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THE GREAT WAR AND THE MIDDLE EAST*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE

ON the first occasion on which I had the honour of lecturing before this Society, I was moved to traverse the sentiment of a familiar couplet penned by Mr. Rudyard Kipling :

“ East is East and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet.”

My theme, then, was the germ of what promised to become a great Trans-Continental Railway. To-day it is a World-wide War. Be it railway or be it war, both alike draw East and West into so intimate a union that the wit of man cannot detect the line of parting. Take any meridian you like, and name to me the land or sea which is not drawn into or affected by this war. In North America it reaches from Newfoundland to Vancouver Island ; in the Pacific, Japan and Australasia come in ; hostile cruisers infest the Indian seas ; India sends its troops by Perim, the Suez Canal, and the Mediterranean to the Western theatre of war ; Russia, drawing her troops alike from Eastern Siberia and the Central Asian Khanates, faces Germany and Austria in Eastern Prussia, Galicia, and Poland ; while the Atlantic is alive with British men-of-war, British and Canadian troop transports, and an occasional German cruiser. The war girdles the globe, and for all that concerns it, East and West are one. There was a time when the twain were far apart—when it was the East that played the rôle of octopus, and stretched its mighty, far-reaching tentacles westward. In those days, in the East were great nations, great monarchies—Assyria, Babylonia, Chaldæa, Persia, Media, Parthia, Egypt, China, India, Phœnicia. Their arts, sciences, religions, literature, commerce, industries, and military and naval power made their mark upon the West. Greece more especially came under their influence, and Grecian art and literature later dominated Rome. The traces of the earliest maritime intercourse between the mariners of Arabia, Africa, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, and those of India, Indo-China, China, and Japan are, I believe,

* Read on November 11, 1914, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand in the chair. The paper was completed on the very day on which Turkey committed its first overt act of hostility against the three allied Powers—Great Britain, France, and Russia.

lost in the unstable sands of Time. With the rise of Islam, Arab sailors revived, if revival were needed, commerce between the Levant and the East. Right or wrong, the origin of the use of the compass has been traced to China. But prior to Islam, the hordes of Tartary were pressing westward and landing nomad millions upon the eastern steppes of Europe, watered by the Tanais, the Borysthenes, the Ister, and other mighty rivers—millions which, as Huns, Goths, Franks, Vandals, and Lombards, have inseparably associated themselves with the downfall of the Roman Empire—an Empire which, in the centuries immediately preceding and following the dawn of the Christian era, had transferred the centre of the world's civilization from the banks of the Tigris and the Indus to those of the Tiber, and later to the shores of the Bosphorus. The Nile never seems to have lost its hold on its civilization, its art, and its scholarship. To the Athenian school succeeded the Alexandrian, and to the Alexandrian the Arab, when Cairo would seem to have done more to keep alive the science and scholarship of Greece than all the Schools of Europe combined. The Ottoman Power was still at the height of its vigour, and the Tartar hordes still dominated a great part of European Russia, when the initiative seemed to pass from the East into the hands of the West. Indirectly, this movement may have been actuated by the Renaissance; but directly, I think, we must trace it to the discoveries of the great navigators, Vasco da Gama, Albuquerque, Columbus, Prince Henry of Portugal, the Cabots, and the later English and Spanish explorers—Gilbert, Hawkins, Drake, Pizarro, Cortez, Magellan, and others. It is impossible to influence spheres to which access is unattainable; and to these navigators the means of access from Europe both to the East and to the West were due. Europe soon made its influence felt, for evil as much as for good, as Central and South America bear undying witness. Ere the close of the fifteenth century, or very early in the sixteenth, the notorious Borgia, Pope Alexander VI., had issued his celebrated Bull, dividing the unknown seas and lands of the globe between Spain and Portugal. Concurrently with that we find Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain; Genoa, Venice, and the Knights of Rhodes in the Levant; and Matthias Corvinus in Hungary, stemming the tide of Ottoman and Moorish inroad and conquest. It was then that the East and West exchanged rôles. The West became the octopus—admittedly, in our eyes at least, a far more enlightened and beneficent octopus than the one which loosed Tartar hordes and Moslem armies upon Europe—but still the octopus. Its unrelenting tentacles have been absorbing the wealth and sometimes draining the lifeblood of the East ever since. In return we have given to India an introduction to Western civilization, and raised her to a standard of united spirit and power of which we now reap the reward; for, in 1914, our Indian fellow-subjects rally to the flag, and come over to chastise the very

Teutons who, two thousand years ago, deserted the steppes of Central Asia for the forests of the Danube and the shores of the Baltic and North Sea.

