

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN April, 1923 M. Vorovsky, Russian Minister to Italy, went to Switzerland to attend the Lausanne Conference on behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In the following month he was assassinated at Lausanne. The assassination was preceded by fierce press agitation against him and threats against his safety, but the Swiss government took no special care to protect his person. Two men, Conradi and Polunin were arrested and tried for the crime. Although the facts of the crime were beyond dispute and were boasted of by the murderers themselves, a verdict of "not guilty" was given. In spite of the fact that M. Vorovsky enjoyed the status of a diplomat, the murderers were tried by a Cantonal instead of a Federal Court. The Soviet government, through the French government, protested against the verdict but the two governments failed to come to a satisfactory settlement. Since this incident took place, Russia has refused the invitations of the League to attend its various conferences on Swiss soil. An agreement was at last signed last April between Switzerland and Russia thus removing one of the reasons for Russia's abstention from Geneva Conferences. The improved relations have immediately borne fruit, for Russia has informed the League Secretariat that Soviet representatives will cooperate in the International Economic Conference which meets at Geneva on May 4. This happy decision of the Soviet will be welcomed by all except those who like to think of Russia as a country of 150 millions of criminals. Any thing that brings together Russia and the rest of the world helps towards world stabilization.

MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, Editor of the *Modern Review*, who attended the Eighth Session of the League of Nations last year by invitation, bitterly complained of the predominantly European bias of the League in a speech delivered last week under the auspices of the Indian Journalists' Association of Calcutta. He also expressed the view that in the present circumstances India can hardly expect any benefit from her membership of the League. Certain events in recent years have shown how the League chooses not to intervene in disputes between Europeans and non-European countries : while the League has shown great concern in settling the dispute between Finland and Sweden over Aaland Islands and in fixing the frontier between Jugo-Slavia and Albania, it has failed to intervene in big issues like the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over Sudan, the Riff war, and the present crisis in China. The auxiliary and technical organisations of the League also give far more attention to European countries than to countries outside Europe. While these complaints are true of all non-European members of the League, India suffers under certain special disabilities. For unlike the delegation of other nation Members of the League, the Indian delegation to Geneva has been led year after year not by her own nationals but Britishers; the personnel of the delegation also has been more in accordance with the dictation of the India Office than Indian public opinion. The League raised great hopes among the weaker and smaller nations of the world, hopes which though much diminished still persist. For the dimunition of those hopes the big powers who rule the League Council are responsible. Unless the League proves its beneficence to the Asiatic and African countries in a more tangible manner it will soon lose their moral allegiance which can no longer be maintained by mere assertions of benevolence.

* * *

THE Physical Adviser to the Government of Bengal has submitted a scheme of physical education for students of Bengal. The scheme is the result of the resolution moved in the Bengal Council sometime back asking the Government to make physical education compulsory. The Dacca University has already appointed two physical

instructors to supervise the physical exercise compulsory for all students of the university. The present scheme details the various activities likely to minister to the physical health including all forms of exercise which create a love of open air and healthy way of living. The scheme lays down that to meet the special circumstances there should be a course of graduated exercise to suit children of all ages which aims at training every part of the body harmoniously. A system of medical examination of school children will be established and a beginning in this direction will be made by placing a group of Government aided schools under a qualified medical man. The school authorities will be advised in this matter by a Health Instructor who will be shortly appointed. Attempts will also be made to make the University Training Corps more attractive to young men. Last year Mr. Beall, the Director of Physical Education of the Y. M. C. A.'s of Calcutta, drew up for the adoption of the Calcutta Corporation a scheme to equip the municipal parks of the city with physical training apparatus. For the vast student population of Calcutta a gymnasium corner in each park will be of immense benefit. The school and college authorities of Calcutta, the Corporation, University and the Government should all collaborate and adopt Mr. Beall's scheme for the city of Calcutta with such modifications as may be found necessary. The present Government scheme will annually cost Rs. 64,000 which we consider to be very small for the large student population of Bengal. The last Bengal budget made provision for making a beginning with the scheme and allotted Rs. 4,380 for the purpose. The grant is ludicrously small even to make a beginning and lays the Government open to the charge that it is not serious and lacks faith in the scheme.

WHAT, one wonders, is the attitude of the Madras ministry towards the question of free and compulsory primary education? The recent pronouncement of the

Madras Ministry and Compulsory Education. The recent pronouncement of the chief minister, Hon'ble Dr. Subbarayan, at Coimbatore betrays a good deal of uncertainty and indicates some confusion of thought. He is at present considering whether compulsion is the only way to improve education. But who ever said it was? What is claimed for it is only this that it is a reliable means, not of improving, but of expanding, education. If he wants only to improve education, he must adopt other means than compulsion. But our more immediate problem is, as he doubtless knows, not improvement, but expansion, towards which all efforts must be directed. Nobody wishes to minimise the difficulties in the way of the introduction of compulsion; but it is no use waiting until all of them clear away. No doubt trained teachers in adequate numbers are not available; but to say, as the chief minister did, that it was better to have no schools than to have any with untrained teachers is to refuse to take the half-loaf because the full loaf is not forthcoming. Who would deny that trained teachers are better than untrained ones; but is it any use allowing better to be the enemy of good? But that is what the chief minister's reasoning amounts to.

Nor can one say he was unconvinced as to the desirability of compulsion as a means of spreading literacy; for he also expresses the view that to have any advance in education, it should be made free and compulsory. If he does not lack conviction on the point, he should plan definite steps to carry his ideas into practice rather than talk about his difficulties with which everyone has become familiar by now. We are sure the Conference duly thanked him for the trouble he took in presiding over it; but what the public expect of him is not mere "stray thoughts", but some definite action to back them up. In regard to funds, the present ministry is more favourably situated than the last one and ought therefore not to allow this opportunity to slip out of its hands.

MRS. R. S. HOSSEIN delivered a remarkable address in the recent Bengal Women's Educational Conference. Mrs. Hossein who has managed the Sakhawat

Memorial School for Mohamadan girls for many years said that "the purdah system might be compared to the deadly carbonic acid gas which if people did not guard against it caused a painless death. Similarly our sisters within the purdah are slowly dying a painless death due to purdah gas." To those who have ever seen the hermetically sealed carriages carrying girls of the school which Mrs. Hossein manages, this statement will not appear in the least exaggerated. On the other hand her observation is supported in a recent report of the Health Commissioner of Bengal where it is stated that tuberculosis is far more common among the women than among men and more common among Mohamadan women than among Hindu women. This fact indisputably establishes a causal relation between purdah and tuberculosis. In the last analysis the purdah system denotes a distrust of the women to look after their own morals unless they are shut behind the purdah. History may explain its origin, but nothing can justify it. The Hindu Sabha which is anxious to save the Hindus from the 'clutches' of other religions may profitably give some of its attention to save the Hindu women of North India from purdah. The women of India suffer under many social disabilities from which men are free. Time has come, even in India, when, in the words of G. B. S., men no longer need special privileges to protect them against women.

