

Affirming Indian Identities? An Analysis of Imperial Rhetoric and Orientalism in the tours of Indian Hockey teams to New Zealand in 1926, 1935 and 1938¹

Tours of Indian hockey teams to New Zealand in 1926, 1935 and 1938 enthralled thousands of New Zealand spectators, placed a minority code briefly in the sporting spotlight and, for many, affirmed cherished beliefs about the fundamental characteristics of the British Empire. Occurring as they did at a time when the Indian National Congress was advocating independence for India, sporting contacts were a concrete means of affirming that the bonds of empire could be maintained. The tours were also important in that the extensive newspaper and radio coverage of the tours in New Zealand was, for the most part positive. As such, it represented a marked change from the racial prejudice expressed in criticisms of 'asiatic' immigration to New Zealand. From the perspective of the sports historian, they offer an especially interesting case study of what J.A.Mangan has referred to as the 'imperial games ethic' in action.²

Affirming Empire: The Organisation of the Tours and Composition of the Teams

The motivation for the tours by Indian hockey teams can be attributed to two key reasons. First: a pragmatic realisation on the part of sports administrators as to the public interest and marketability of tours by exotic teams, especially those from Asia and Africa. Second: a desire to reinforce the ideals of imperial unity and amateur sport. The composition of the Indian teams to New Zealand in many ways reflected the influence of the 'imperial games ethic', referring in this case to the transplantation of the ethos and curriculum of British public schools to an Indian environment in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The majority of the touring teams were drawn from the middle and upper-classes, notably the Indian army, the Indian civil service and the aristocracy. As we shall see, the generally favourable publicity these teams generally received was because they were viewed as coming from the loyal and 'respectable' classes. Sport was seen as a means of instilling character among what were deemed the 'respectable' Indian classes and also as a means of overcoming the 'effeteness' which some Britons regarded as characteristic of Indians, particularly Hindus.³ The promulgation of sport, particularly among the middle and upper classes of India (including the aristocracy) was viewed as a way of emphasising shared interests between Britain and her Dominions.

The tour of New Zealand by the Indian Army team in 1926 is particularly significant from the perspective of Indian sport because it occurred only one year after the Indian Hockey Federation was formed in 1925. The Indian Army team was the first Indian hockey team to tour abroad on an officially sanctioned tour. Previously, some teams comprised of Indian students had toured in Europe but the Indian Army team was the first officially sanctioned Indian team. The tour was facilitated by Field Marshal Birdwood, Commanding Officer of the British Forces in India (who had organised the retreat of ANZAC troops from Gallipoli), and the team was chosen by the Indian Army Sports Control Board. Hosting the tour was a considerable financial risk for the New Zealand Hockey Association which paid the Indian Army Sports Control Board £500 towards the team's travelling expenses.⁴

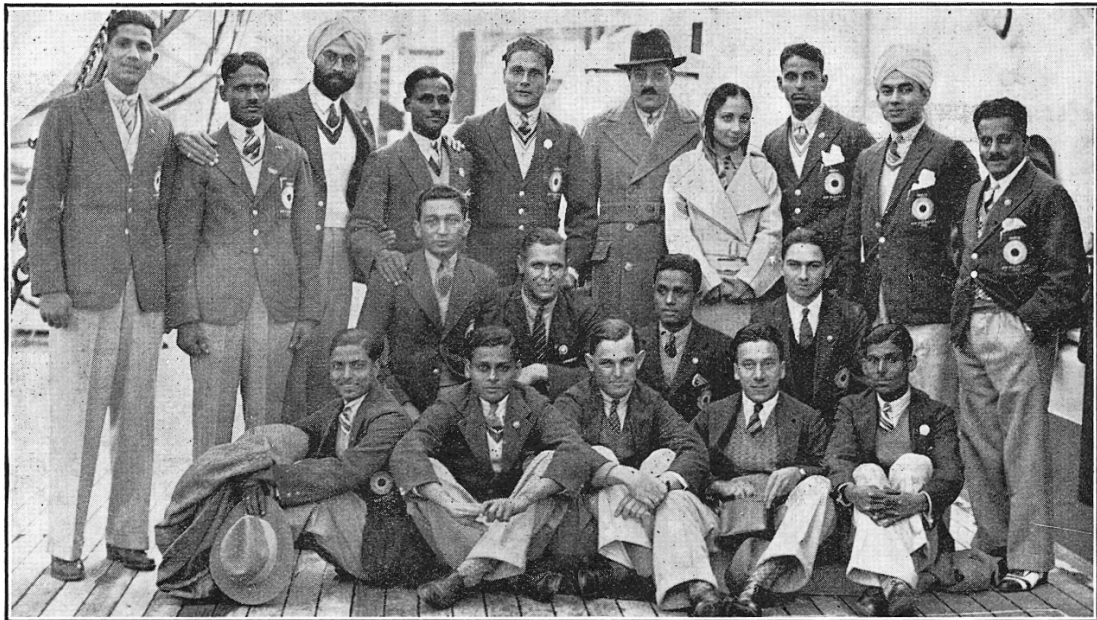
The game of hockey was spread among Indians by British officers in the 1880s and soon proved popular among the soldiers of the Indian army. By 1909 there were approximately 2000 hockey clubs in India. An All-Indian tournament was held each year at Allahabad, there were tournaments in each province, inter-regimental competitions and a Native Army Tournament.⁵ The Indian Army team selected to tour New Zealand in 1926 was of a high standard, being selected from 130 regiments, a pool of at least 1400 elite players. It is also worth noting that the tours of 1926, 1935 and 1938 took place before the partition of India in 1947, so the territories from which their representatives were drawn encompassed three present-day countries: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The composition of the touring party was a microcosm of the political organization of India itself, the majority of the team were indigenous Indians and the team was headed by British officers. The touring party of 17 players consisted of four British officers, one Indian officer and twelve Indian non-commissioned players.⁶ The captain of the touring team, Captain D.T. Cowan, was a former trialist for Scotland. Distinctions of rank and ethnicity were maintained during the tour. The officers were normally billeted out to private homes while the Indian players stayed in barracks. In Auckland they stayed at the Narrow Neck army quarters while in Wellington they stayed at Fort Dorset. The *Evening Post* noted that Captain Cowan took a paternal interest in these arrangements, observing that 'he will not sleep until his men are made comfortable for the night.'⁷ The officers were also entertained separately from the Indian troops, being invited to theatre parties and films. At Dannevirke, for example, 'the native members of the team visited the town and country schools while the Europeans were otherwise catered for. Their entertainments included a complimentary dinner.'⁸



The 1926 Indian Army Team. Dhyani Chand is third from the left, back row. Captain Cowan is seated on the extreme left, front row. Courtesy of the Wellington Hockey Association.

