity that Madagascar owes its being so European. Many colonial peoples who have been conquered by the French remain at heart deeply hostile and try to widen the gulf which separates us from them, because their religion, philosophy, and customs are radically opposed to ours; but nothing of that kind has occurred in the conquest and organization of Madagascar by France. The country, primitive and without any well-marked history or traditions or religion, easily took the Christian imprint, or rather the Latin, which is that of the peoples of old Europe. The court, the noble families, the well-to-do classes, were already living in European style when France conquered the island. General Galliéni, the representative of the French Government, had only to substitute himself for the Malagasy Government and everything continued as in the past, under a different flag. A new society, composed of French people, took its place side by side with a society which Christianity had Europeanized and which already thought and lived like itself. There was therefore no conflict, and this enabled the French Government successfully to undertake, after the conquest of the country, the conquest of the hearts of its people.

At the present moment Madagascar is, of the colonies which France has acquired since 1870, the one which has most accepted its rule. The Malagasies behaved with courage during the Great War of 1914-18. As they had the same duties as the French of Europe, they have claimed the same rights. The numerous naturalizations, which have conferred upon the élite among the natives the same rights as those of citizens of European origin, have created among the Malagasies a new class which is strongly attached to France; and it is probable that there will very soon arise in Madagascar, at any rate in the highlands, a creole Malagasy community, like the creole Réunion community, formed from the children of Europeans born in the country and speaking its language, and from the children of Malagasies who have become citizens or simply Europeanized, each of these remaining and marrying within its race, but all having the same love for their common little motherland, Madagascar.

The élite among the Malagasies, moreover, freely acknowledge the benefits of the French connection. Madagascar has had the privilege of being the first among French colonies to organize on rational lines the protection of the health of the natives. The work of medical relief begun by General Galliéni has produced some convincing results. A model school of medicine, which other developed colonies such as Indo-China have not succeeded in equalling, is a nursery of learned and conscientious native doctors

many of whom have been to finish their studies and their practice in the faculties and great hospitals of France; dispensaries for malaria, syphilis, tuberculosis, have been organized; a Pasteur Institute of Paris is undertaking some remarkable studies; the struggle against plague is being successfully carried on. Alongside this struggle against disease a great effort has been made for child protection. There are in the island many maternity centres; and societies, like the Milk Supply and the Malagasy Red Cross, which work in Tananarive and other large towns, give most useful service, and win for the French administration the gratitude of Malagasy mothers. Madagascar has at the present time 55 hospitals, 48 maternity centres, 179 medical stations, and 153 lying-in centres; and to these may be added 10 Vernes dispensaries connected with an institute of social hygiene, a children's hospital, a lunatic asylum, 16 leper centres, a seamen's hospital, and 20 plague hospitals. In 1933 the colony had 36 chief district doctors (not including the free civil doctors), 300 native doctors, 453 midwives, and 780 qualified male and female nurses.

In the field of education France has similarly recognized her duty, and in that, as in other matters, the moving spirit was General Galliéni. Government European education has been based upon that of the metropolis. It comprises a primary, elementary and superior, and a secondary education. Two secondary schools, which prepare pupils for the baccalauréat, are working in Tananarive—the Lycée Galliéni for boys, the Lycée Jules-Ferry for girls. Between them they have over 1,200 pupils.

Government native education has 917 schools of the first class; In these the young natives receive primary instruction in French: the other subjects are taught in the language of the country. There are 15 schools of the second class, each with a European master at the head: teaching in them is given in French; admission is by competitive examination. In the third class is the Myre de Vilers School, which trains teachers, officers for the various Government posts, and candidates for the Medical School.

The superior native school, École Flacourt, gives to the pupils leaving the primary schools a training for the examination for admission to the secondary school. Lastly, the industrial school of Tananarive in a two-year course trains some excellent workers in every occupation. Private teaching is in the hands of the Protestant and Catholic missions.