We must not here pursue the romantic story of Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French enterprise in the Indian and Chinese Seas. Be he mariner or missionary, the emissary of the West made his relentless way. We can trace his footsteps in the Chihal-situn of Ispahan, in the Moghal palaces of Delhi, and in the environs of the Forbidden City. In 1898 the astronomical instruments made by the Jesuits—French Jesuits, I think—still stood on the walls of Peking. In 1900 German “kultur,” as personified by Marshal Count von Waldersee, came upon the scene. Those instruments are now at Berlin. When the Great War is over, the Allies will instruct Berlin to restore them to their old site. This is one of the very minor debts that Kaiser Wilhelm owes to humanity.

The entire bent of human invention in this age is towards the annihilation of space. Telegraphy, telephony, aviation, all tend that way. This great war, in which mechanical science is playing so prominent a part and revealing hitherto unheard-of resources, works in the same direction. Briton, Celt, Frank, Slav, Boer, Japanese, Sikh, Gurkha, Pathan, Baluch, and even Africans, are now fighting side by side for one common cause. *Mr. Punch* weeks ago acclaimed Kaiser Wilhelm as the great Peacemaker. At his gentle bidding, Tory and Radical, Ulsterman and Nationalist, Hindu and Musulman, Russ and Jap, Briton and Boer, peaceful picketers and “blacklegs,” capitalist and socialist, even the peace-loving, philanthropic ambulance societies, have all buried their feuds, determined as they are that the Teuton shall not ride rough-shod over the other great races of the world. He has roused East and West—the West above all, and no part of the West more than Great Britain herself—out of a dull, unhealthy lethargy superinduced by long immunity from war and from the danger of invasion. When I see the British Empire responding to the call of their King-Emperor, made at the instance of Lord Kitchener, to raise an army of a million men, my first thought is one of thankfulness that our great enemy, the German Emperor, the monarch who embraced our King but a few years ago by the side of all that was mortal of his uncle King Edward VII., lying in Westminster Hall, has been the man fated to endorse Lord Roberts’s counsel to the nation. The monarch who despised our army shall make it. These islands, with their traditional apprehension of, and prejudice against, a large standing army, will learn now that a National Force of a million men is neither impossible nor superfluous; and the precedent thus created will, we trust, endure. My second thought runs in the channel which is indicated by the title of this lecture—viz., the influence which this war promises to exercise on the Middle East. Often have I won-

dered whether Persia is as doomed as Sodom and Gomorrah, or whether that land of ancient fame *can* produce one good man. A well-known Russian diplomat is credited with saying: "There's not a *man* in Persia." The retort was: "No! There are men, but Russia gives them no chance." There is a moratorium just now for Persia. Can she not take advantage of it? Finance, administration, army, moral tone—can no reformer take these in hand? It is Persia's only chance. We value Russia very highly as our ally in this great war, but her treatment of Persia since the Convention of 1907 rankles in many of our minds. Oppression seems to me the only, and that a mild, word for it. We may cavil at Teutonic "kultur," but when we reflect on the action of Russian agents during the past few years in Azerbaijan we find that the Muscovite also takes elastic views of culture and humanity. The Teuton, however, admittedly, has revived the methods, and worse than the methods, of the Thirty Years' War.

The welfare, however, of the British Empire in the Middle East turns not so much upon the destiny of Persia as upon that of India. This war has alienated several prominent politicians in England, although it has won the acquiescence of a noted man of peace, Mr. Carnegie. I think it must have been a surprise, and a pleasure, to us all when we read in our daily papers that Mr. Tilak, a noted Indian malcontent, had openly advocated the fullest and most loyal support of the British and Indian Governments during this great crisis. The unanimous loyalty of the Indian Princes and of the Indian Army can only cause us the deepest thankfulness and gratification. If this war has tested the United Kingdom, it has no less tested India and the Colonies. We can view with pride the issue of that test, even in South Africa. There, with the support of our ancient ally, Portugal, we will still triumph over German foe and rebel Boer. Many of us can look back upon the time when Mr. Goldwin Smith was prophesying, if not advocating, the union of Canada with the United States. Who dreams of talking of that now? Then consider India. Our Indian Army, embodying all the famous fighting classes of that great peninsula, is now fighting in France, in Turkish Arabia, in Africa, and also defending Egypt. The casualty list to-day speaks for itself. The Imperial Service troops are to the fore, and those Princes who have not been able to come themselves or to send troops, have contributed most generously to the expenses of the war. The loyalty of the vast Hindu population of India affects, practically, India alone. The Mahomedan population of India—some 70 millions—reacts upon the entire Mahomedan world. Approximately the Musulmans of India represent one-third of the Musulmans of the world, and, in point of intellect and enlightenment, may claim an influence fully equal to their numbers. The halo of the birthplace of Islam rests on Mecca, and the glory of the Caliphate to-day on Constantinople; but behind the Mahomedan