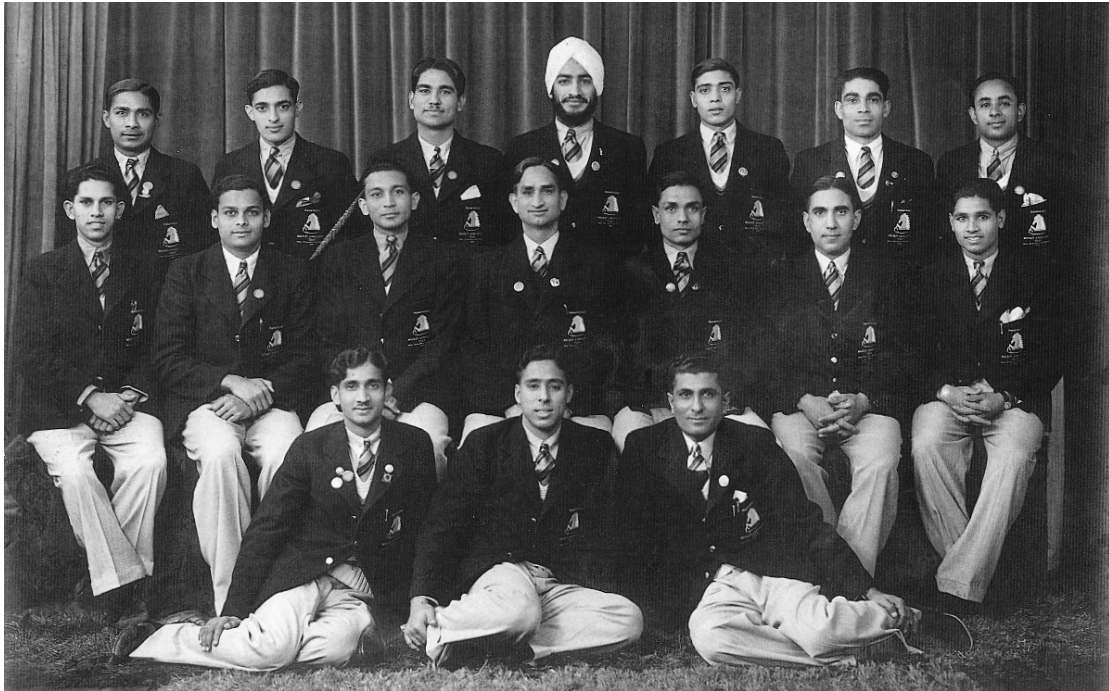
The All-India team which toured New Zealand in 1935, and the Prince of Manavadar's team which toured in 1938, were comprised largely of players who were

educated in Indian public schools and worked for government departments or the army. The manager of the 1935 team Behram Doctor, a Parsi, was a mechanical engineer from Bombay who was a keen exponent of polo. The assistant manager, P. Gupta, was a journalist and had been the non-playing captain of the Indian Olympic team in 1932. An examination of the occupations and educational background of the team reveals a similar pattern. The captain, Dhyan Chand, was a sergeant in the Indian army. M.N. Masud, the vice-captain, was private secretary to the Nawab of Manavadar. He had captained his school and college teams and had previously played for the University of Delhi. Rashid Ahmad was educated at the Government High School and Forman Christian College, Lahore and was studying for a degree in science at the University of the Punjab. Rup Singh, brother of Dhyan Chand, attended Government College at Jahansi and played for Jahansi Heroes. Harbail Singh was a 'physical culture expert' and a lecturer at Khalsa College, Amritsar. Morapakkam Joysam Gopalan represented India at Cricket against the MCC in 1934. Mohammad Naeem captained his school eleven in hockey, cricket and football. Muhammad Hussein worked for the Prince of Manavadar and also represented India against South Africa in soccer in 1934. Frederick Wells, one of three Anglo-Indians in the team was stationed at Agra with the Auxiliary Force. Shahabuddin was employed by the Prince of Manavadar. T.J. Blake was educated at Lawrence Military School, Lovedala. Played for St. Patrick's Karachi and was employed in the Government Telegraph at Karachi. P. Das was a science graduate of Calcutta University. Peter Fernandes assisted St. Patrick's, one of the best hockey teams in the Indian Aga Khan tournament, which was held in Bombay. Nestor was a member of the Diocesan Boys School hockey and football teams in 1926. Like his fellow Anglo-Indians, Wells and Davidson he played for Calcutta Rangers. Davidson was educated at St. Edmund's College Shillong and played hockey for St. Joseph's College Calcutta.⁹



The 1935 All-India Team. Back row (left to right): Rashid Ahmad, Rup Singh, Harbail Singh, Dhyan Chand (captain), M.N. Masud (vice captain), Behram Doctor (manager), Mrs Behram Doctor, M.J. Gopalan, Mohammad Naeem, P. Gupta (assistant manager). Middle Row: Mohammad Hussein, F. Wells, Shahabuddin, T. Blake. Front Row: P. Das, P.P. Fernandes, E. Nestor, L. Davidson, Mukerjee. Courtesy of the New Zealand Hockey Federation.

Following the financial and sporting success of the 1935 All India tour the New Zealand Hockey Association invited the Indian Hockey Federation to send another All-India team in 1938. The Indian Hockey Federation was unable to send a team but the Prince of Manavadar agreed to sponsor a team to tour New Zealand. If the 1935 team represented a cross-section of the Indian middle and upper-classes then the Prince of Manavadar's team represented another indigenous elite co-opted to support British rule in India: the princely states, a group of sovereign nobility whose territories comprised one third of the Indian subcontinent. The princely states were viewed as an anachronism by the Indian National Congress and the conservative line taken on political issues by the management of the Prince of Manavadar's team in 1938 reflected the tensions between Congress and the Princes. The state of Manavadar, which was located in Kathiawar in the Rhan of Kutch, comprised an area of 107 square miles and, in 1948 had a population of 32,000.¹⁰ The tour of the Prince of Manavadar's Team in 1938 was an example of the connections between sport and the Indian aristocracy. The Prince of Manavadar was a keen exponent of sport. He was an accomplished hockey player and was originally selected in the 1935 Indian team to tour New Zealand but had withdrawn owing to affairs of state. He also intended to accompany the 1938 team as a player but withdrew owing to illness of his son, the heir apparent to the throne.¹¹ With the exception of two players, Feroz Khan and Peter Fernandes, all members the Prince of Manavadar's Team were employed by the Prince himself.¹² They were granted leave on full pay to make the tour. The team included three players who had visited with the 1935 team, Hussein, the captain, Shahabuddin and Fernandes. The manager of the team Professor Jagan Nath, who held a Masters in Science, was Professor of Forman Christian College in Lahore. The available information on the educational background of the team indicates that most were educated in Indian Public Schools. Ben Abraham, the goalkeeper, was educated at St Patrick's High School. Gurnarian Singh was educated at Khalsa College in Amritsar. Mohammed Ahmad Khan was educated at St. Stephen's High School, Delhi. Abdul Latif attended Forman Christian College in Lahore. Sultan Khan played for the Muslim University. Suleiman, the inside left was educated at Robertson Anjuman High School. Some players held jobs with the government. Feroz Khan, the star centre forward, who had been a member of the Indian team which won the gold medal at the 1928 Olympics, played for Bombay Railways.¹³



The Prince of Manavadar's Team which toured New Zealand in 1938. Back row (from left): M.Y. Qureishi, Sultan Khan, Shafat Khan, Gurnarain Singh, Fasahat Yar Khan, Lajpat Rai, A.Qavi. Middle Row: Ahmed Khan, Peter Fernandes, S.M. Hussein (captain), Prof. Jagan Nath (manager), Shahabuddin (vice-captain), Feroz Khan, Sharnoor Khan. Front Row: S.M. Suleiman, Abdul Latif, Ben Abraham. Courtesy of the Wellington Hockey Association.