In Madagascar, of 690,000 children of school age, about 121,500, in charge of 2,700 masters, attend the schools. That is a proportion not reached by any other colony. The school education, through the raising of the intellectual and moral level of the natives thus rendered possible, and through the professional training which makes them useful assistants for the French, seems to

fulfil its purpose so well that the former governor of the English colony of Mauritius, Sir Hesketh Bell, decided to suggest it as a model.

Mention also may be made of the School of Fine Art intended for the training of young natives who show aptitude for drawing, and of the Workshops of Applied Art, intended to improve the local industries of weaving, esparto, copper, pottery, carpets, furniture, etc.

The programme of economic equipment, of which the general principles were settled by General Galliéni, is being carried out. A railroad, the oldest in date, joins the port of Tamatave to the capital of the colony, Tananarive; it is 369 kilometres in length, and its highest point is 1,508 metres above sea-level. Another line of 166 kilometres branches off from the first and reaches the rich plains of the basin of Lake Alaotra. Antsirabé, the Malagasy Vichy, a well-known thermal station, is connected with Tananarive by a line of 170 kilometres. All these routes used by regular trains have also, for more than a year past, been traversed by quick and comfortable Michelin auto-rails.

Of late years the road system has been remarkably extended and the equipment modernized. The excavating work is done by steam engines, the stone is crushed by machine and carried by lorries, the rollers are worked by Diesel motor and weigh 13 tons. In new constructions the metal supports are replaced by larger and larger work in reinforced concrete: a range of 50 metres is expected for the next constructions. Over 14,500 kilometres of roads there travel 6,700 automobile vehicles.

The construction and equipment of the chief ports of Madagascar is going on rapidly. The largest liners can now anchor at the quay at Tamatave. The quays of Diego Suarez will soon be finished. The works at the port of Majunga will be begun immediately. Other important works are projected for the ports of Manakara, Tuléar, and Morondava.

The cable and a great wireless post connect Madagascar with France. In a few months it will be possible to telephone from Europe to Tananarive. A radiophonic transmitting station operates regularly in the capital of the island.

Maritime and postal connections are maintained by two shipping companies—the Messageries Maritimes and the Havre Peninsular. In a short while, after the installation of the aerial equipment at Broken Hill, Tananarive, it will be possible to travel by airplane from Paris to Tananarive in ten days. No doubt a development of tourist traffic to Madagascar will ensue. The chief centres in the great island have recently undergone great changes. Tananarive is a healthy and picturesque city, provided with excellent hotels. Tamatave, Majunga, Antsirabé, are real garden-cities.

Everywhere large programmes of town planning are being carried out.

The world crisis affects Madagascar less than other French colonies. This is due to the fact that the island has a variety of products and these do not all fail at one time, and some, like coffee, vanilla, and graphite, have risen considerably in value.

Madagascar produces almost all the coffee exported from the French colonies. She furnishes more than a third of the vanilla consumed in the world. Her production of cloves, though not equal to that of Zanzibar, is notably increasing.

Here, furthermore, is a summary of the chief exports of Madagascar in 1932:

	Francs.		*Francs.*
Cattle	2,229,000	Vanilla	14,723,000
Meat (chilled, frozen, salt, preserved) ...	50,487,000	Tobacco	13,786,000
Hides, hair, wool ...	11,648,000	Ylang-ylang	1,457,000
Animal fats	8,211,000	Clove essence	2,709,000
Maize	1,648,000	Raffia	22,232,000
Tapioca	6,720,000	Rum and tafia	7,336,000
Manioc	17,381,000	Gems	189,000
Rice	3,115,000	Graphite	3,005,000
Cape peas	20,412,000	Sisal	961,000
Copra	1,130,000	Natural phosphates (guano)	1,400,000
Sugar	13,461,000	Mica	1,315,000
Coffee	84,699,000	Timber	1,104,000
Cloves	5,026,000		

Some writers and some travellers have called Madagascar "The Happy Isle," and they have done so not without reason.

As large as France, Belgium, and Holland put together, Madagascar has on its central highlands a climate comparable with that of the French Côte d'Azur or of the Italian Riviera. The difficulties of life are less there than in old Europe, and amid native races that are gentle and love the European and his ways, and are desirous of adapting themselves, a white society has permanently established itself. Some families which came from France or Réunion are now in their third generation, born in the country.