subjects of our King lies the whole might of the British Empire. If ever a great Musulman confederacy is to be formed, my own feeling is that it must be done with the fullest sympathy and support from the British Government and nation. What is the meaning of Turkish sympathy with Germany? Fear of Russia and uncertainty about Great Britain. I think the day may come when Britain may stand forth as the Champion of Islam. Professor Vambéry adumbrated some such issue; and some leading Mahommedan thinkers, we have reason to believe, are not averse to it. Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, in alliance with the Musulmans of India—and if with them, then with the British Empire—that is an entente that might make any Power, however vast, halt and meditate. It is within the bounds of possibility that such an entente may prove to be one of the results of this war. There are Musulmans who say that in 1885, when England and Russia were on the verge of war, England should have united Islam—*i.e.*, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, and India—in a war against the great Slav power. But Turkey at that time was very sore, almost as sore as France, over the very recent British occupation of Egypt; while the Berlin Conference had not only reconciled British and Russian interests, but also introduced the Sultan to the amenities of Prussian political influence. For the last quarter of a century, I think we may say, Germany has posed as Turkey's best friend. The issue of the Balkan War we have seen; the present one involves grave issues for Turkey, as for all the Powers engaged in it.

I remember, years ago, hearing someone describe the first interview of the Emperor William the Second with the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Probably the scene is fictitious and merely depicted as characteristic of the man. After the usual exchange of courtesies, the Emperor proceeded to enlarge upon his own plans for the improvement of the Sultan's dominions—a splendid network of railways from the Sea of Marmora to Asia Minor, Syria, and Turkish Arabia; an elaborate scheme of improved harbour accommodation in the Levant; a nice little establishment for the Johanniter Orden at Jerusalem; and last, but not least, a Bank to find the money—*und so weiter*. When this magnificent programme had been set forth, His Majesty the Sultan, somewhat breathless at such a transformation scene, was allowed no time to recover his breath. The Emperor continued: And now, your Imperial Majesty, I have present here with me the very financiers, the very engineers, who are best qualified to carry into effect these projects, and I would solicit Your Majesty to be so gracious as to grant them an audience. The Sultan was overwhelmed. The audience was granted, and, as we all know now, bank, railways, harbours, knights, have all found a home in Turkey. In the background, too, were a Germanized Army and Navy. “*Si non è vero è ben trovato.*” We people in the street have been much perplexed at the confidence with which all

Powers and all Potentates concerned in this War have appealed to God Almighty. We may at least admit, in the case of the Emperor William, that "God *may* help those who help themselves."*

Although my theme be the Middle East, I cannot avoid a reference to the capital, situate though it be in Europe, of an Empire which on the east, borders on our Indian possessions and protectorates. Even now we have been disputing about British and Turkish rights in the Shat-el-Arab; and, as all know, Great Britain has insisted on her free access to Basra, and the absolute right to continue at her own discretion and under her own management the Baghdad Railway from Basra to Koweit. The *chef-lieu* of Ottoman power and prestige is Constantinople, and on Constantinople not only the Muscovite and the Teuton, but the Greek and the Bulgarian, if no one else, have their eyes and ambitions riveted. Each is prepared to "jockey" the other, the Muscovite in the name of Pan-Slavism and the Eastern Church, the Teuton with the aid of his cat's-paw Austria, the Bulgarian as being most adjacent, and the Greek because, confident on the opposition of Europe to Muscovite and Teuton aims, she hopes to step in under the ægis of that spirit of compromise which, as it elects Presidents and Popes, can also elect a *concessionaire*. For my own part my sympathies are entirely with Greece. Great Britain wishes neither Russia nor Germany to dominate the Dardanelles. By the verdict of all history and tradition the Greek should return to what was the Eastern Capital of the Roman Empire, a memory still enshrined in the Turkish name "Rum."†