Sporting Aspects of the Tours

On the sporting side the tours were notable for the unprecedented interest they generated in what had hitherto been regarded as a minority sport. According to the *New Zealand Yearbook* of 1926 hockey, in terms of playing numbers, was the ninth-ranked sport in New Zealand with 3096 men's players and 3,383 women's players comprising a total of 6479 players. By contrast, Rugby Union, the national sport was recorded as having 40,000 players.¹⁴ Tours by Indian hockey teams had a profound effect on the development of the game in New Zealand. The skill of the Indians was such that they elevated the game from a mere sport into an enthralling spectacle of spectacular stick skills combined with a scientific approach to the tactical side of hockey. Whereas much of New Zealand provincial hockey was characterised by hard hitting and vigorous play, the Indian teams relied upon skilled inter-passing and the exceptional skills of their leading players. The *Auckland Star*, for example, described the Indian Army team's 10-1 victory over Auckland as:

A revelation in the finer points of the game. Inspired with every tradition of the game, the Indians, forwards and backs, juggled the ball about to the utter astonishment of the Aucklanders.... Attacks originated from every direction and any position, being masterly in conception and brilliantly carried out ... it was impossible to anticipate what the slim son of India would do next with the ball.¹⁵

Dhyan Chand was singled out as 'the most conspicuous figure on the Indian side ... and from start to finish he was always in the picture, wielding the stick like a magic wand in elusive and uncanny movements.'¹⁶ Dhyan Chand, who visited New Zealand

with the 1926 and 1935 teams and was the star hockey player at the 1936 Olympic games, was to hockey what Don Bradman was to cricket. Previewing the third test in Auckland the *Evening Post* concluded ‘the visitors have played the ideal game, both from the point of view of sportsmanship and with the stick and a few more tours of the same nature could not but give hockey a boost which it sadly needs.’¹⁷

The spectacular nature of the Indian game, which saw players juggling the ball on their sticks whilst running at full speed, coupled with the exotic appeal of the team, meant that the tourists were an immensely popular attraction. The popularity of the team was such that, with the agreement of the Indian team, a third test match was added to the programme (two had originally been scheduled).¹⁸ The test matches attracted crowds of over 10,000. The attendance at the third test at Auckland, variously reported at 18,000 and 25,000, remains a record for a hockey match in New Zealand. The popularity of the team enabled provincial associations to recoup the guarantees they paid to host matches.¹⁹ Gate receipts for the India versus Wellington match, for example, totalled £800. Of this sum, £200 was retained by the New Zealand Hockey Association and, according to Mr Holland of the NZHA after expenses the Wellington Hockey Association had made a profit of £300.²⁰ The funds obtained by the New Zealand Hockey Association were particularly welcome, since, according to Mr Williamson, they had only £40 of income to carry on with.²¹ The team was not only commended for their playing abilities, they were also complemented for their conduct off the field. H.S.J. Goodman, president of the New Zealand Hockey Association, commended the team as ‘sportsmen on and off the field’ and the leadership of Captain Cowan. ‘Physical fitness’, he stated, ‘was their ideal and they had shown those who met them what British gentlemen really were.’²²

The popularity of the team is evident in the table below. The team scored 192 goals and conceded only 24, an average winning margin of 9-1. Equally importantly, from an ambassadorial perspective, the exhaustive itinerary of the team saw them visit every major city and most towns in New Zealand.

Figure 1: Tour of Indian Army Team to New Zealand in 1926

Date	Opponent	Location	Venue	Score	Attendance
May 14	Waipa	Te Awamutu	Albert Park	Won 11-0	
May 15	Waikato	Hamilton		Won 7-0	
May 18	South Auckland	Rotorua		Won 8-0	
May 20	Taranaki	Eltham	Taumata Park	Won 7-2	3000
May 22	Hawkes Bay	Napier	McLean Park	Won 13-2	4000
May 26	Dannevirke	Dannevirke	Dvke. Domain	Won 20-0	c. 4000
May 29	Wanganui	Wanganui	Cook’s Gardens	Won 12-1	c. 3000
June 3	Wellington	Wellington	Basin Reserve	Won 8-3	c. 15000
June 5	Nelson	Nelson		Won 9-0	c. 4000
June 9	Buller	Westport		Won 9-0	
June 12	Canterbury	Christchurch	Lancaster Park	Won 2-1	12000
June 17	Geraldine	Geraldine	Geraldine Oval	Won 15-0	3000
June 19	Otago	Dunedin	Carisbrook	Won 11-0	12000
June 22	South Canterbury	Temuka		Won 14-2	
June 26	New Zealand	Christchurch	Lancaster Pk.	Won 5-2	12000
June 30	Manawatu	Palm. Nth	Showgrounds	Drew 4-4	c. 7000
July 3	Auckland	Auckland	Akld. Domain	Won 10-1	15000

July 8	North Auckland	Whangarei	Kensington Pk.	Won 9-1	>3000
July 10	New Zealand	Auckland	Eden Park	Lost 3-4	15000
July 14	Franklin	Waiuku		Won 13-0	
July 17	New Zealand	Auckland	Eden Park	Drew 1-1	18000

As indicated previously, part of the appeal of the Indian team lay in their ‘otherness’. In a New Zealand whose mainstream culture was then overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon, Maori having been marginalized to a rural periphery, the Indian team offered an authentic example of the exotic east. An article in the *New Zealand Herald* announcing their arrival began ‘a dozen swarthy men in Khaki, all but three of them turbanned, stood on the deck of the Marama yesterday morning and scanned the harbour talking animatedly among themselves in strange tongues.’²³ They were the first Indian soldiers seen in New Zealand since the Boer War ended in 1902. The Press Association telegram announcing their arrival, which was widely reprinted in New Zealand newspapers, declared:

The men, who made a picturesque sight in their khaki uniforms, and attracted considerable attention when the boat was berthed, were gathered from one end of India to the other. They represent a large number of regiments and religions and the party includes, Sikhs, Punjabi, Dogras, Madrasi, Pathans and Queen Victoria’s Own, sappers and miners. Some of the Indians wear turbans with various coloured fringes, denoting their regiments, while one or two sappers and miners sport little round hats shaped like flower pots.²⁴

Special mention was made of the Sikh players. C.D. Arnold, who had lived in India, described them as ‘an athletic race.’ As warriors they were held in especially high regard:

They are faithful, as a rule, to those who they serve. They are very loyal as troops and in the old days you couldn’t have better men in a fight. The Sikh was a very valuable man to have with you. Nearly all the regiments of India had companies of Sikhs on account of their loyalty, for the purpose of maintaining discipline amongst the native troops.²⁵

Such positive accounts of Indian peoples were in marked contrast to the dominant discourse on Indians in particular and ‘asiatic’ peoples in general. Indian immigration into New Zealand, particularly Fijian Indians was the subject of vigorous opposition. New Zealand had a history of discriminatory policies towards Asian peoples and anti-Asian sentiment was openly expressed. In Pukekohe a White New Zealand League was founded in 1925. Newspaper reports during the tour included the Returned Services Association passing a motion reaffirming its support for a ‘White New Zealand Policy’ and stressing the ‘necessity for placing every obstacle in the way of Asiatics entering the Dominion.’ This motion was stated as applying to ‘Hindus and other British Asiatic subjects.’ Alarmist rhetoric was prominent, including claims that ‘once they were admitted they would overrun the country’ through their breeding (a case of a Hindu women in Fiji aged 28 with 13 children was cited as supporting evidence) and also that ‘Hindus could live in hovels on about half of what it cost the white man.’²⁶

Yet while many New Zealanders were opposed to Indian immigration into New Zealand, attitudes towards the Indian team were overwhelmingly positive. They were differentiated from stereotypical depictions of Indians on the basis that they were soldiers loyal to the British empire and drawn from what were perceived as the 'respectable' elements of Indian society. "Warepa", writing in the *New Zealand Herald*, declared that there was 'no redolence of the bazaar about Dhyan Chand and his mates.' He concluded, 'Good fellows these, like thousands of other good fellows and good soldiers that the ex-Anglo-Indian has met and fraternised with in the days gone by.'²⁷ Moreover, being an army team, they were welcomed as fellow soldiers who had fought alongside New Zealanders during the Great War. Baildon, the Mayor of Auckland welcomed the team as:

Representatives of a great race, and although this may be the first occasion on which any of you have visited New Zealand, we realise that it is not your first association with New Zealanders for our troops have told us of the splendid soldiers which represented the illustrious Indian Army in the Great War.'²⁸

In reply, Captain Cowan praised the New Zealand Army saying that 'throughout India no soldiers were respected more than the New Zealand soldiers who fought with their units during the war' and New Zealand as 'the home of sportsmanship.'²⁹

The return visits of Indian teams in 1935 and 1938 were eagerly awaited. When the All-India team came to New Zealand in 1935 they did so as Olympic champions. Tours to New Zealand and Australia allowed the Indian teams to demonstrate their prowess against their fellow dominions. Indian teams were denied the opportunity to play Great Britain because the Hockey Board of Great Britain, unwilling to risk the perceived stigma of losing to a subject people, refused to field full international teams against the Indian Olympic teams when they visited Europe in 1928, 1932 and 1936.³⁰ Great Britain, who had been Olympic champions in 1908, 1912 and 1924 opposed the admission of India to the Olympic hockey competition and, when their protests were unsuccessful insisted the Indian team be called British India.³¹ Tours to the dominions, then, were the only way in which Indian hockey teams could match their skills against fully representative international teams of Anglo-Saxon stock from the British Empire.

The allure of the Indian hockey teams, who had been enormously popular on their 1926 visit, was enhanced by their status as Olympic champions. Anticipating a healthy financial return, the Australian Hockey Federation and the New Zealand Hockey Association eagerly accepted an offer in 1934 by the Bengal Hockey Association offered to send a representative hockey team to Australia and New Zealand. These associations agreed to share the cost of the return voyage from Calcutta to Australia and New Zealand.³² The popularity of the Indian team meant the 1935 tour proved especially profitable for both the Indian and New Zealand hockey associations. The manager of the Indian team reported a profit of £2,231/10/9 on the tour (the New Zealand Hockey Association had paid £1,450 to the Indian Hockey Federation to defray the costs of the tour).³³ The New Zealand Hockey Association also made a net profit of £778/11/2 from the tour.³⁴ The net profit was remarkably close to the pre-tour calculations, which gave the estimated surplus at £700.³⁵

As indicated in the following table, large crowds turned out to watch the 1935 Indian team during their tour. The attendance at the first test at Christchurch was the largest attendance for any sporting fixture at Lancaster Park for the last two years.³⁶ The Indian team was also extremely popular in Auckland where the match against Auckland and the third test attracted crowds of 12,000 to Eden Park. In addition to attracting large crowds in the main centres, the Indian team also proved popular in country areas as evidenced by the large crowds at small towns such as Eketahuna.³⁷

Figure 2: Tour of All-India team to New Zealand in 1935

Date	Opponent	Location	Venue	Score	Attendance
May 15	Dannevirke	Dannevirke		Won 21-0	
May 16	Hawkes Bay	Hastings	McLean Park	Won 17-0	c. 2000
May 18	Poverty Bay	Gisborne		Won 11-0	
May 20	Wairoa	Wairoa		Won 18-1	2000
May 22	Bush Union	Eketahuna		Won 6-0	3500
May 25	Wanganui	Wanganui	Cook's Gardens	Won 18-0	
May 29	Manawatu	Palmerston North	Show Grounds	Won 22-2	5000
May 30	Horowhenua	Otaki	Otaki Domain	Won 16-0	c. 2500
June 1	Wellington	Wellington	Athletic Park	Won 10-1	12,000
June 3	Canterbury	Christchurch	Lancaster Park	Won 5-2	14,000
June 6	Sth Canterbury	Timaru	Caledonian Ground	Won 12-0	
June 8	Otago	Dunedin	Carisbrook	Won 17-0	12,000
June 10	North Otago	Oamaru	Show Grounds	Won 16-1	
June 12	Eastern Northern	Gore		Abandoned	
June 15	Southland	Invercargill		Won 13-1	8,000
June 19	Mid Canterbury	Ashburton	Ashburton Domain	Won 11-0	
June 22	New Zealand	Christchurch	Lancaster Park	Won 4-2	14,000
June 26	West Coast	Greymouth	Rugby Park	Won 13-0	3000
June 29	New Zealand	Wellington	Athletic Park	Won 3-2	10,000
July 2	Nelson	Nelson		Won 12-0	4000
July 4	Taranaki	Eltham		Won 3-0	4000
July 6	Waikato	Hamilton	Steele Park	Won 7-0	4000
July 10	Piako	Morrinsville		Won 14-1	
July 11	Waipa	Te Awamutu	Albert Park	Won 5-2	
July 13	Auckland	Auckland	Eden Park	Won 9-3	12,000
July 17	Rodney	Warkworth	Showgrounds	Won 7-2	2000
July 20	New Zealand	Auckland	Eden Park	Won 7-1	12,000
July 22	Thames Hauraki	Thames		Won 10-0	
July 24	Maoris	Rotorua	Govt Grounds	Won 11-1	