THE Baroda Legislative Assembly has for the third time passed a resolution asking for prohibition in Amreli district by the closure of all liquor shops. It is stated that on the two previous occasions the Government had promised to give effect to the wishes of the Assembly; but apparently nothing was done. We hope the resolution will meet with a better fate this time. The case for prohibition in Amreli is considerably strengthened by the fact that the two adjoining States of Bhavnagar and Gondal have already prohibited the sale of liquor within their limits. Moreover the revenue that may be lost by the State owing to the proposed reform will not be very considerable; it will be about Rs. 20,000 which will not irretrievably affect the finances of the State. Apart, however, from this, it is not good statesmanship to create representative bodies and consistently to ignore their wishes. To do so is to put a premium on irresponsibility.

INDIAN LABOUR IN CEYLON.

A STUDY of the problem of Indians in Ceylon discloses certain features which are by no means flattering. For instance, all scavenging in Ceylon is without exception done by Indians. Of the 4500 rikshawallabs in Colombo, about 4,000 are South Indians. Every other domestic servant in that city is an Indian. In such service the Indians have almost displaced the Sinhalese. The standard of life of the Sinhalese is higher than that of the Indian, who in consequence is willing to work for smaller wages. Considerable resentment is felt by the Ceylonese on the intrusion of Indians into the services; and it is growing in volume and intensity. Already Indians have been shut out from the Ceylon Civil Service. Of the 710,000 Indians in Ceylon over 660,000 are labourers on plantations! Ceylon planters admit freely that the Tamil labour is the cheapest and the most docile in the world. Small wonder that these facts make humiliating reading to the proud Indian politician. He cannot legitimately quarrel if the Ceylonese form but a poor and un-complimentary opinion of India from the samples they see of Indians in their midst; nor need he be surprised if they carry their contempt so far as not to distinguish the high class Indian from the low. And yet the Ceylonese themselves freely and gratefully admit that they owe their civilisation and culture in a large measure to ancient India. If that be the attitude of the Ceylonese towards the Indians, what must be that of the Europeans who inherit and shape the civilisation that dominates the world today? Here is a sample of it from Mr. Denham Till, a prominent planter in Ceylon. Speaking at a meeting of the planters to discuss the draft Labour Ordinance in December last, he is reported to have said, "It is a peaceful penetration by India. It has been done in South Africa, and South Africa had objected to it. It was going to be done here. Half the estates in Madulkelle are owned by Chetties. If Ceylon wants to come under a Chetty government, heaven help Ceylon." (*Times of Ceylon*, 10/12/26.) Here is something stronger still, at another meeting of the planters:—

"Mr. Sauer: In this very hall about 18 months ago when this question was discussed a member stood up and said "Let India go to hell." His remark was not published.

"Mr. Maitland: It is going to be published now" (*Times of Ceylon*, 1st Dec. 1926.)

And it is these planters, so contemptuous of India, that the Indian coolies help to prosper and profiteer, a service which the Indian publicist was never keen on being rendered and which in the present political distemper, he would positively wish were withheld. In fact during the Kenya agitation it was seriously proposed that emigration of Indian coolie labour to Ceylon and Malaya should be prohibited with a view to hit the planters there, and thereby put pressure on the Colonial

Office and the Kenya whites. Well may the proud and sensitive Indian, chafing under political subjection and unable to strike an effective blow for his freedom, abhor a system of Indian coolie emigration which brings on India the contempt and hatred of even the Ceylonese, not to speak of the Europeans, and which puts money in the pockets of the enemies of his freedom.

II

But what of the coolies themselves? An unfavourable agricultural season drives them to Ceylon. Mr. S. Ranganathan I. C. S. Agent to the Government of India in Ceylon in his Report for 1925 puts it stronger. "A bad season has brought them to the verge of starvation. To emigrate is to stave off immediate evil." Those who complacently speak of the growing prosperity of India do not obviously think of South India. Nobody with an intimate knowledge of conditions obtaining in Ceylon has ever ventured to deny that innumerable Indians have benefitted considerably by emigration to Ceylon; particularly, *Head-Kanganies*, *Sub-Kanganies*, *Kanukupillais*, and their dependents, and the labourers employed in factories and in Bungalows of Superintendents. Even of the rank and file, according to Mr. Ranganathan as many as 60 per cent make a living wage, which is more than can be said of them in India. The profit of the members of the depressed classes, numbering nearly 40 per cent of the emigrants, cannot wholly be gauged from the wages they receive. Ceylon with its freedom from social tyranny and its higher standards of life offers them well-being more than the caste-ridden South India. Their gain is both material and social. There is, therefore, no denying the claim of the planters that Indian labour in Ceylon is "undeniably far better off than in their own homes." The phenomenal increase in emigration during the last few years is very significant in this connection. The following are the figures of Indian emigration to and from Ceylon.

Year	Emigration to Ceylon	Emigration from Ceylon
1923	90,290	51,760
1924	153,989	56,124
1925	125,585	53,203

It will be noticed that while emigration from Ceylon has been hovering about 50,000, emigration to Ceylon has gone up by leaps and bounds. This result must be due to one or more of three causes— an improvement in the conditions obtaining in Ceylon or a deterioration in the conditions obtaining in South India or greater unscrupulousness in recruiting. The planters attribute it to the first while Mr. Ranganathan seems to doubt it. He says, "All these considerations show how untrustworthy is the connection that is attempted to be traced between the large volume of immigration and the improved conditions which are said to exist on the estates." The chief of these considerations, he thinks is the ignorance of the immigrant as to the

conditions in Ceylon. Even so, there is no reason to believe that the ignorance has increased during the last few years. If anything, it should have decreased and the methods of recruitment must have improved, because since 1922 the Government of India have stepped in to safeguard the interests of the Indian labourer. It must, therefore, either the result of improves conditions in Ceylon or more depressed conditions in South India; perhaps both. In any event, it is clear that the Indian labourer improves his conditions of life by emigration to Ceylon. It is certainly not in his interest that emigration should be prohibited, and his interest must be the determining factor. It is true that such emigration has embarrassing consequences to the self-respect and *izzat* of India. But the remedy for these is not to prohibit emigration but so to improve the conditions here in India that it would be rendered unnecessary and unprofitable. And here it must be confessed that Indian political leaders have demanded more for the Indian labourer abroad than what they are willing to secure for him at home. Which seems to throw doubt on their zeal for the welfare of labour. Most of these are landlords and capitalists, and are as fond of cheap and docile labour as the planters in Ceylon. Emigration of such labour from India is not, therefore, to their interest. And what better and more high-sounding method can be found to discourage it than to demand comparatively high conditions for Indian labour abroad? The acceptance of these conditions would perhaps disappoint them.