It must surely have often occurred to those who have studied the relations between Russia on the one hand and Turkey and Persia on the other, to inquire why these two Moslem Powers have never united to oppose the Colossus of the North. Allow that the hate of Shia for Sunni is a barrier, still the fear of the overpowering common enemy might surely have availed to induce the twain to settle their frontier and religious disputes and sink their differences, and present a common front to the common foe. All precedent, however, seems to show that Turkey and Persia will not form an alliance. Turkey might well have supported Persia in 1828, when Russia deprived Fath Ali Shah of the Caucasus, and, later, the Crimean War gave Persia a chance of joining forces with Turkey, and driving Russia back to the north of the Elburz. But neither moved. In fact, events showed that at that time England

* The Kaiser has helped himself already—liberally, unscrupulously. Among the notorious General von Bernhardi's latest works is "Britain as Germany's Vassal." We infer from this that the Kaiser looks to Britain for his "second help."

† The *Spectator* of November 14, 1914, strongly supported Russia's claim to Constantinople. What constitutes the *Spectator* Russia's advocate is not known. In the interests of Europe and by all the claims of history and tradition and race, Greece should have Constantinople, and, possibly, will have it.

had little influence at Teheran ; for scarcely was the Crimean War over than the Shah of Persia, instigated by Russia, despatched an army to besiege Herat. Sir James Outram's force, landed at Bushire, put a stop to that enterprise—the revenge that Russia sought to take for the fall of Sebastopol, just as in 1878 it avenged the Berlin Conference by Stolietoff's mission to Amir Sher Ali Khan at Kabul. The vengeance of '78 was more potent than that of '56.

The steady disintegration of the Mahommedan Powers under Russian, French, Italian, and German agency, while England has rather acted as a brake upon each rival, moved only to spasmodic action in the hour of emergency, must strike all who study the history of the Middle East during the last seventy-five years. We cannot look back now upon the first and second Afghan Wars without realizing that they cost us very dearly for all we gained by them. Afghanistan, in consequence, stands at this moment the most independent of all Mahommedan monarchies, and our very circumspect ally. For the rest, our Russian rival has annexed all Central Asia to the Oxus, the Pamirs, and the western frontier of China, controls the so-called Russian sphere in Persia as laid down by the Convention of 1907, and has virtually assumed the administration of Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Russia, after connecting her Central Asian capital, Tashkent, by rail with the Caspian and Orenburg on the west, with Andijan on the east, and Termez on the Oxus to the south, is already planning to link the Trans-Caspian with the Trans-Siberian Railway system. Lord Bryce, in the after-dinner speech which he made at the last Annual Dinner of our Society, referred to this project, and to Mr. Howard Bury we are indebted for a more definite description of it in his lecture of March 11 last. Mr. Bury says: "In a few years' time a railway is to be built from near Kabul-sai, a station north of Tashkent, through Chimkent and Aulié-ata to Pispék. Local gossip estimated the time of completion at from two to five years ; the latter estimate would be the most accurate, I should think. From Pispék the line is to be produced to Verny, and then on to Kopal and Semipalatinsk, and eventually to Barnaul," on the Obi. There is steamboat communication from Semipalatinsk, via the Irtish, to Omsk (about 450 miles), and from Barnaul, via the Obi, to Novo-Nikolaevsk (about 200 miles), both termini being on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Sooner or later, we presume, the railway will be continued from Barnaul to a junction with the Trans-Siberian line. Siberia grows daily in population and resources, and, as Mr. Howard Bury pointed out, is encouraging Russian colonists to settle in the Semipalatinsk and Semirechensk provinces. Allowing, then, that things go on as they are going on, when this Great War, in which, as far as we can foresee, the Triple Entente and their Allies will be the conquerors, comes to an end, Russia's southern frontier in Asia will extend from Lake Urmia,

including Azerbaijan, along the south shore of the Caspian to Bosaga, on the Oxus, and thence to the spot "where three Empires meet," as settled by the Pamirs' Boundary Commission of 1896, under General Gerard and Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich. It is perfectly easy for anyone with this explanation to see how in future years Russia can threaten Afghanistan and India with all the military resources of her vast Euro-Asian possessions, including, probably, Mongolia, which is now gradually being Russicized.