The Prince of Manavadar's team attracted large crowds for the test matches but the tour was not a financial success. The New Zealand Hockey Association made a net loss of £96/7/7, partly because abnormally wet weather which bedevilled the tour and partly because the team was not a fully representative national side.³⁸ The late withdrawal of the Prince of Manavadar also affected the marketability of the team as his presence would have enhanced the exotic appeal of the tourists. The New Zealand Hockey Association, mindful of the financial advantages of the Prince's presence made repeated requests for him to join the tour, suggesting he join the team in time for the final test match, but their requests were unheeded. In the 1920s and 1930s tours by Asian and African sports teams were viewed as most likely to attract large crowds. When a Fijian Women's Hockey team toured New Zealand in 1936 the

Southland Daily News speculated 'it is presumed that the majority of the team will be natives and a coloured team from overseas will always attract attention, even from people who do not profess to be interested in the game being played.'³⁹ Some were disappointed, then, when they found out that the team was comprised entirely of whites and 'half-castes' as they were then called.⁴⁰ The South Canterbury Hockey Association which was to have hosted a match against the Fijians rescinded their offer taking the view that 'they agreed to have the match when they were informed that the members of the team were all Fijians, but since it has been known that the majority of the players are either half-castes or whites the association has been anxious to cancel the match.'⁴¹ A replacement game was arranged at Ashburton. In the same year as the Prince of Manavadar's team toured New Zealand, a team of Negro debaters, from Le Moyne University, Tennessee, also toured New Zealand and received considerable newspaper coverage.⁴² As indicated in the table, the Prince of Manavadar's team made an extensive tour.

Table Three: Tour of the Prince of Manavadar's Team to New Zealand in 1938

Date	Opponent	Location	Venue	Score	Crowd
June 11	Wairarapa	Masterton	Memorial Park	Won 5-0	c. 3000
June 14	Bush Union	Pahiatua	Recreation Ground	Won 3-1	1200
June 15	Manawatu	Palmerston Nth	Showgrounds	Won 4-0	c. 5000
June 18	Wanganui	Wanganui	Cook's Gardens	Won 4-0	
June 21	North Taranaki	New Plymouth		Won 5-1	
June 23	South Taranaki	Hawera		Won 6-1	
June 25	Wellington	Wellington	Athletic Park	Won 12-0	10,000
June 27	Nelson	Nelson		Won 7-1	
June 29	West Coast	Greymouth	Rugby Park	Won 11-0	c.1500
July 2	Canterbury	Christchurch	Lancaster Park	Won 4-0	8717
July 5	Ashburton	Ashburton	Ashburton Domain	Won 15-0	c.1800
July 7	Sth Canty	Timaru		Won 2-0	
July 9	N.Z. Univ.	Dunedin	Carisbrook	Won 2-1	c.7000
July 11	Nth Otago	Oamaru		Won 9-1	
July 13	Eastern	Gore		Won 11-0	c.2000
July 16	Southland	Invercargill	Rugby Park	Won 8-0	
July 20	Otago	Dunedin	Carisbrook	Won 5-1	
July 23	New Zealand	Christchurch	Lancaster Park	Won 5-1	10,000
July 27	Feilding	Feilding		Won 4-0	
July 30	New Zealand	Wellington	Athletic Pk	Won 4-0	
August 2	Wairoa	Wairoa		Won 4-3	
August 4	Poverty Bay	Gisborne	Abandoned		
August 6	Hawkes Bay	Napier		Won 11-0	
August 9	Dannevirke	Dannevirke		Won 11-1	
August 11	Waipa	Te Awamutu		Won 4-1	
August 13	Auckland	Auckland	Eden Park	Lost 4-5	5000
August 17	Whangarei	Whangarei		Won 11-0	
August 18	Rodney	Warkworth			
August 20	Waikato	Hamilton	Rugby Park	Won 10-0	
August 22	Piako	Morrinsville		Won 12-0	
August 25	Rotorua	Rotorua		Won 24-0	
August 27	New Zealand	Auckland	Eden Park	Won 3-1	

Like the 1926 Indian Army team, the Indian teams of 1935 and 1938 teams received extensive praise for the skill with which they played the game and also for their sportsmanship. They also made extensive use of the back pass, common in hockey today but seldom utilised in the 1930s. In its account of the 1935 All-India team's match against Canterbury, won 5-2 by the visitors, *The Press* remarked that 'the positional play of the visitors was astonishing. Once only in the game did an Indian send a pass to a gap in the defence where no Indian player was waiting to receive it.'⁴³ For their part, the management of the Indian team praised the play and sportsmanship of their New Zealand opponents. The tours then, acted as an affirmation of the ideals of sport as nurtured in the Public Schools of Britain and transplanted throughout the empire. The sentiments expressed by both Indian and New Zealand administrators repeatedly affirmed the ideals of amateur sport and the value of maintaining sporting contacts. Speaking at the civic reception for the 1935 All-India team to Palmerston North Gupta declared:

The best sport is the British game and there are no finer sportsmen in the world than the Britishers. We play the game not to be first, but for the game's sake. The team has come not to win, but to play the Game of Life and lift the banner of culture and tell you what they know.⁴⁴

These sentiments were reciprocated by the hosts. In welcoming the Prince of Manavadar's team to Christchurch, J.K Moloney declared that 'The empire's ideals find their fullest expression in amateur sport, and I believe, and hope that as long as sport is a primary interest, democracy will be safe in the British Empire.'⁴⁵

Sport and Empire: Ambassadorial Aspects of Touring

In addition to their extensive playing itineraries, members of the Indian touring teams performed an extensive round of social engagements. The management of the touring teams took the ambassadorial aspect of the tours very seriously. Reporting on a reception for the 1935 Indian team, the *Manawatu Evening Standard*, noted 'tributes to the power of friendly sportsmanship to help weld the ties of Empire were paid freely at the civic reception to the All-India Hockey team last evening, when the opinion was expressed that in this direction lay a source of potential strength to the Empire.'⁴⁶ Gupta voiced sentiments often expressed on the tour when he said that 'one object of the tour was to teach the people what India stood for. He had been impressed by the fact that New Zealanders did not know all that his country did stand for — and India itself took a lot of understanding. That nation came from a culture which could stand side by side with any other in the world.'⁴⁷ Part of the attraction of the Indian team was the tangible link they provided with a country that was at once an exotic land and also a member of the British Empire. Havilah Down, the secretary of the New Zealand Hockey Association, after spending the first fortnight of the tour with the 1935 team, wrote:

In addition to being the best hockey players which we have yet had in the Dominion, they have made themselves wonderfully popular in every centre visited. Their conduct both on and off the field has been of the highest order. Well educated, cultured, smiling and successful, they are worthy ambassadors of a great country.⁴⁸

The managers of the touring teams repeatedly reassured their audiences of the continued loyalty of India to the British empire. These sentiments were especially pertinent given that the 1935 and 1938 tours occurred at a seminal stage in India's journey towards independence. 1935 marked both the 50th anniversary of the Indian National Congress and also the Silver Jubilee of King George. 1935 was also the year in which the Government of India Bill was passed. Ostensibly this allowed for autonomous government in the provinces although the Governor retained wide-ranging emergency powers. Moreover, the franchise extended by this act was limited so only about ten per cent of the population were entitled to vote.⁴⁹ It was a compromise which offended Indian nationalists and British conservatives in equal measure. The 1938 tour took place soon after Congress had attained sweeping successes in the 1937 provincial elections, winning 711 out of the 808 general seats.⁵⁰ The management of the Indian teams took a moderate line on the political question. Behram Doctor remarked that 'although my country is asking for certain reforms and privileges, one cannot forget that under the British "raj" we have been happy.'⁵¹ Professor Jagan Nath used a sporting metaphor in his address to the Palmerston North Lunch Club. After reassuring his audience that the 'Congress Socialists' lacked popular support he stated that in regard to Government 'the Englishmen were "playing the game" and the Indians were steadily learning self-government.' In thanking the New Zealand Hockey Association for the hospitality his team had received he stated 'we are proud of belonging to the British Empire which is and shall always remain the greatest factor for the maintenance of peace of the world.'⁵² As previously indicated, Nath's views were representative of the conservative position of the Indian Princes who were dependent upon the British for their political survival. Although the vast majority of speeches given by the Team Managers were affirming of New Zealand and the Empire, Gupta referred to political issues. In one speech, he called for New Zealand and other dominions to allow unrestricted Indian immigration. As Members of a common empire, he argued, Indians should obtain the benefits of their British citizenship. As Andrew Honey noted in his analysis of the visits of Asian and African sports people to Australia between 1900 and 1930, visits by Asian and African (or African-American) sporting teams to Australia were exempted from the racially prejudiced rhetoric then associated with immigration. As temporary sojourners sporting personalities were, unlike immigrants, not viewed as economic competitors. His observation that prejudices were 'set aside' rather than softened as a result of sporting tours by Asian and Pacific Island teams is also applicable to the Indian hockey tours of New Zealand.⁵³

Another interesting aspect of the 1935 and 1938 tours was the rapport between the Indian teams and Maori. A special match at Rotorua between the Indian team and a Maori team was arranged for the end of the 1935 tour after the New Zealand Hockey Association received an application from the Poverty Bay association "on behalf of the Tairāwhiti Maori Hockey Federation for a match, All Maoris against the Indians at Rotorua at the conclusion of the tour."⁵⁴ The visitors found this game especially enjoyable and an enduring connection between Indian and Maori was forged when the Indian team was presented with a shield to be used in Indian inter-provincial competition.⁵⁵ Contacts between the Indian teams and Maori provided a platform for representatives of indigenous peoples to affirm their loyalty to the empire. When the Indian team visited the Ngai Tahu village of Tuahiwi following the Christchurch test in 1935, Mr Te Aika welcomed them as 'part of the great Aryan race from which the Maoris claimed descent'.⁵⁶ Another speaker, Lieutenant H. Pohio, greeting the team

on behalf of the returned soldiers, reflected that 'the Maori and the Indian were the only two coloured races which fought side by side with the Pakeha in the Great War.'⁵⁷ In reply, Behram Doctor observed 'India, like the Maori, has pride in its traditions. If we are learning now from the western world, we are merely giving back what we gave it.'⁵⁸ The Prince of Manavadar's team were also taken to Tuahiwi for a 'Maori welcome and reception' in 1938. Replying to his hosts, Professor Nath stated 'the Maoris were fair minded towards the English and the Englishman in return played the game with them.' The reception was broadcast on the local radio station 3ZB which allowed these affirmations of imperial loyalty to be broadcast to a mainstream audience.⁵⁹

The New Zealand Hockey Association, mindful of the importance of the ambassadorial side of the tour, made extensive efforts to ensure the Indian team was well catered for. In a circular letter to provincial associations written on 15 May 1935, W.H. Down, that: "Two members of the team are vegetarians. Most are keen on pictures, ping-pong, tennis, cricket and wrestling matches. They also appreciate visits to factories, colleges and institutions of various kinds."⁶⁰ Such was the hospitality offered to touring teams that the N.Z.H.A. endeavoured to curtail the social programme. A circular letter sent to associations on 7 June 1935 stated that 'the Indian teams managers are complaining that far too much entertainment is being given to them at the various centres visited.'⁶¹

Despite the efforts of the New Zealand Hockey Association to ensure that the tour went smoothly, there was an undercurrent of tension between the New Zealand Hockey Association and Gupta, the assistant manager of the 1935 team. Shortly after the Indian team had arrived in Australia where they played a number of matches after their New Zealand tour, an article published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and quoted extensively in New Zealand newspapers, alleged that Gupta had criticized the itinerary as too strenuous and alleged the accommodation for the Indian teams in some of the smaller towns was 'disgusting'. The New Zealand Hockey Association vigorously refuted the criticisms attributed to Gupta in the article. In a statement to *The Press* Havilah Down, secretary of the New Zealand Hockey Association asserted that Gupta had denied making the criticisms attributed to him and had apologized to the New Zealand Hockey Association for criticisms of the tour he had made at the dinner after the third test match in Auckland. He also asserted that he had received a letter from Gupta praising the New Zealand Hockey Association for its organization of the tour.⁶² In a message forwarded to *The Press* via team manager Behram Doctor, Gupta denied making the remarks.⁶³ For his part, Behram Doctor declined to make any public complaint about the tour arrangements. The management committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association was divided over how to respond to the criticisms attributed to Gupta. The committee recorded having received a cable from Behram Doctor denying the alleged comments had been made.⁶⁴ At a later meeting, the New Zealand Hockey Association discussed the possibility of sending a letter to the Indian Hockey Federation detailing the difficulties they had experienced with Gupta during the tour. After considerable discussion it was decided not to send such a letter immediately but to indicate to the Indian Hockey Federation that they would forward the document if requested to do so.⁶⁵ The issue then arose as to whether the New Zealand Hockey Association should respond to the alleged criticisms of Gupta in their Annual Report. Initially, the committee decided to delete the draft passages in the Annual Report refuting the statements.⁶⁶ This decision was questioned at a