There is however one consideration which at first sight may justify the restriction of emigration, and that is when the saturation point is reached. Mr. Runganathan calculates that the present plantations which depend on Indian labour can absorb no more than 7000,00 Indians and that there are already over 660,000 of them in Ceylon and that the saturation point will very soon be reached. Recruitment beyond that point may bring down wages. But the better remedy for this is not the stoppage of further emigration but the fixing of the standard wage, and that happily is being done.

It is sometimes argued that the emigrant who has a bit of land in India and who emigrates on account of a bad agricultural season, is a loser by a prolonged stay in Ceylon. It is therefore, urged that special facilities to return should be provided. It is however well-known that in South India, as well as in other provinces, land carries too heavy a burden, that there is over-fragmentation and there are too many small cultivators. And this prevents the consolidation of holdings and the creation of economic holdings. Would it not, therefore, be an advantage if the emigrant who left his little bit of land in his native village never returned to it, but parted with it to his coparceners? It would perhaps be the wiser policy to enable the emigrant to settle down in Ceylon, learn to conform to its higher standards

of life and enjoy the greater freedom from social tyranny. Too frequent contact with Indian conditions will only tend to keep down the standards and draw on us the resentment of the Sinhalese. From the statistics of emigration it is clear that every year the Indian population in Ceylon is being added to by emigration. There is however no information to the average length of sojourn of the labourers. Many perhaps have made up their minds to settle down permanently. Their children are getting education and very soon many of them will attempt to rise in life and not be content to be coolies. Will they, are they likely to, return to India with its lower standards and social tyranny or seek other avenues of life in Ceylon itself? It is the wiser and the more humane policy not only to encourage emigration of Indian coolies to Ceylon but also to facilitate their assimilation with the Sinhalese as a permanent element in the population of Ceylon. It will be good to themselves, to Ceylon and also to India.

III.

When it is honestly admitted that the Indian labourer is better off in Ceylon than in India, the European planters take unfair advantage of it and turn round to argue that India was not justified in demanding even better and more legitimate conditions for Indian labour, as if the primary purpose of the emigrant was to enable the British planter to prosper and profiteer, and as if such improved conditions of life as now obtain, were an unexpected windfall and a mercy for which the labourer should be duly grateful. They seem to overlook the fact that the Indian labourer emigrates for just exactly the same primary purpose for which they themselves have emigrated to Ceylon and that is, to better their prospects in life. They set no limits to their own advancement and do not rest content if they are slightly better off in Ceylon than they would have been in their own native land. Why should they expect the Indian coolie to behave otherwise? The criterion whether he in Ceylon than in India is, therefore, utterly inadequate. The minimum limit of the improvement is the well-being of the emigrant to Ceylon. And the maximum is what the prosperity of the industry warrants. In securing these conditions India would far rather depend on the enlightened self-interest of the planters and the sense of responsibility of the Government of Ceylon for the welfare of its subjects, including Indians, rather than on the compelling power which her virtual monopoly of coolie labour places in her hand.

Measured by these criteria the condition of Indian labour is not all that it should be, although it must be gratefully acknowledged that there has been some improvement in recent years since the Government of India intervened. The vicious "Tundu" system has been abolished and the unconscionable debts imposed on the labourer under that system cancelled. That indeed is a great im-

provement. All the same, many labourers are still incurring debts. This is due to inadequate wages. Mr. Runganatham estimates that about 40 per cent of the coolies are unable to earn a living wage. And that is the strongest argument for a standard wage which happily has now been negotiated and is now awaiting legislative sanction in Ceylon. The Draft Standard Wage Ordinance also provides for the payment of all wages into the labourer's own hands, and prohibits the employment of children under 10 years of age and several other very important provisions. The planters have on the whole acquiesced in it, though not without protest, which was however much discounted by the fact that their representatives, who conferred with the Government of India, were parties to the settlement. The standard wage will satisfy the criterion of the minimum well-being. The maximum to which the Indian labourer is legitimately entitled depends on the prosperity of the industry. The planters have reaped enormous profits. Out of 37 estates as many as 25 declared profits of 20 per cent and over in 1924.

There has been a marked and steady improvement in the housing of the labourers on the estates, but there seems to some over-crowding and the Agent suggests that there should be statutory prohibition of it. Medical relief is acknowledged by the planters themselves as very inadequate and inefficient; and they themselves suggest that it should be greatly improved. The Ceylon Government have instituted an extensive Anti-hook-worm campaign among the Indian labourers on the estates. The education of Indian children leaves much room for improvement. Only a seventh of the school-going children of the ages between 6 and 10 are attending school. It is however gratifying to note that the Director of Education has inaugurated a movement which will ultimately create a school on every estate. Mr. Runganathan laments the drink habit among the coolies who, it is estimated, spend something like 80 lakhs of rupees annually on drink, and suggests that every adult male labourer should be given the Local Option vote. Considering the ignorance and improvidence of these people, it is very doubtful if they will exercise the vote to good purpose. It is a case for prohibition, and on estates not in close proximity to towns and villages with the inevitable taverns in them, the policy is certainly practicable.

Under the licensing system introduced in 1923 recruiting methods have improved in some respects and the irregularities in it are punished severely. All the same, it is not the best of arrangements. As long as recruiting continues to be profitable to the *kanganay*, he will take advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the labourer. There seems to be a fairly strong case for abolition of the recruiting system and in its place adoption of the system of free emigration. Emigration to Ceylon has been going on for a fairly long period,

at any rate from 1855 onwards. It has been mostly confined to the five districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Tanjore and Trichinopoly. For instance in 1924, out of 153,989 emigrants, these five districts contributed 125,202, and of these Trichinopoly alone contributed nearly 60,000. Thus emigration is localised. The planters claim that about 40 per cent of the emigrants are old labourers returning to Ceylon because of their knowledge of the better conditions in Ceylon. Under these circumstances, emigration to Ceylon must have been a very familiar phenomenon in these districts, no longer requiring regular recruiters to stimulate it. Further, the saturation point is being fast reached and the demand for fresh labour from India is likely to diminish. If the superior staff of the Ceylon Labour Commission toured about the villages and disseminated information as to the requirements and prospects of labour in Ceylon, free emigration is very likely to provide the diminishing needs of Ceylon for Indian labour.

GONDAL DURING 1924-25.

FEW Indian States can boast of as educated a ruler as is that of Gondal, the "summary of events of the administration," in other words administration report, of which State for 1924-25, has recently reached us. His Highness the Thakresahab received not merely the usual Rajkumar College education, but proceeded to Edinburgh University where he took the M. D. degree and was awarded the LL. D. But his claim to the gratitude of his subjects rests on the fact that he has made the State practically free from taxation. During his regime he is stated to have abolished as many as 40 taxes in addition to customs and octroi duties.