A writer of the Malagasy race recently wrote, in a great Parisian daily newspaper, that the peoples of the Great Island observe with joy that time, working in their favour, is every day drawing them into closer association with France; they desire that their small fatherland, without giving up its own traditions and its local customs, may become, like Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Réunion, an integral part of France, a real French province.

Truly a happy land is that in which material life is not hard, and where the characters of the native-born and the immigrants so completely agree.

(*Translated.*)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIAN INDIA. By C. W. Waddington, C.I.E., M.V.O. With a Foreword by Sir Claude Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (*Jarrolds.*) 18s. net.

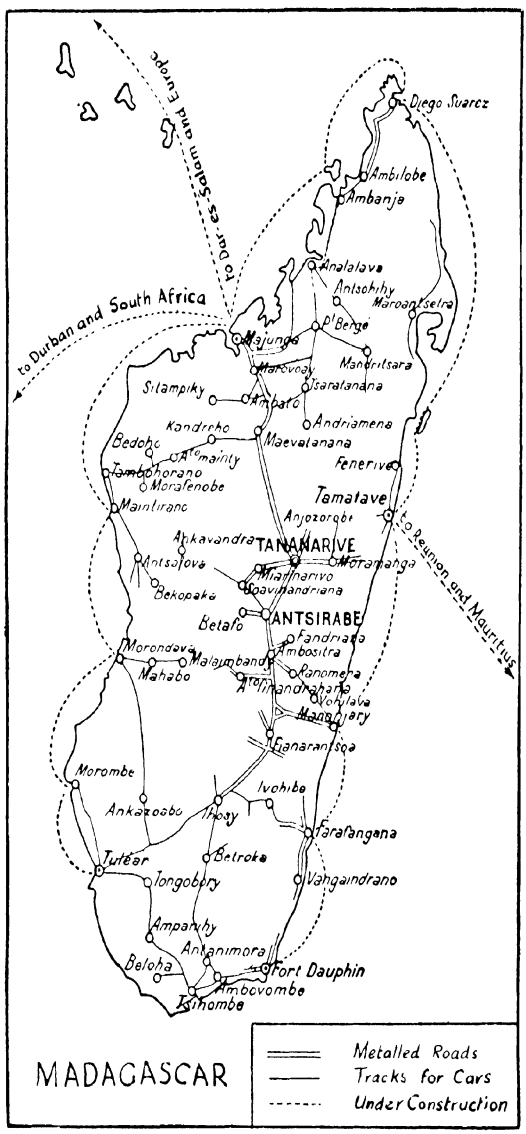
(*Reviewed by* M. C. B. SAYER.)

The stay-at-home Englishman is still apt to think of Britain as ruling India. He forgets that over at least one-third of the entire subcontinent Britain does not rule in any sense of the word. When he thinks of the Indian States, if he remembers them at all, it is as effete survivals, which endure only through our clemency and support. It has indeed been the fashion to contrast the condition of British India under our enlightened rule with that of Indian India, sunk, as it appears to us, in Oriental lethargy. The future of the Rajputs and States of Rajasthan—in some respects the most characteristically Oriental and unchanged portion of the Empire—is one of the problems of India. But even these old-world rulers, many of whom represent famous royal dynasties of venerable antiquity, are something more than mere historical anachronisms of an unburied past. They deserve our attention rather as living examples of the manner in which Indians have governed themselves in the past, and may conceivably govern themselves again in the future.

However archaic or even obsolete their manners and customs may appear to the sophisticated eye of the Western observer, the Indian States stand for the ancient identification of the Government with the governed: for that intimate touch between ruler and ruled which the West has been content to lose. Above all, it is to the past achievement, in the realms of architecture and sculpture of the various individual kingdoms rather than the great empires, that we must look if we would gain any clear idea of the cultural heritage of India as a whole. It is no mere coincidence that so much of India's architectural treasure, so much of that which is best in her contribution to the artistic wealth of the world at large, is to be found in territory that has been for centuries the seat of a local kingdom rather than of imperial government.