Management Committee meeting on March 9 whereupon it was decided to call a special meeting on March 16 to resolve the issue.⁶⁷ At the next meeting of the management committee it was decided to restore the previously deleted sections refuting criticism of the tour to the Annual Report. When the Annual Report for the 1935 Season was published in 1936 it was asserted that Gupta 'denied having used the objectionable words attributed to him in the interview and expressed strong disapproval and resentment at the publication of the same.'⁶⁸ It was further noted that 'since his return to India he has written expressing sorrow at the unpleasantness created' and a concluding sentence noted 'he has spoken highly of our Dominion and our Association in all his press interviews in India and in addresses, on his New Zealand tour, at meetings of various organisations in India.'⁶⁹ The extensive debate over how to respond to Gupta's criticisms suggests that underlying sensitivities of pride and racial sensitivities lurked underneath the surface bonhomie of the tours. Honey's observation that a paternalistic gloss overlaid the positive coverage of these tours is relevant here.⁷⁰ Actions such as Gupta's challenged the unwritten boundaries of the tour and the contingent acceptance accorded Asian teams.

Conclusions: 'Colonial Hegemony', 'Indigenous Subversion' or Both?

It might be argued that elements of both 'cultural imperialism' and 'indigenous subversion', as identified by Richard Cashman, are evident in the accounts of the Indian hockey tours to New Zealand in 1935 and 1938.⁷¹ On the one hand the conduct of the Indian teams was viewed as an affirmation of the so-called 'civilising mission'. They attracted almost universal praise for their conduct both on and off the field. They exemplified the qualities expected of the amateur sportsman: fair play, an emphasis upon skill before winning and an unquestioning acceptance of the umpire's decision. Moreover, the teams were composed of players from the army or educated in a system based on the British Public Schools. In their speeches on sporting and non-sporting topics alike the management of the teams consistently reiterated their support of the British Empire.

On the other hand elements of 'indigenous appropriation' if not perhaps 'indigenous subversion' can be discerned in the images of the tours. Through their unrivalled success at the game the Indian teams commanded respect both within India and abroad. Their appeal as both sporting exponents and their sheer entertainment value meant that they attracted excellent crowds. From an administrators perspective, this gave them a strong negotiating position in discussions on the financial guarantees for tours. In an ambassadorial sense, the publicity accorded them for their sporting skill meant their views on the historical and political aspects of India were reported in both newspapers and on the radio. Moreover, the visits of the Indian hockey teams inspired the formation of Indian Sports Clubs in Wellington and Christchurch. Interestingly, in contrast to the conservative political line adopted by the Indian teams, the uniforms of these clubs adopted the livery of the Indian independence movement.⁷²

What of Orientalism? In the references to 'Indian Hockey Wizards' some 'orientalist' characterisations were undoubtedly evident. Yet the overwhelming success the team achieved on the field meant they transcended these notions to a degree. Some Indian cricketers such as Ranjitsinhji and Duleepsinhji achieved renown for their skill, yet there remained an underlying suspicion that for all the elegance individual players might display, Indian teams themselves were mercurial. In pressure situations, their

temperament was regarded as suspect. No such assertions, however, could be made about the Indian team. They consistently played excellent hockey, winning most games by an extravagant margin. Yet on the occasions they were under pressure they maintained their composure and emerged victorious.

Perhaps then, the popularity of the Indian team is attributable to the fact that they offered elements of affirmation and enjoyment to all sides. They represented the excellence of India on the world stage. They also presented themselves as avowed advocates of the British Empire. They thrilled spectators with their unrivalled skill and won over opponents with their undoubted sportsmanship. Their astronomical victories garnered them adulation in India, and also meant that narrow losses attained the currency of respectability among their opponents

¹ The material on which this article was presented to the School of History, Philosophy and Politics, Massey University, Seminar Series in 2001. I am grateful to the School of History, Philosophy and Politics for supporting my application for a Postdoctoral Fellowship to study the history of hockey in New Zealand. In adapted form, versions of this talk were also presented at the New Zealand Historical Association Conference in 2001 and the ASSH Conference in 2003. I am grateful to the audiences at these presentations for their suggestions about further research. In adapted form my postdoctoral research was published in a book commissioned by the New Zealand Hockey Federation: Geoff Watson & Wilf Haskell, *Seasons of Honour: A Centennial History of New Zealand Hockey 1902-2002*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2002.

² J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, London: Frank Cass, 1988.

³ See, for example, John Rosselli, 'The Self-Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Bengal', *Past and Present*, 86, (1986), pp. 121-48.

⁴ *The Press*, 14 July, 1926, p. 12.

⁵ Philip Collins, 'Hockey in Other Lands' in Eustace E. White (ed), *The Complete Hockey Player*, London: Methuen, 1909, p. 143.

⁶ The touring party was Goal: Naik Ghulam Ali, 1-4th Hasara Pioneers. Backs: L. Naik Kishena Singh, 2-17th Dogra Regiment; L. Naik Dhian Singh, 2-8th Punjab Regiment, Artificer Faqir Chand, R.A.S.C. (M.T.), Halves Capt. D.T. Cowan, 6th Gurkha Rifles (Captain); Fitter H. Francis, R.A.S.C. Motor Transport; Captain L.A. Alexander, 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles; Sepoy Jagindar Singh, 2-8th Punjab Regiment; Naik Thakur Singh, 4th Gurkha Rifles (F.F.); Naik Lal Shah, 1-4th Hazara Pioneers; Forwards: Jemadar Lal Singh 2-8th Punjab Regiment; Sepoy Sangara Singh, 2-18th F.F. Rifles; Capt E.A. Belchamber, 1st 11th Sikh Regiment; Sepoy Dhyana Chand 4-1st Punjab Regiment; Captain V.M.H. Cox, 2-8th Punjabis; L. Naik Susainathan, 2nd Madras S and M.; Sapper Munasami, 2nd Madras S and M.

⁷ *Evening Post*, 29 May, 1926, p. 22.

⁸ *Evening Post*, 26 May, 1926, p. 10.

⁹ The biographical details of the team were circulated by the New Zealand Hockey Association to provincial associations and often reprinted in newspapers. See for example *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 May 1935, p. 8.

¹⁰ *India and Pakistan Year Book 1948*, p. 516. I am grateful to the Reverend Laurie Wards, Island Bay Anglican Church, Wellington, for the information on Manavadar.

¹¹ New Zealand Hockey Association Circular, 21 May 1938, p. 1.

¹² *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 23 June, 1938, p. 16.

¹³ New Zealand Hockey Association, Circular Letter to Provincial Associations, 31 May, 1938.