Let us see how much such an enlightened ruler has been able to do for the education of his subjects. "When the State", we are told, "took the sole control of this department from the Kathiawad Political Agency in 1900, there existed 2 middle schools and 54 primary schools for boys and girls taken together". 3 high schools have since come into existence and the number of primary schools has been added to by 103, that of middle or anglo-vernacular schools remaining stationary. The number of school-going children rose from 3,745 in 1900 to 15,449 in 1925 and the expenditure from Rs. 17,395 to Rs. 1,44,797. Thus during the last 25 years education in Gondal has doubtless made considerable progress; but it cannot be said that there is no room for improvement in this behalf or that the progress has been continuous or uninterrupted. Thus we find that while in 1911 only 14,850 boys and 1,149 girls were being educated, at the last census in 1921 the numbers increased to 19,957 boys and 4,690 girls. The corresponding number for 1924-25 is only 15,449, boys and girls put together! This is indeed "good progress", but only progress backwards! How the position is

steadily getting worse will be apparent from the following figures :—

Year	Boys.	Girls.	No. of school going children.
1900	3,745
1911	14,850	1,149	15,999
1921	19,957	4,690	24,647
1923-24	16,580
1924-25	15,449

These figures tell their own tale. The maximum was reached in 1921 when practically the whole school-going population which is generally 15 per cent. of the population was under some form of instruction. Since then the pendulum swung backwards until in 1924-25 the number of students under instruction falls short by nearly 10,000 of that for 1921! This is very regrettable and prompt action is needed in order to recover lost ground.

The ideal should of course be universal literacy and every effort should be made to reach it as speedily as possible. From this point of view there appears to be much leeway still to be made up. The population of the State is 167,071; and the proportion of children that should be studying in primary schools to the population is generally taken at 12½ p. c. In the present case this works out at nearly 21,000, which is the number of children that should be receiving primary education if there is to be universal literacy in the State. As against this the number of pupils in 99 primary schools maintained by the State was 9,944. There were also 51 private schools with 4,462 pupils. Thus the total comes to about 14,400 leaving nearly 7,000 to be brought under instruction. In other words, two thirds of the distance is already covered: and one third remains to be covered.

Primary education is compulsory in Gondal only for girls. This is a feather in His Highness' cap of which he may be justly proud. At the same time it is necessary if the whole ground is to be covered without avoidable loss of time that compulsion should be made applicable to boys as well. A formidable obstacle in the way of compulsory education in British India is, as is well known, finance; but as will be shown presently, Gondal's finances appear to us to be in an enviable position, and there is no reason why the introduction of compulsory education irrespective of sex should be postponed any longer.

As for secondary education, there are 2 high schools for boys and one for girls. The former includes the Girasia "College" founded in 1897 for ameliorating the backward condition of the landholding class in education. The College had 36 students and enjoyed the distinction of counting some Rajkumars among these. Three of them were sent up for the Matriculation examination and came out successful. Fees yielded Rs 11,628 during the year; while the total expenditure on the "College" came to Rs. 24,719, the average cost per pupil being Rs. 617-15-7. The corresponding cost in Bombay is Rs. 68-1 i. e. one-ninth of that in Gondal! With a view to encourage female

education scholarships for girls studying in standards higher than III English have been instituted and a prize of Rs. 500 is awarded to every girl that passes the Matriculation. There is also a prize of Rs. 1000 every year for a student who obtains a degree fitting him for a specific profession.

The statement of receipts and expenses for 1924-25 appended to the report shows that while its receipts were about 47 lakhs, its expenses only 23 lakhs, which means a surplus of 24 lakhs during the year. And this in spite of the fact that a number of taxes have been abolished and agricultural conditions are admittedly very far from satisfactory. By the way a glance at the statement brings out a discrepancy which, if rectified, will improve the surplus by another 5 lakhs and more. In this statement the receipts under Land are shown as Rs. 15,01,325-11-4; while in chapter II, headed "Administration of Land," the revenue collection is stated to have amounted to Rs. 20,89,511. The collection charges cannot account for it, as Revenue is responsible for Rs. 79,163 on the expenditure side. It is of course creditable to the ruler that he has withstood the temptation of increasing the State demand under this head on the ground of high prices, as has been done by some of his fellow rulers who have doubled and even trebled the Land revenue demand. It is also gratifying that the personal expenses of the ruler do not unduly swell the total expenditure. During 1924-25 the Palace expenses came to Rs. 291,911, which even with Rs. 1394 spent on Rajkumars' education does not eat up a disproportionately large portion of the State income. Unlike many States, railways play an important part in Gondal's finances. The state owns the Gondal Railway, has ¾ the share in the Jetalsar-Rajkot Railway and works the Khijadiya-Dhari and Jetalsar-Rajkot Railways. During the year 1924-25, railways yielded a revenue of nearly 11 lakhs out of a total of 47 lakhs. Curiously enough, "miscellaneous", which is responsible for 18½ lakhs, is the largest single item on the income side! This needs explanation. A little over 6 lakhs was expended on public works. In many states repairs to palaces and the construction of new buildings for the convenience and comfort of the ruler and his family take away a lion's share of this item. Instances are also not lacking in which the construction e. g. of a theatre for which the ruler took a fancy or that of the race course in which he was deeply interested are complacently charged to public works. We hope this was not so in Gondal. But the best way to reassure public opinion on the point is either by showing separately the amount spent on genuine public works and that on others which more or less are for the exclusive use of the ruler, or by giving a list of the more important works done during the year whose cost exceeds, say, Rs. 5000. It is also very curious that the report is conveniently silent as to the disposal of its large surpluses. This is a serious omission which should be made good as soon as possible.

But with a ruler who is himself a medical man and who moreover is in the happy position of having large surpluses, we are surprised that a ridiculously little is spent upon satisfying the medical needs of the subjects of the State. During 1924-25 only about Rs. 24,000 were spent on this object, which is, to put it mildly, utterly inadequate. Presumably this includes the salaries of the administrative staff. What will remain after deducting these from Rs. 24,000 will be almost negligible when it is remembered that the people to be served number 167,000. How this matter has so far escaped the attention of His Highness, who appears to be otherwise solicitous of the welfare of his people, passes our comprehension. May we hope he will look into it without delay and take steps to cover the State with a network of hospitals and dispensaries, so that avoidable deaths may be prevented?

But the thing that really matters is the form of State administration. Is it one man rule? Or is it responsible government? Or is it something different? For information on this point we have searched the report in vain which strongly points to the possibility of all authority being centred in the ruler. If this is a fact, we can have but little admiration for the progressive spirit of the ruler. If with all his education and culture, he cannot yet persuade himself to part with some real power in favour of his subjects, one fails to see how he differs from some of his less educated brothers. The least he ought to do is to establish a legislative council with an elective majority invested with some real power for calling the executive to account and adequate financial control. We hope this will be done as soon as possible if it is not already done.

REVIEW.

A PHILOSOPHER ABROAD.

THE TRAVEL DIARY OF A PHILOSOPHER:
COUNT HERMAN KEYSERLING, Translated
by HOLROYD REECE Vol. I. (Jonathan Cape,
30, Bedford Street, London.)