The land of which Mr. Waddington writes with so infectious an enthusiasm and in so entertaining a style is an old-world land, full of primitive ways—the ways of a people of herdsmen, horsemen, and soldiers. But if its rulers' ancestors lived in a state of constant conflict—sometimes with the Mughals, sometimes with their own rebel feudatories, often with one another—they were also great builders, and gardeners, and founders of Hindu temples, these early Rajput kings. The domestic architecture of Rajasthan has hitherto received less than justice from antiquarians and artists.

There must be many who share the "childish capacity of devising more vivid impression from a picture than a story," to which Sir Claude Hill confesses in an admirable foreword to a book which should be read by every lover of India and by every student of its history. Mr. Waddington's experience as Principal of Raj Kumar College, Rajkot, and Mayo College,



MAP OF MADAGASCAR.

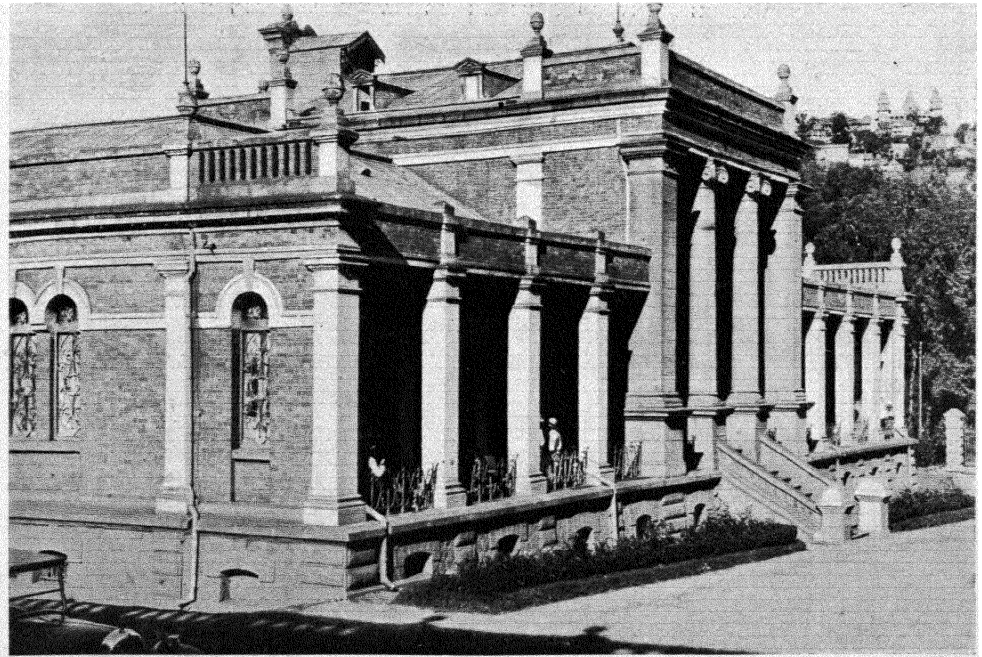
e page 586.