Again, in completing our enumeration of the factors of the future, we cannot overlook the Trans-Persian Railway, which four years ago I spoke of as "a fascinating project." Time, I regret to say, has worn much of the varnish of fascination off it. I gather from the last pronouncements made in our Parliament by the representatives of the Foreign Office, in response to requests for information made by Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Colonel C. E. Yate, Dr. Dillon, Mr. George Lloyd, and others, that my original conception of a great International, and possibly, in the end, Trans-Continental Railway, was from the outset rendered impracticable under the terms—I might almost say, perhaps, the secret clauses—of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Those of us who have studied this subject remember the prominence given in the original Russian prospectus to the *International* character of this railway, and to the fact that it was to be an "*Anglo-Russian*" railway. That gradually fizzled out. It has become, from the point of view of construction, equipment, and control, a purely Russian line, built by Russians on the Russian gauge, and that, I believe, was settled in 1907 or soon after. From the point of view of finance, it has become an Anglo-Franco-Russian project, because, I presume, Russia requires French money to carry out its schemes. When we reflect on the enormous revenue—over £300,000,000 sterling—of the Russian Empire, this need of appeal to France for money is surprising. Again, when we reflect that Indian troops were sent to Bushire, Shiraz, and Ispahan, and that British blood was poured out to keep that country, we cannot possibly feel satisfied that the country so defended should remain the Neutral Sphere, and be open to Russian enterprises on terms not equal to, but more favourable than, our own. Apparently our Foreign Office tied its own hands before 1911, and cannot untie them. The Russian promoters of the Trans-Persian Railway have never from the very first hesitated to talk openly of the "Russian port on the Persian Gulf." They coveted Chahbar, but will at least have to content themselves with Bandar Abbas, unless in the meantime some change comes over the spirit of the Foreign Office dream. Great Unionist statesmen have denounced in the clearest terms the concession of a port to Russia on the Persian Gulf. Popular as success in this Great War, thanks in part to the loyalty of the Unionist party, will, and that justly, render Mr. Asquith's Government, the British nation can give credit where credit is due.

It is impossible to conceive, judging by all historical precedent, that the sequel of this Great War can be other than an International Congress, which will rearrange frontiers and powers and rights not only in Europe, but in all Five Continents. I venture, therefore, to hope that one happy issue of this war may be the preservation of the independence of Persia. I confess it is almost a forlorn hope, but I decline to abandon it. Mr. Lovat Fraser some years ago in the *Edinburgh Review* pooh-poohed the preservation of Persia when set in the balance against securing for Great Britain the alliance of Russia in the event of war with Germany. I still think that Mr. Fraser's estimate of the value of the British alliance to Russia was too low. When later Mr. Fraser propounded in the *National Review* certain ideas as to Lord Beaconsfield's action in regard to the Suez Canal Shares and the Euphrates Valley Railway, which did not seem to me based on fact, the editor of that *Review* kindly allowed me to say my say upon the question. I was really prompted to do so by a letter which I received from a friend, and which ran thus :

"I did tell you about Lord Beaconsfield's schemes, and I think the dates will prove that Mr. Lovat Fraser is wrong. The purchase of the Suez Canal Shares was completed in February, 1876. The 'lease' of Cyprus* was signed in June (I think that was the month), 1878. I was staying with Lord Lytton in the early eighties (? 1883 or 1884), and we were talking about Cyprus, and he told me that Dizzy had taken it to form a sort of *tête de pont* for his Euphrates Railway Scheme. I went to the India Office and heard this confirmed. Gladstone knocked the scheme on the head."

German capital and enterprise has, as we know, almost completed the railway "knocked on the head" by Mr. Gladstone's Government; while out of the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares has grown our present commanding position in Egypt and on the waterway which connects East and West. At this moment that position is invaluable to us. No wonder that Germany is egging on Turkey to attack us there. It is a point that we must hold with the utmost tenacity. Fourteen thousand British troops hold it, said a recent telegram from Constantinople. More likely 40,000 and a Fleet. That canal is of more vital importance to us than the issues on the Persian Gulf of either the Baghdad or the Trans-Persian Railways. On those railways we must, as far as I can foresee, be content with fair commercial privileges. If Russia imports thousands of tons of Indian tea annually, via Bandar Abbas, so much the better for India and Persia. We shall welcome back the Belgian Customs officers to collect the revenue on that tea. Between the British Isles and the Overseas Dominions the

* Lord Beaconsfield's "leasehold" has, within the last few days, become Mr. Asquith's "freehold." (November 11, 1914.—A. C. Y.)

Suez Canal must remain the channel of communication as long as the British Empire stands firm.