It is some time since Count Keyserling's Travel Diary has been published; but its fame still attracts attention and will probably do so for some time to come. German friends have spoken to me of its wide popularity in their own country. In England not very long ago it produced something like a sensation ranging from the usual unimaginative denunciation of every thing unusual to unreserved admiration, and I constantly meet French folks referring to it enthusiastically. There is no doubt that the first impression that the book produces is something like amazement at the versatility of the author and subsequent reflection will certainly confirm the right of the Count to the title of philosopher in the best Greek traditions of that term. Here is an instance of that wonderful combination of psychological insight and the fortification of deep-seated intuitions by laborious study of details such as only a German mind can achieve. The work may be considered as a tribute to a temperament which can render muscular the pale and meagre substance of thought and make it potent

by rescuing it from the volatile psychic atmosphere in which it drifts.

In a book so packed with tense moods and terse sayings most of which will bear considerable amplification, the choice of illustrative passages from the text has to be made *at random*. In the West there has never been general understanding of our temperament which is essentially pragmatic and it is to be hoped, therefore, that Count Keyserling's interpretation will be specially useful: "In logical acuteness the Hindus are not behind the Europeans and it would not have been difficult for them to have invented similar systems. They have not done so because, as metaphysicians, they were too profound; because they knew that logical understanding does not plumb the depths. They were never rationalists. Now this is one of the great examples which the Indian people have given to humanity: the gift of intelligence does not necessarily produce rationalism, and a maximum of logical acuteness does not necessarily destroy an unbiassed outlook". One or two more observations are equally illustrative of this philosopher's insight: "But how are we to understand that precisely the inactive holy man embodies the ideal of the Indians? Here I touch upon a decisive element in his outlook on the world. Undoubtedly the facts are not as the Theosophists would have them, who cannot shake off their occidentalism, and justify the facts by interpreting them in saying that the *yogi* actually works much more than the worldly worker, only he works in another sphere; he is sending out ceaselessly astral and mental vibrations which are more beneficial to the rest of humanity than all earthly toil. That may be; but that is not what the Indians mean. They mean that action, even good action, is not intrinsically important. Only being is of real significance". And again: "How is it that the real meaning of Indian wisdom has been recognised so imperfectly in Europe in spite of the many learned works which have dealt with it?.....The method of study in India and among us, for purposes of gaining philosophic recognition are absolutely incomparable: we think, experiment, criticise, define. The Indian practises *yoga*. His ideal is to get beyond the boundaries which Kant has laid down for the possibilities of experience by means of changing one's psychic organism." That is to say, India is preeminently religious because it is preeminently other-worldly." Here is another too good to be omitted. "Every would-be Christian priest would do well to sacrifice a year of his theological studies in order to spend this time on the Ganges; here he would discover what piety means. For in Europe all that exists is its remote reflection. What European can still pray fervently? Who knows that concentrated devotion, which is sufficient unto itself, which needs no institutions, and eliminates automatically the influence of disturbing surroundings? Hardly one among a million; those who believe they are most pious are generally least pious in reality; they regard faith as identical with believing-to-be-true, and prayer as synonymous with begging, which proves that they have no idea of profound devoutness. Not the simplest Hindu seems to be guilty of such fundamental misconceptions... Prayer as a sacrament is an expression of what appears also in sacrifice, in the praise of God, in cults, in hymns, and best of all in silent meditation: the opening of the consciousness to the influences which are awaiting liberation in the inmost depths of the soul, which, when liberated, connect the spirit directly with God."

Coming as they do from one who has so profoundly entered into the spirit of Hinduism the following remarks can be understood: "Today for the first time it is clear to me why Gautama, this uniquely great man, this greatest son of the land of India, who was destined to be revered in it as no one else was, did not bring salvation to his people, and is therefore valued less than many lesser men. No matter how great Buddhism may be in itself, it signifies the degeneration of the Indian spirit. It cannot be denied: in Buddhism the philosophical nation *par excellence* has renounced the tendency to philosophise; the people who delighted most on earth in created forms have capitulated before the ideal of uniformity; the most speculative race who ever existed has sought salvation in empiricism. This could not lead to a good end. Nature refuses to be mocked; to be violated; if she is impeded in good works, she bursts forth all the more in destructive power." "Today I see it clearly: it is a mistake to speak of Aryan as opposed to Semitic culture, so far as any manifestations up to the present are in question. No matter how much the Semite lacks the Teutonic trait of transcendentalism, no matter how much the latter characteristic makes the Teuton appear related to the Indian, his inherited culture is of Mediterranean origin, and the same can be said of Latin, Semitic and Turkish peoples. The 'spirit' of antiquity, and of the Near East, of Mosaism, of Christianity, and of the Celto-Germanic people from the North, in so far as they had become latinised, had been melted into a collective being long before the days of Mahomet. Thus Islam only signifies a special expression of that which is true of all Occidentalism. The comparison with Indian tradition and life makes me realise very clearly what Occidentalism really consists of. It is characterised by two things: its worldliness and the energy by which it fashions appearance. This differentiates it radically from that Orient, which finds its extremest expression in India". And, I will conclude with an observation on the Englishman: "Whenever I meet one of the representatives of this people I am shocked by the contrast between the dearth of their talents, the limitation of their horizon and the measure of recognition which every one of them exacts from me, as from everybody else. Even the more eminent Englishmen (the really eminent, as everywhere else, remain beyond the confines of generalisation) can hardly be taken seriously as intellectuals. They affect me like animals who, furnished with a number of unerring instincts, control a certain sector of reality perfectly. For the rest, however, they are blind and incapable.....They are completely what they might have been. This explains their powers of convincing others, their superiority over the other peoples of Europe (which at present cannot be reasonably contested); it explains also the contagious nature of their peculiarity. They alone are really perfect in their way amongst all Europeans, and to perfection every one bows the knee" There are many good things in this book such as the chapters on Adyar and Benares and it is replete with illuminating flashes as when he calls the South Indian style the architecture of the non-rational and when he finds Taj Mahal the building where "the rational elements have been melted down into the decorative, which means that gravity, whose exploitation is the real principle of all other architecture, has lost its weight".