¹⁴ *New Zealand Official Year Book*, 1926, p. 824. The figure quoted for men's hockey does not include schoolboy players as no figures were available.

¹⁵ *Auckland Star*, cited in *Evening Post*, 10 July, 1926, p. 22.

¹⁶ *Evening Post*, 10 July, 1926, p. 22.

¹⁷ *Evening Post*, 17 July, 1926, p. 22

- ¹⁸ *The Press*, 25 June, 1926, p. 14. The decision to award two test matches to Auckland was bitterly criticised in the *Evening Post* which argued that Wellington's bid to host a test match should have been granted. *Evening Post*, 29 June, 1926, p. 22.
- ¹⁹ Wellington, for example, paid £100 to host a Saturday Match against the Indian Team. *Evening Post*, 1 May, 1926, p. 22.
- ²⁰ *Evening Post*, 3 July, 1926, p. 22.
- ²¹ *The Press*, 14 June, 1926, p. 11.
- ²² *The Press*, 25 June, 1926, p. 14.
- ²³ *New Zealand Herald*, 12 May, 1926, p. 13.
- ²⁴ *The Press*, 12 May, 1926, p. 4.
- ²⁵ *The Press*, 12 May, 1926, p. 13.
- ²⁶ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 7 June, 1926, p. 2.
- ²⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 10 July, 1926, p. 14.
- ²⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 13 May, 1926, p. 11.
- ²⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 13 May, 1926, p. 11.
- ³⁰ Dhyan Chand, *Goal!*, Chennai: Sport and Pastime, 1952.
<http://www.bharatiyahockey.org/granthalaya/goal/> 19 March, 2003.
- ³¹ Niket Bhushan, *Dhyan Chand – The Legend Lives On*, New Delhi, Wiley Eastern, 1992.
<http://www.bharatiyahockey.org/granthalaya/legend/> 19 March, 2003.
- ³² Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 27 March, 1934, p. 1.
- ³³ Behram Doctor, *Report of the Indian Hockey (1935) Team to New Zealand and Australia*, Caslon Printing Works, Bombay, c. 1935, p. 6.
- ³⁴ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 26 February, 1936, p. 1.
- ³⁵ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 4 April, 1935, p. 3. This figure was based on a projected income of £3325 and expenses of £2625.
- ³⁶ W.H. Down, Circular Letter, 7 June, 1935.
- ³⁷ Letter from Harold Throp to W.H. Down, 28 June, 1935, p. 1.
- ³⁸ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 6 February, 1939, p. 1.
- ³⁹ *Southland Daily News* cited in the *Fiji Times*, 1 June, 1936, p. 8.
- ⁴⁰ Welcoming the team, Mayor T. Collins remarked 'in humorous vein that he was somewhat disappointed when he first met them as he had not expected to see so many white faces, however he was exceedingly pleased to extend them a hearty welcome to Feilding.' *Manawatu Evening Standard*, August 11, 1936, p. 4. Previewing the tour the *Evening Post* advised 'It will probably come as a surprise to those interested in the forthcoming tour of the team from Fiji to learn that the combination will consist mostly of half-castes, with some white girls', *Evening Post*, 6 June, 1936, p. 24. In listing the team members the *Evening Post* placed crosses under the European players and the list finished 'Manager-Mrs Harvey (presumably European)', *Evening Post*, 27 June, 1936, p. 24.
- ⁴¹ *Evening Post*, 14 July, 1936, p. 11.
- ⁴² *Evening Post*, 27 June, 1938, p. 6.
- ⁴³ *The Press*, 4 June, 1935, p. 16. See also the reports on the match against Otago, *The Press*, 10 June, 1935, p. 15.
- ⁴⁴ *Manawatu Evening Standard* 28 May, 1935, p. 8.
- ⁴⁵ *The Press*, 1 July, 1938, p. 14.
- ⁴⁶ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 May 1935, p. 8.
- ⁴⁷ *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 May 1935, p. 8.
- ⁴⁸ W.H. Down, Circular Letter, 27 May 1935.
- ⁴⁹ B.N. Pande (ed) *Concise History of the Indian National Congress 1885-1947*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing, 1987, p. 182.
- ⁵⁰ Pande, p. 191.
- ⁵¹ *The Press*, 24 June, 1938, p. 18.
- ⁵² Letter from Professor Nath to New Zealand Hockey Association, 19 October, 1938, p. 1.
- ⁵³ Andrew Honey, 'Sport, Immigration Restriction and Race: The Operation of the White Australia Policy', in Richard Cashman, John O'Hara & Andrew Honey, eds, *Sport, Federation, Nation*, Sydney: Walla Walla, 2001, p. 46.
- ⁵⁴ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 30 May, 1935, p. 1.

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- ⁵⁵ This shield, known in India as the Maori Shield, was awarded to the winning team in the Indian inter-provincial competition. It was first competed for in 1936.
- ⁵⁶ *The Press*, 24 June, 1935, p. 18.
- ⁵⁷ *The Press*, 24 June, 1935, p. 18.
- ⁵⁸ *The Press*, 24 June, 1935, p. 18.
- ⁵⁹ New Zealand Hockey Association Itinerary 'Visit of Prince of Manavadar's Indian Hockey Team to Christchurch, for First Test Match against New Zealand, on July 23rd 1938.' Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 18 July, 1938.
- ⁶⁰ W.H. Down, Circular Letter, 15 May 1935.
- ⁶¹ W.H. Down, Circular Letter, June 7, 1935.
- ⁶² *The Press*, 1 August, 1935, p. 11.
- ⁶³ *The Press*, 5 August, 1935, p. 18.
- ⁶⁴ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 14 August, 1935.
- ⁶⁵ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 23 September, 1935.
- ⁶⁶ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 26 February, 1936.
- ⁶⁷ Minutes of the Management Committee of the New Zealand Hockey Association, 9 March, 1936.
- ⁶⁸ *New Zealand Hockey Association Annual Report 1936*, p. 3.
- ⁶⁹ *New Zealand Hockey Association Annual Report 1936*, p. 3.
- ⁷⁰ Honey, p. 41.
- ⁷¹ Richard Cashman, 'Cricket and Colonialism: Colonial Hegemony and Indigenous Subversion' in J.A. Mangan (ed), *Pleasure, Profit, Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad 1700-1914*, London: Frank Cass, 1979.
- ⁷² See, for example, Christchurch Indian Sports Club, *Christchurch Indian Sports Club Golden Jubilee 1937-1987 The First Fifty Years*, Author: Christchurch, p. 8. Wellington Indian Sports Club Jubilee Committee, *The First 50 Years – 1935-85*, Wellington: Zodiac, 1985, p. 8. For a discussion of the club uniform see Wellington Indian Sports Club Jubilee Committee, *The First 50 Years – 1935-85*, p. 16.