If our Foreign Office has but imperfectly protected Persia, it has insisted on safeguarding Afghanistan as far as possible from Russian railway encroachment. Still, there stand at Afghanistan's doors two railways, one at Kushk, fifty miles north of Herat, one at Termes, a few miles from Mazar-i-Sharif; and a third may ere long be threatening the western approach to Herat. Afghanistan has been perfectly quiet since the war began. One of those organs of the Press which enjoys the confidence of Viceroys and Princes informed the world soon after the commencement of the War that the Viceroy of India had written to the Amir, and in a friendly way counselled him to keep quiet. To that unimpeachable bit of advice, the journalist continued, the Amir had replied that that was precisely what he intended to do. None the less, we hear that Constantinople is tampering with him. Can we see any reasonable opening to encourage him to take offensive action against any one of his neighbours? Afghanistan borders upon the British dominions in India, upon the Russian possessions in Central Asia, and upon Persia, which is now practically under an Anglo-Russian protectorate. What possible motive, consistent with his own ultimate advantage, could the Amir have for seeking to disturb the peace of these territories? To whichever side the Amir may turn, he meets the overwhelming power either of Great Britain or of Russia. As matters now stand, the independence and stability of his kingdom are best secured by his maintaining a strictly neutral attitude between these two Powers. The British Government has long maintained that Afghanistan must be regarded as outside the sphere of Russian influence. Under the Convention of 1907, Russia has pledged herself to respect that understanding. If Afghanistan cannot, either during or as a sequel to this war, see any hope of enlarging her territories, she has before her a clear prospect of development and progress. Sooner or later her rulers must abandon the policy of absolute isolation. If the Amir seeks an example of a small State encompassed by powerful neighbours which throws open all its resources to the world, and by so doing nets a prodigious revenue and at the same time guards rigidly its independence, let him take Switzerland. Europe guarantees Switzerland. England and Russia guarantee Afghanistan. If the Amir would emulate Switzerland, let him open his frontiers, construct railways, welcome the globe-trotter, and who can say—may not lugeing, tobogganing, ski-ing, mountaineering, prove as attractive on the Hindu Kush as on the Alps? Ere many years are past, we shall see Sir Henry Lunn building and monopolizing all the best hotels from the Kohistan to the Parapomusis, and organizing personally conducted tours over the Trans-Caspian, Trans-Persian, and Trans-Siberian Railways to the Buddhist relics of Bamian and the tragical scenes of the First and Second

Afghan Wars. Bordering on the Hindu Kush we have the Pamirs, the home of the *Ovis Ammon*, *Ovis Poli*, and other joys of the sportsman's rifle. We hear little to-day of the Alpine chamois, except that chamois so vividly depicted in Mark Twain's "Tramp Abroad." Game must be sought farther afield. Kashmir has already been forced to introduce very stringent game laws, and we can clearly foresee that the time is not far distant when even on the "Roof of the World" the hardy and daring sportsman will have to be limited to a certain number of heads. As it is somewhere there that three Empires meet, we shall require International Anglo-Russo-Chinese Game Laws. Sport, like science, annihilates space.

If only Persia could have produced at this juncture such a man as the late Amir Abdurrahman Khan, the plight of Persia would not be what it is to-day. I will not believe that there is no genius, no chivalry, no grandeur of character, no indomitable energy and strength and perseverance to be found among the people who are the heirs of the glorious traditions embodied in the Shah-Nama and handed down to us by Herodotus, Xenophon, and the Persian poets. If Persia were placed for a period under a British protectorate, there are able men in India of Persian descent who might be appointed to the Regency of the kingdom, the present young Shah being kept in tutelage until he had proved himself capable of government. The difficulties that would environ such a Regency are obvious enough. The Convention of 1907, moreover, prohibits it. The ancient rivalry of "Iran" and "Turan" was two thousand years ago what the rivalry of Slav and Teuton, Frank and German, is to-day. The Russian, closely allied as he is to the Tartar, is heir of the Turanian tradition. The sun of "Iran" seems to be sinking, and that of "Turan" rising.