But in his foreward the learned author would have his reader regard his diary as a novel, as a biographical narrative dealing with spiritual

moods and adventure, and the reviewer may not be presumptuous if at the end of his reading he also regarded the author—how shall we call it?—philosophically. In spite of his critical attitude there are certain tendencies which manifest themselves as limitations in Count Keyserling's thinking: the fact of his being born a Count seems to dominate him not a little and in the course of the book one gets uncomfortable impressions that so eminent a man is doing little more than build up a feeble plea for the swiftly crumbling principle of hereditary distinction in some places. The European in him not infrequently obscures his vision; unconsciously he thinks of Europe in optimistic terms in some places contrary to all his premises. He has always a good word for the European ideal of power, but does not so much as even pause to enquire whether power may not be crushed under its own weight. For a moment only he considers the possibility of a period such as that of the Dark Ages which followed the fall of Rome overcoming European civilisation and dismisses it as if it were only an academic possibility, whereas all the facts would seem to point to its probability. Nor can he altogether escape the charge always laid at the door of the theoretician—specially the German—that his premises do not expand in accordance with the facts which support them. Count Keyserling constantly thinks of the Indian temperament in terms of "types," and a type for him is doomed by the character of its content which being finite has metamorphoses well within calculation. Thus the Sanyasi ideal, the Mukti or the Nirvana ideal of the Indian has foredoomed him to fail always in the affairs of the world according to our author. But it were far more appropriate to think of types in biological rather than physical terms, though even so the conception can only be considered as an analogy in so far as we are dealing with psychical entities, and when together with this we take into account the undeniable fact that the Indian type in spite of its antiquity has survived to our times unlike many another, the conclusion is irresistible that it is capable of a vitality which will carry its development further. If we have overworked or ill-worked the Brahmin ideal and have done injustice to collateral truths—"ideals live at the expense of one another"—Keyserling—what is there to prevent the other ideals which equally form part of our tradition being switched on in the coming swing of our history? Where is the justification to regard the history of India in static terms and look at our culture as a twilight of the gods when the gods of India still live and the twilights are no more than the twilight of generations of mere men.

There is a more fundamental criticism which I cannot suppress. Whether we look at it as the interlocked beauty of the universe and the wise economy of nature or cynically as the paradox inherent to all existence, the fact remains that if we move too far to the east we find ourselves in the west and vice versa. Much may be said about or against materialism; but there is this truth that whether it is scientific materialism which cries out in the words of Bertrand Russell, "Blind to good and evil, reckless of destructive development, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way" or the spontaneous materialism which expresses itself as idolatries and which prevails among us, the contemplation of matter creates in the mind of man an awe which brings it as near to worship as it can be brought. Contrariwise, let us recognise it does not unfrequently happen that idealism which is broad-based on man's inner experience

ends in agnosticism and puts out that spiritual flame which makes the loneliness of great men grandeur, and leaves them cold and lightless like frozen planets blindly moving about a lost firmament. By agnosticism I neither mean here a certain doctrine nor lack of doctrine and Keyserling is neither invertebrate nor lacks in catholicity. It is essentially a state of the soul which some how renders all fire into mere combustion and fails to attain transcendental all-assuring luminosity. Count Keyserling leaves me with some such impression. However that be, the book is rich and stirring and one to be heartily recommended to Indian readers. Nothing can be more calculated to keep a culture alive than its continual revision in the light of criticism from those who have the insight into it. Of such rare and valuable criticism the present book has in abundance.

R. R.

SHORT NOTICE.

CHAMPIONS OF PEACE. By HEBE SPAULL.
(George, Allen and Unwin Ltd. London.) 1926.
7½ x 5. pp. 112. 3s. 6d.

THIS little book contains a series of brief biographies of the men who have been chiefly responsible for the building up of the international ideal in connection with the League of Nations. It is written in an attractive style, which will make it especially useful for young people. Several of the biographies contain accounts of adventures and enterprises which have become famous, for example General Smuts' exploits as a guerilla leader, and Nansen's memorable battle with the polar bear.

It is to be remembered that the men whose life-story is here given will be revered by future generations as the forerunners and builders of a new type of human society. They are the prophets and founders of a practical international brotherhood; and it is therefore essential that the rising generation should have the opportunity of understanding rightly what manner of men they were. This opportunity is effectively given in the book before us.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE REPORT.

By Sir P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K. C. S. I.

How slowly do the wheels of Government move in this country and especially in nation-building directions! The demand for the establishment of a military college at which Indians may be trained for a military career as officers in the Indian Army has been put forward by the Indian National Congress for at least 40 years. The demand has been continuous and insistent. When the Great War broke out, the services rendered by the Indian soldiers in the battle-fields of Europe, Africa and Mesopotamia were freely acknowledged. The gallantry and the loyalty of Indian soldiers were warmly appreciated. It was declared by English statesmen that the claims and aspirations of Indians must thenceforward be approached from a new angle of vision. The professions of responsible British statesmen at the time were no doubt quite sincere, but many of these professions of goodwill and sympathy still remain to be translated into practice. Among the many demands which the Government has still failed to tackle with anything like earnestness, the demand for an Indian Sandhurst occupies a conspicuous place.

In the very first session of the Indian Legislative Assembly the attention of the Government was prominently drawn to this question by means of a resolution requesting that as soon as funds were available, steps should be taken to establish a military college like Sandhurst in India. The resolution was passed with the assent of the Government, but nothing came out of it. Mr. Montagu fell from power and the Conservative Government, which has been in office on and off since then, has shown no genuine desire to deal with the claim of India for a revision of British policy with regard to the organisation of the army in India from the point of view of national efficiency. The resolution of the Assembly of 1921 was buried in the pigeon holes of the Government of India Secretariat for quite four years.

The question was again brought forward in the Assembly in 1925. An attempt was made to repudiate the resolution of 1921 and to deny that the Government of India had ever committed themselves to the policy of establishing a military college. The Assembly however passed the resolution for the appointment of a Committee to investigate and report upon the subject. At last in June 1925 a Committee was appointed to consider whether it was desirable and practicable to establish a military college in India and to report upon the possible methods of improving the supply of Indian candidates for King's Commissions. The Committee was fortunate in its chairman, General Sir Andrew Skeen, the Chief of the General Staff and in its Secretary Major Lumby. It was also fortunate in the inclusion of Mr. Burdon, the Army Secretary, as a member. That in spite of the presence of some members of a reactionary type the Committee should have produced a unanimous report is due largely to the broad-mindedness, tact, knowledge and skill of General Skeen and Mr. Burdon and to the labours of Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues on the Sub-Committee, which was deputed to collect evidence and information in Europe and America. The Committee have examined the questions referred to them with great care and thoroughness and with every desire to appreciate not merely the Indian aspects of the problem but its wider bearings on British military policy. Their recommendations may not go as far as the resolution of the Assembly or even the wishes of some of the members of the Committee. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the Report of the Committee is a conscientious and valuable performance for which they deserve the thanks of the public.