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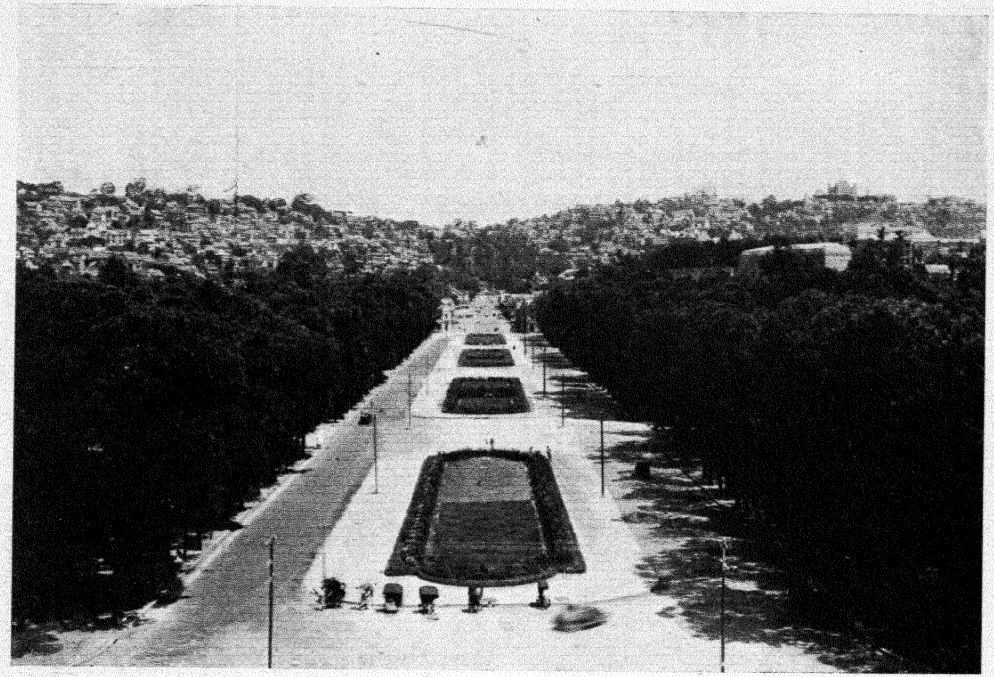
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To face page 587.

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has enabled the author to unite genuine research to a fine sense of the imagination and instructional values of an absorbing theme. Although he has confined himself chiefly to the region immortalized by James Tod, he has to a large extent broken fresh ground by writing round a series of drawings a lively narrative of the salient events with which they are connected. As a result all those who in these crucial days of India's destiny conscientiously desire to realize something of the atmosphere of the land and of its peoples can enjoy both profit and entertainment. "They will derive a better balanced impression," as Sir Claude Hill remarks, "and certainly greater pleasure from *Indian India* than from the study of more pretentious works." The twenty-nine beautiful reproductions of pencil drawings by the author are selected with much discrimination, and are alone worth the price of this fascinating and eminently desirable volume.

POUR L'EMPIRE COLONIAL FRANÇAIS. By Gabriel Hanotaux. (Paris: *Société de l'Histoire Nationale.*)

(*Review by* PROFESSOR J. COATMAN.)

No living writer can treat with greater authority and force the problems of the French Colonial Empire than can M. Hanotaux, and this, the latest of his books, is worthy of its great theme. It opens on a serious note, for it challenges the French people to hold and extend their proud heritage. The opening part of the book shows us the lesson of past history, and M. Hanotaux says that he wants to talk about France to Frenchmen and to discuss with them all the features and problems of France's expansion throughout the world. The keynote of the book is the achievement of the unity of the French Empire, and assuredly it will do much to fire the imagination of all who will have to bend themselves to this high task. He sets the position of France very high in the world, seeing her, indeed, as the very centre of Western civilization. To Englishmen, at least, his insistence that all movements of a liberal kind in the American colonies had their origin in France and in French eighteenth-century writers will seem a little naïve, and cannot be allowed to pass without a challenge. But he is on safer ground when he says that the international jealousies and rivalries caused by the exploits of French pioneers seem to be a law of French Colonial history. But this first part of the book is full of wise reflections and useful morals. The second, and largest, part of the book contains an account of the author's recent journeys in Algeria and Tunis. Here we encounter many vivid pen pictures of scenery and places and developments, and the great question which M. Hanotaux sets out to solve on his journey is: "What are the ways and means best calculated to guarantee the success of French colonization?" He sees the answer in the Algerian experience, and this is a topic which well repays close reading. At pp. 245-246 citizens of the British Empire will find some weighty remarks about the fundamental importance of Ottawa and its example for France. He, at any rate, has no doubts as to the wisdom of the Ottawa Agreements or as to the vastness of the results which will flow from them.