Whatever be the fate of Persia and Afghanistan, this war submits our Indian Empire to a searching and far-reaching test. I refrain from repeating what our great Dailies and the *Asiatic Empire*, and other reviews have already said. I am only disappointed that the picturesque Shan, Kachin, Karen, and Burmese princes who figured at the Durbars of 1903 and 1911 have not taken part in this display to Europe of the military resources of the Indian Empire. Let this their absence be an incentive to them. Let them follow in the footsteps of their Mongol kin, the Chinese and Japanese, follow swiftly in their footsteps, embrace Western civilization, train their troops to disciplined manœuvres, aviation, long-range guns, and 15-inch shells (see Selfridge's), and then let them, too, stand side by side with Briton, Baluch, Sikh, Rajput, Punjabi, Hindustani, and Gurkha. India is a mighty empire within a mighty Empire; and if we are to have Home Rule within Home Rule next door to us, we shall also doubtless live to see it in our vast possessions in the Middle East.

The more we think over the influence of this great European War

upon Asia—for really it is impossible to entirely disconnect Middle from Near and Far East—the more we see what vast issues are involved. Reflect for one instant on the ambitions of Russia, the champion of Panslavism and the persistent seeker of ports of outlet to the great oceans; on those of Germany demanding colonies commensurate with her population, industry, resources, and warlike strength; on Austria, bent on a Balkan supremacy and an Ægean seaboard; on Italy and Greece, each seeking aggrandisement in the Levant; and finally on Teutonism meditating, in defiance of the Slav, the occupation of Constantinople, the domination of Asia Minor, Turkish Arabia, and Syria, and the expulsion of the British from Egypt. The realization of these and many other aspirations rests upon the issue of this present War. It is a theme, in short, suited not to a brief lecture, but to the pen of some future Raleigh or Rollin.

Mr. AMEER ALI: I came here to listen rather than to ask questions. I desire to express my appreciation of Colonel Yate's lecture, which is a brilliant survey of the present political situation in Europe and in Asia. He has given us many historical facts of great importance in relation to the events that are passing before our eyes. There is one noticeable feature in his lecture for which I think he deserves a great deal of praise, and that is that he has for the most part abstained from yielding to the temptation to prophesy. We are met here to-day under the shadow of the greatest calamity that has afflicted the world for centuries. The spectacle of the greatest nations of Europe warring with each other under our modern conditions of warfare is not an inspiring sight. This conflict between nations supposed to be in the forefront of civilization is enough to make the people of less advanced countries sick of civilization. I must say that the one prophecy in which Colonel Yate has indulged of seeing Afghanistan opened up to casinos and café-chantants and all the other blessings which go along with "civilization" does not appeal to me. I shall deplore the day when the Ameers of Kabul throw open their country to the blessings of what is called civilization, and I hope that it will be long delayed.

While we lie under the dark shadow which hangs over us it is impossible to peer into futurity; we do not know exactly the greatness of the changes that may lie before us. Colonel Yate has given expression to a sentimental hope that Constantinople, after this war, will be given to the Greeks. It is only for my own information that I venture to ask him one or two questions; I am not criticizing his view, nor offering any opinion on politics or anything approaching it. I am neither a politician, nor a statesman, nor a scholar; I am a mere student of history. But I venture to ask him how, and by whom, is Constantinople to be given to the Greeks? How is that blissful consummation to be effected? We all know that for centuries our great

Ally, who is helping us so greatly in the Eastern theatre of war, has fixed her ambition on Constantinople. The madness of the clique which has launched Turkey into the vortex of this war has furnished an opportunity for our great Ally to satisfy the aspirations of centuries. Who is there to balk her of the fulfilment of this great ambition? Who is to gainsay her in the attempt? Then there is another question which suggests itself to me as a student of history. No one has read Eastern history better than our lecturer. Does his reading justify the hope that if Constantinople falls into the hands of the Greeks it will bring the blessings of peace in Western Asia, or, for the matter of that, in Eastern Europe? No one need do more than read the pages of Gibbon to give an answer to that question. But perhaps the lecturer, who certainly is a keen observer of events in that part of the world, may be able to satisfy that the fears that this would not promote permanent peace in Western Asia or Eastern Europe are not justified. No one condemns more the madness of that clique in Turkey which has launched her into the war with Great Britain and her Allies than the Mussulmans of India. They consider it a betrayal not only of the trust which their country reposed in the Turkish Government, but of the trust which the whole Mussulman world reposed in them. The clique has sacrificed its nation and Empire at the malignant instigation of a malignant foreign Power. To launch Turkey into such a war on such grounds seems to me to constitute one of the saddest chapters in the history of the Near East.