It is urged that the problem is one of a very complicated and far-reaching character and involves several issues of importance. But difficulties are meant to be overcome and should not be used for the purpose of adopting a *non-possumus* attitude nor even for indefinite postponement of a solution or the interposition of unreasonable delay. The Report of the Committee was submitted to the Government of India towards the end of last year and it has been published only in the beginning of this month (April) after no little hesitation and with great reluctance. The Government of India express no approval of any of the recommendations of the Report and merely propose to use it as a starting-point for discussions with the Imperial Government. They wish to be free to consider whether the basis of the committee's scheme offers the sure stable line of advance towards the creation of a Dominion Army or whether alternative methods which did not fall within the Committee's terms of reference might not more profitably be explored. The Government of India are not prepared to commit themselves to a policy.

of creating a Dominion Army; nor is there any indication of the possible alternative methods to be explored, though at first sight it looks as if they were inclined to view such a policy with favour. Perhaps it will be urged that the four or five months which have elapsed since the submission of the Report have not been sufficient for the necessary investigation. Like the Secretary of State and probably in accordance with his instructions, they state that the recommendations of the Committee are designed primarily with a view to Indian conditions and that the problems of recruitment and training of King's Commissioned officers for whatever service are essentially an Imperial concern. In the speech made by him in the House of Lords at the end of last month, Lord Birkenhead used even stronger language in his comments upon the criticisms made in India upon the administration of the army. He detects a tendency to parochialism not merely in the views of the Indian critics of the army administration in India but even on the part of the Indian Sandhurst Committee, even though it was presided over and guided by a distinguished General like Sir Andrew Skeen, the Chief of the General Staff in India; nor does he spare the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee which was presided over by Sir John Shea, the Adjutant-General in India. His Lordship questions the competency of both of these Committees and of the Government of India and, even of the Secretary of State, to make a comprehensive survey of the problems involved from the broadest Imperial point of view. Lord Birkenhead points out that it is a mistake to suppose that the administration of the Army in India is primarily a matter of concern to India alone. That the administration of the army in India is connected with questions of Imperial Defence and has a bearing upon them may be admitted in the same way as the military organisation of any self-governing Dominion may have upon the problems of Imperial Defence. Would the Government of any self-governing Dominion be prepared to admit that they were not competent to settle the question of the organisation and recruitment of their armies or allow that these questions must be settled for them by the Imperial Cabinet?

The primary purpose of the army in India was defined in a resolution of the Assembly as the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal order. The correctness of this position was endorsed by the Imperial Government and is admitted by Lord Birkenhead. If this is the primary purpose of the army in India, it is curious that India should be told that matters concerning the administration of the army in India are not the primary concern of India alone. It is said that in certain wide contingencies, the defence of India may require reinforcements from the Imperial Army to enable her to meet with success a combination of menaces. So also would the defence of Australia against a naval invasion. It is true that India does not now occupy an isolated position in the world and may be embroiled in any big war in which Britain may become involved. But, this would be the result not of the special conditions affecting India only, which but of the conditions to every member of the British Commonwealth of Nations is subject. If she were not a member of the Commonwealth, India might possibly escape being entangled in a war which was primarily due to British foreign policy. During the debate in the House of Lords it was admitted by Lord Haldane that there was great force in the contention of Indians that the army is probably kept upon a scale for the resistance of foreign

aggression which would not be necessary if India was a perfectly peaceful country left to itself and not apt to become involved in quarrels which proceed between Great Britain and other countries. The argument of Lord Birkenhead that exceptional contingencies may arise calling for reinforcements from Britain does not necessarily deprive the people of India of the right to treat the problem of Indian defence as one of primary concern to themselves. Exceptional situations may require exceptional measures for pooling the resources of the Empire or creating new armies on a large scale. Britain itself was in the beginning of the Great War obliged to call for and depend upon reinforcements from India. The Indian troops took a prominent part in bearing the brunt of the German invasion and enabled Britain to gain time for the creation of a new army and for the full utilisation of her manpower. It would be interesting to know whether a claim by India on this ground to determine questions of military organisation and recruitment in Britain would not be scouted with derision. It is speeches like Lord Birkenhead's that strengthen the popular belief in India that questions relating to the strength of the army in India and its organisation and recruitment are dealt with entirely from the point of view of Imperial interests and Imperial exigencies and not solely with reference to the requirements of India alone.

The Report of the Esher Committee on the Army in India lent strong support to this view and an emphatic protest was lodged against it by the Indian Legislative Assembly and endorsed by the Government of India. The statement of Lord Birkenhead suggests that whatever the Government of India might have said in 1921 the real motives and principles by which the Imperial Government are influenced are those set forth by the Esher Committee in their covering letter to Mr. Montagu. There is no doubt that in view of the shifting of the political storm-centre to the Pacific Coast, India has come to occupy a position of greater strategical importance to the Empire. This view finds an echo in the speech of Lord Haldane when he made the suggestion that a part of the expeditionary force of the Home Army should be kept in India. Indian politicians are not incapable of realising the obligations of this country as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but they feel that their country is neither able nor inclined to assume heavier obligations towards the Commonwealth than the other self-governing Dominions and they claim also the same right as the self-governing Dominions to determine the strength and composition of their army, its organisation and administration. We cannot unfortunately forget that we are still in a position of dependence and we have not yet reached the status of a self-governing dominion. But we still claim that these questions of military organisation should not be treated as questions of Imperial policy in the determination of which India has no voice and must submit to the dictates of the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Defence Committee, both unaffected by any real sympathy with the military or political aspirations of India.

When we find that officers like General Skeen and General Shea and even the Government of India and the Secretary of State are supposed to be incapable of making a broad survey of the Imperial aspects of the problem, it is hardly likely that Lord Birkenhead would allow any person or body except the Committee of Imperial Defence to express any opinion upon the issues involved or even to discuss them. At the risk of being charged with temerity in trespassing upon this sacred and forbidden

ground one may venture to ask for some explanation as to the nature of the high ground of policy which the Government of India and other authorities below them are incapable of understanding. Imperial policy is a high-sounding expression for mystifying the public mind. In the absence of any authoritative explanation of what the requirements of the Imperial policy are, we can only make a conjecture as to the Imperial aspects of the problem which are put forward as justifying the attitude of the Secretary of State in shelving or rejecting the recommendations of the Skeen Committee and the Shea Committee. If the proposals of either of these Committees purported to deal with the question of the organisation, recruitment and training of the Expeditionary Force of the British Territorial Force, one could understand the validity of the criticism; but they deal only with the Indian Units of the army in India and the method of utilising the manpower of India for the formation of a Territorial Force. It may perhaps be urged that these proposals may affect the efficiency of the Indian units of the Army or the recruitment of British officers for the Indian army. If it is to be assumed that the introduction of an Indian element in the Commissioned Ranks of the Indian army is bound to result in a loss of efficiency, it means and implies that Indianisation of the officers' Ranks cannot be permitted on any considerable scale. If this is the real intention of the Home Government, let them say so once for all and India will know where she stands and what she may expect from the Home Government which professes to hold the country in trust for the people of India. It may possibly be apprehended that any scheme of Indianisation of the Officers' Ranks must carry with it the consequence of obliging British officers to serve under Indian Officers and may therefore deter the recruitment of British cadets for the Indian Army. This objection is either valid or it is not. If it is to be treated as valid, there must be a definite negation of all attempts for the Indianisation of the Officers' Ranks. If, on the other hand, it is invalid there is no reason for resisting or throwing out proposals aiming at the introduction of a larger Indian element into the Officers' Ranks. The Indian public are entitled to know whether the fear of an adverse effect on the recruitment of British cadets is regarded as sufficient ground for the rejection of schemes for the Indianisation of the higher ranks.