Among the most important of all M. Hanotaux's suggestions is that for an Empire ministry charged with the affairs of the whole of France's Colonial Empire and with its material development in particular. This theme is developed at length in the pages from p. 246 onwards, but it is somewhat disturbing to notice that in places, as, *e.g.*, on p. 246, he seems to advocate a mercantilist policy of a somewhat archaic type; but later remarks on p. 289 show that this is far from being his real ideal. He is, however, on thoroughly sound ground when he insists on the importance to all colonial officials of a knowledge of native languages and customs.

With the third division of the book we come to M. Hanotaux's suggestions for the future and for the unity of the Colonial Empire. There is a fine discussion of the *real* "mise en valeur" policy—that is, a policy of improving men, not of increasing material gains. There is a familiar ring, again, to English ears about our author's comments on the way in which French capital has been lent to foreigners all over the world for developmental purposes and the desirability of using it in the future rather to build up the French Empire. He returns again to his proposed Empire Ministry and vigorously denounces the waste, moral and material, which goes on under the present system, whereby different Governmental authorities are charged with different units and phases of the Colonial Empire and its life and activities. Unmercifully he castigates the carelessness and lack of forethought which has held back the development of the French Empire in the past, and here again his words will evoke a sympathetic response in many a British mind. M. Hanotaux tells us that the essence of civilization today is expansion and colonization, and his book is a worthy exercise on this theme.

HISTOIRE DE L'EMPIRE BYZANTIN. A. A. Vasiliev. 2 Vols. (Paris: *Éditions A. Picard.*)

Students of mediæval history accept as recognized standard works Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and as its modern complement John Bagnell Bury's new edition of Gibbon, and, besides, his *History of the Eastern Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (2 vols., 1889), from *Irene to Basil I.* (1912), from *Theodosius to Justinian* (2 vols., 1923), and in addition to these the *Cambridge Mediæval History* edited by him. So it may be asked: Why should one turn now to a French edition of Vasiliev's history covering the same ground, published recently in an English garb, one year after Bury's death? The author himself meets objections of this sort in an *avant-propos* coming from Madison-Wisconsin, the place where he appears to have been appointed a professor of the university. Of the French edition he says there that it is "largement augmentée," and therefore a real improvement on the previous English version, a claim substantiated by a preface from the pen of the prominent French authority on most subjects concerning Byzantium, Professor Charles Diehl of the Sorbonne.

A study of this new history of the Byzantine Empire will, we believe,

convince readers that the claims for its superiority are justified in a large measure. This has become possible by utilizing hitherto inaccessible literary sources provided by Arabian, by Slavonic, and, above all, by Russian writers. The harvest gathered from the latter has been especially rich. The complicated history of the Empire during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, still largely lacking elucidation, becomes hereby more explicit. The ample material collected by the author is presented to the reader in a lucid style. It is condensed into two volumes of less than five hundred pages each. At the end of each chapter the reader finds a bibliography. The text is sprinkled with footnotes, which guide and equip the student bent on research work. Another welcome addition are choice illustrations, chiefly from rare manuscripts, and some maps.

What for the last hundred years up to our time had borne the name of the kingdom of Greece has been, as a matter of course, an integral part of the Eastern Empire, bound to it, before all, by the same language. It is interesting to read in Vasiliev's history the account of the literary campaign raging since the year 1830 about the claims of the inhabitants of the peninsula Morea and of Attica as well to be descendants of the ancient Greeks, a claim disputed, and denied them, by a bold and strongly fortified assertion that they were mostly of Slavonic descent, the offspring of the tribes of the Avares of the time of the migration of the nations, descendants of Illyrians and of other northern tribes (vol. i., pp. 230-235). Not less interesting is the information given on pp. 264-288 of the various incursions of the Arabs resulting in the loss of provinces and in the progressive dismemberment of the Empire. The same occurred at the time of the invasion of the Balkan peninsula by the Bulgarians, who founded an independent kingdom and, encouraged by their unprecedented success, sought to shake the stability of the Empire. When the Emperor Constantine in 679 admitted the complete defeat of his army at the hands of the Bulgar hordes he had to submit to a treaty which compelled him to pay them an annual tribute and also to cede to the enemy all the land lying between the Danube and the Balkan mountains. The pressure increased to such an extent that the Emperor Constantine II. had to leave his capital and country, and, passing through Athens, migrated further, establishing himself in Rome and Naples. He died at Syracuse five years afterwards (vol. i., p. 292). This episode was closed by his son's and successor's decision to continue to reside at Constantinople.