Let us now turn for a while to the main recommendations of the Skeen Committee and see whether they are of a revolutionary character. The main question referred to the Skeen Committee was the feasibility of establishing a military college in India; but it is necessarily interlaced with a number of other questions, the most important of which is the Indianisation of the higher Ranks of the Army. When the Indian public ask for Responsible Government they are reminded by Imperial statesmen that full responsible government is not possible, until India is capable of defending herself. When it is pointed out that India's incapacity for defence is the result of British rule and that she is willing to train herself for it, she is told that it can only be by very slow and cautious steps that she can be trained to protect herself. A scheme is accordingly put forward by which 10 Commissions a year are thrown open to Indians and 8 Units are set apart for complete Indianisation and it is said that until candidates come forward in sufficient numbers to fill up the 10 Commissions thrown open and the 8 Units scheme is proved to be a success, no further advance can be thought of.

One of the most valuable portions of the Skeen Committee's Report is that in which they point out the real reasons for the dearth of suitable candidates for the Commissions offered. Apart from the various minor causes and the policy of exclusion followed in the past, the most important cause for the inadequate supply of candidates is the one upon which the Committee have properly laid stress. The Commissions offered are so few that one cannot expect the educational system of the country to be moulded to the requirements of 10 places for the whole of India, nor is it possible to expect candidates to come forward for so few places. The exponents of Imperial policy urge that more Commissions cannot be offered till there is a sufficient supply of candidates for the Commissions now offered; but there can be no supply of an adequate number of candidates until there is an increase in the number of Commissions to be thrown open. The two questions are really inter-dependent. The conclusion of the Committee that the very narrow scope of the scheme for Indianisation of the higher Ranks of the army prevents any material improvement in the quality of the candidates or in their number is fully justified by the evidence and will command the acceptance of all fair-minded critics. Is it fair to infer from the paucity of suitable candidates that there is a lack of suitable material in the country? The Committee have rightly come to the conclusion that there is good potential material in the country which the Government have not succeeded in tapping. That there is no lack of martial classes among the people of India is generally admitted. To suppose that there is no suitable material for the Officers' Rank of the army among the 300 millions and more of the population of India is an insult to the intelligence of the country. India had her armies and her generals long before the British came on the scene and men qualified for leadership can still be found, if only the Government care to take the necessary steps to attract them to a military career and train them for the purpose.

The Committee have given plenty of reasons for their conclusion that it is desirable and practicable to establish a military college in India. But a college cannot be run without a minimum number of cadets and it has been ascertained that the minimum required for a military college like Sandhurst is 100. It is partly with a view to the establishment of a college that the Committee advocate an initial strength of 33 cadets per annum for three years after the college is started. From the Imperial as well as the Indian point of view it is necessary to secure the best possible material for the Officers' Ranks of the army and in sufficiently large numbers. In the event of any war on a large scale in the future, the demand for making good the wastage of officers cannot possibly be met unless there is a well equipped and well-organised college effectively functioning and capable of training a much larger number of Indians than are ever likely to be admitted in any of the English colleges. The authorities in charge of the English institutions are unwilling to reserve more than 5 per cent. of the available seats for Indian cadets for fear of changing the character of the institution. At this rate the maximum of Indian cadets which can possibly be trained at Sandhurst would be 30 and at Woolwich 12. The normal recruitment for the Indian Army in times of peace being 180, these numbers form only a small proportion even of the numbers of Officers annually recruited. As pointed out by the Committee, India should cease to rely solely upon institutions in England the training at

which is even now not wholly suited to the circumstances of Indian boys and which can only be reckoned on for so narrowly limited an out-turn of Indian King's Commissioned Officers. According to the scheme recommended by the Skeen Committee, the number of Indians admitted to Sandhurst should be 20 in 1928 and those admitted to Woolwich and Cranwell for admission to the artillery and engineering branches of the army would be 8. The Committee contemplate a progressive increase of 12 every 3 years until in 1945 i. e., within a period of 12 years from the starting of the college, when the recruitment of Indians as Officers in the Indian Army will consist of Indians. It is these cautious and modest proposals for Indianisation that have given rise to an anxious concern in the minds of the Secretary of State and the Government of India. As regards the character of the military college to be set up in India and the length of the course, the Committee have wisely made a departure from the English system. They are in favour of a single college which would eventually give instruction in all arms and they have advocated a course of three years with the object of providing both academic and military education. They recommend that the college should be started as soon as possible and that the date of inauguration should be 1933.

It is unnecessary to trouble the readers of this Review with the details of the recommendations of the Committee. Two important features, however, remain to be noticed. One relates to the form of the Commission to be granted to the Indian cadets passing out of the Indian College. The Committee adduce excellent reasons for their view that the Commissions to be granted should be identical with those granted to the English cadets passing out of Sandhurst. No other form of Commission will avoid the administrative difficulties which are necessarily involved in the presence in India of several units of purely British forces. It is quite possible that racial considerations may prevail with the Imperial Defence Committee and induce them to devise some form of Commission which will prevent the Indian officer from ever exercising any authority over British troops and over British officers on occasions when British and Indian forces may be thrown together and the Indian officer may by virtue of seniority be called upon to act. Another important recommendation of the Committee is that on completion of a three years' course in the Indian Military College, the successful cadets should after receiving their Commissions be attached to a cavalry or infantry unit in the United Kingdom for a period of one year. It is possible that the military authorities may raise considerable objection to the attachment of Indian cadets to British units in the United Kingdom. Should this objection be unfortunately allowed to prevail the necessary supplementary training and the advantages of association with British cadets in British Units must be sought by attaching the Indian cadets to the British units stationed in India.

If the Imperial Government could make up their mind to carry out the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee as well as of the Territorial Forces Committee, it would go a long way to remove the discontent of thwarted military aspirations. To shelve or to throw them overboard will only have the effect of deepening the discontent

and undermining the faith of the public in the pious professions of the Imperial Government. Judging from the utterances of Lord Birkenhead and the *Communique* of the Government of India, the odds are apparently against the acceptance of the recommendations of the Committee. The issues involved in the Reports of these Committees are of grave and far-reaching importance and if Indian politicians were well advised, they would concentrate their attention and energy upon the problems of defence rather than upon others. An intensive agitation should be organised throughout the country and the Government of India must be pressed to carry out the schemes recommended by these Committees or publish the rival schemes contemplated by them before they come to a decision upon the latter.

Not the least of the services rendered by the Skeen Committee for which the public in India should be grateful to them is their condemnation of the 8 Units' Scheme. It is to be hoped that this ill-begotten and mischievous scheme will be abandoned by the authorities in deference to the weight of public and expert opinion.—*Indian Review*.

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