One hundred years before that event, in the glorious reign of the Emperor Justinian, the capital and all the country around it being safe, the famous Byzantine generals Belisar and Narses defeated the Ostrogoths and destroyed their rule in Italy. The Exarchate of Ravenna was then founded. In North Africa Belisar destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals and subdued all the islands of the Mediterranean, and even parts of Spain. It was at the time when Agia Sofia was built, as well as other famous domes and cathedrals in Syria and elsewhere, and when in administration and legislation definite progress was made.

In another early chapter, dedicated to the time of Constantine and to

his rise to power, the question of his "conversion" and of his sincerity in siding with the Church is discussed. He draws his conclusions after careful analysis of the widely divergent verdicts of scholars like Jakob Burckhardt and Adolph Harnack, of Battiffol and others. The two first named see in the Emperor the shrewd unprincipled politician. Not so the Russian historian, who detaches himself from the lines of reasoning followed by others, relying principally on contemporary reports of such authoritative writers as Lactantius and Eusebius. Here he also gives by way of digression an explanation of the origin of the "Labarum," an emblem of which, reproduced on coins and found on monuments in the East and also in the West, reproductions survive in the art of the Renaissance and of later times, the result of arbitrary conceptions of no historic value.

Plate 2 in vol. i. reproduces the full-length portrait of an empress or queen, gorgeously attired, carved in ivory, preserved in the National Museum (Bargello) of Florence. It is not yet identified, and is described by the author as representing "une impératrice de Byzance, Ariadne, femme de Zénon, puis d'Anastase." However, the emblems in her hands, sceptre and globe, require to be interpreted as a token of exclusive supreme rule. The figure stands up in complete isolation. Moreover, her attire is unprecedented among the many preserved portraits of refined, richly dressed Byzantine empresses. Not so this lady in her decidedly barbaric costume, which calls, in the opinion of the reviewer, for a differing identification. It may well be that it represents Amalasuntha, daughter of Theodoric, the mighty king of the Ostrogoths, who succeeded him as ruling queen during the minority of her son. She was for that time exclusively responsible for the government of the country as head of her people, and might have been attired in this fashion.

J. P. R.

A History of the Georgian People, from the Beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century. By W. E. D. Allen. With an Introduction by Sir Denison Ross. (*Kegan Paul.*) 31s. 6d. net.

Mr. Allen has been a frequent contributor to the Asiatic Review and other periodicals on Georgia and Caucasus, and he is generally recognized as one of the younger authorities on that region. He has been engaged in the preparation of his "History" for nearly nine years, and the present magnificent volume, with its great variety of photographs and illustrations in the text, is a credit both to his own industry and to the courage and enterprise of his publishers.

Mr. Allen divides his work into five "Books" which are very unequal in quality. The first three books are unquestionably the best part of the whole work, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Allen did not confine himself to the political and geographical sphere. Some of the space devoted to the two final "Books" might well have been used by Mr. Allen to bring the history of Georgia down to the present day. It is unsatisfactory that the whole work should conclude with the Russian conquest in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, for Mr. Allen can hardly feel that the

whole of the last hundred years is adequately covered by his excellent but short essay published more than ten years ago in Mr. John Buchan's volume *The Baltic and Caucasian States*.

Mr. Allen's chapter on "The Historical Geography of Ancient Georgia" is an original contribution to modern knowledge of this obscure subject, and his two chapters (XIX. and XX.) on the trade relations of the Caucasus with neighbouring countries between the ninth and eighteenth centuries are, perhaps, the best in the book. On the other hand, he underrates the importance of the Georgian Church in the national life, and, indeed, entirely misconceives the rôle of the Christian Church in the mediæval world.

The chapter on Georgian literature is slight and disappointing, particularly in view of the wealth of material available, both original and critical. It is a pity that Mr. Allen could not have followed the invaluable translations of the two Wardrops with a serious survey, which might have set the original and creative contributions of the Georgians to mediæval literature in proper perspective.

It is, however, easy to criticize misconceptions and omissions, and it would be unjust to detract from the really great value of Mr. Allen's contribution to the history of a part of the Middle East, which has so far received too little attention in this country. The historical chapters are based on Brosset's voluminous *Histoire de la Géorgie*, published nearly eighty years ago, which is, as Sir Denison Ross remarks, "difficult to borrow and almost impossible to buy." Brosset's work is, moreover, difficult for any but the specialist to follow, and Mr. Allen has rendered a service to the general reader, and, indeed, to specialists on other parts of the Middle East who require a working knowledge of Georgian history. Mr. Allen, further, makes available to the English reader the results of the researches of Russian and Georgian scholars of the last century, which are for the most part buried in the obscure periodicals which he has taken so much trouble to collect, and which are usefully enumerated in his bibliography (pp. 359-93).

Mr. Allen has, too, a vivid and coloured style, although he sometimes allows it to run away with him. He has a remarkable knowledge of the history of the countries and empires with which Georgia has been in relation during different periods of her history, and he never allows the reader to lose perspective. In this connection his diagrammatic map to show the relation of Georgia to the different cultures of the Middle East is particularly interesting, and the reader can understand many of the causes of the extraordinary complexity and variety of Caucasian history when he realizes that Tiflis is almost equidistant from Cairo and Moscow, Stambul and Samarcand. The author has, further, a pretty knack of generalization wherein he intuitively touches the truth. Of Russia he writes: "That strange mediæval body, dressed in a modern accoutrement, with its German brain, its Byzantine mind, its Tatar hands and its Slavic soul." His gift of light and pithy characterization is no less pleasing in an historian. David IV., who was "slight and supple, silken-haired, soft-voiced and eloquent . . . had yet a name for courage in the field; yielding, equable and open-handed, he could never conceal the itch of a live ambition. The Mongols preferred his rival whom they called *Uls*—'Big' David. The son

of Giorgi Lasha was strong and fat and simple. He delighted in the chase, gave his confidence to all men, was subject sometimes to fits of surly depression, which could make him cruel and obstinate. The long misery of his imprisonment had left him with a painful stutter." Wakhtang VI. was "the most pleasing of all the gifted House of Mukhran. Gentle and studious, of a mind devout and equable, he was yet a gallant soldier, a fine horseman, a courtier of grace and wit. But he was rash and sentimental, without judgment or dexterity, or the peculiar *flair* which jealous men call luck."

The book is finely produced, and Messrs. Kegan Paul are to be congratulated in having spared no expense in the reproduction of the many charming drawings which have been photographed from Castelli's MS. in the Communal Library at Palmero. It is a pity that more books of the same quality are not made available at the same very moderate price.

NOTE

We are asked to state that the book *Far-off Things*, by Dr. R. L. Spittel, a review of which appeared in the April issue, is obtainable in this country from The Java Head Bookshop, 67, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

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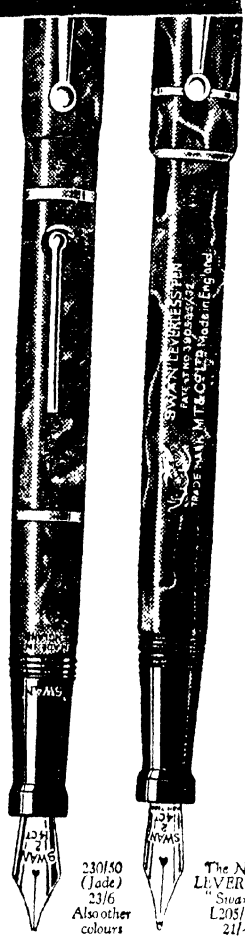
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