But my interest is in the great Empire of Britain. We Indian Moslems are British citizens, and we love the British Empire. The question which arises is this, and I ask it only for information, not by way of comment or criticism, What will be the effect of the destruction or effacement of the Turkish Empire on the great British Empire in the East? Will it have the effect of strengthening that Empire? And what will be the position regarding our relations with the nations which inhabit Western Asia? Will the establishment of another great Power on the Dardanelles, probably the greatest after our own, strengthen our influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, or our control of the Suez Canal?

These are questions which require reflection and consideration by the best statesmanship that we possess. Speaking again as a student of history, I think that the British statesmen who look ahead will probably consider that the work of reconstruction of a broken and derelict Empire will be of more interest to the British Empire than the work of destruction, which may commend itself to some other Powers. (Cheers.)

COLONEL YATE: I was aware from private conversation that Syed Ameer Ali entertained the views he had expressed. He said I had wisely abstained from prophecy, and I had better conserve his good

opinion in this respect. I have not the smallest idea of what the issue of this war will be in respect to Constantinople, but I hope the control will not fall to Russia. I do not want to see a great Slav Power brought down to the Dardanelles, and that will be the case unless the Greeks acquire it or Turkey retains it. We know that the interests of the other Balkan States are Slav interests, and that they are intimately bound up with those of Russia. We know that England for a long time has dreaded the possible effects of a great naval Power acting through the Dardanelles in the Mediterranean on our communications with India and the East. Therefore I would at least venture to hope that when this great international rearrangement comes off, England will be able to make a firm stand against Slav acquisition, if it is deemed necessary for Constantinople to pass into other hands. I do not myself know that this is necessary. We know that Turkey has committed a very grave error in being led into this war, but it may possibly be to our interests to palliate that stupidity as far as we can.

The CHAIRMAN : Colonel Yate has given us a remarkably eloquent and comprehensive lecture, and I think you will all agree that he deserves our warm thanks. (Cheers.) Colonel Yate touched upon one of the consequences of this war—the response India has made to the call—and what he said was perfectly right. All of us who are, or have been, connected with India, while greatly rejoicing at the enthusiasm of her answer, have not been in the smallest degree surprised at it. Some two or three years ago I was asked to deliver some lectures at Cambridge on the subject of the British connection with India, and I pointed out then what the military position was—that we were facing all possible enemies with an army of which two-thirds, or nearly three-fourths, consisted of Indian troops. I said that in my opinion the confidence we thus showed in our Indian soldiers was well-founded, because they had proved themselves to be loyal, and fine fighting men. In 1885, when we were on the verge of war with Russia, the feeling shown in India was exactly the feeling that is being shown to-day. The ruling chiefs came forward with offers of their contingents and their personal services; the Indian troops were longing to be led to the front; and the murmurs of sedition, such as they were, died suddenly away. Referring to this precedent, I expressed my firm belief that if we were to go to war with any European Power, the Indian troops of His Majesty would fight with splendid fidelity and courage. Holding those views before the war, I need not say that I rejoice to see what has happened now. India's eager co-operation is a fact of incalculable significance, and a painful surprise to our enemies.

TAMERLANE*

BY LIBUT.-COLONEL P. M. SYKES, C.M.G., C.I.E.,

Author of "Ten Thousand Miles in Persia," and of "The Glory of the Shia World."

WHEN I was honoured by an invitation to read an historical paper before the Central Asian Society, it struck me that the great historical figure of Central Asia was Tamerlane, whose career would consequently be of special interest to the Society. I have made a study of the Great Conqueror in connection with a *History of Persia* which I am about to publish, and this paper is, with slight adaptation, a chapter of my work.

Transoxiana in the Middle of the Fourteenth Century.—The house of Chagatay, which ruled Central Asia,† was the least distinguished of the dynasties founded by Chengiz Khan. An occasional raid into Khorasan constituted all its history so far as Persia was concerned, and during much of the time Transoxiana was in a state of anarchy. In A.H. 746 (1345) Kazan Khan, the Western Chagatay ruler, having provoked a rebellion by his cruelty, the nobles united under a certain Amir Kazghan to dethrone him, a design in which they were successful the following year. Amir Kazghan, after this revolution, ruled through puppet Khans until his death in A.H. 759 (1357), and was succeeded by his son Abdulla. Becoming enamoured of the wife of the puppet Khan, Abdulla put him to death and set up Timur Shah Oghlan in his stead. This act caused a revolt, which was headed by an Amir named Bayan Selduz and by Haji ‡ Barlas, of Kesh (the modern Shahr-i-Sabz, to the south of Samarcand), and the united forces of the Amirs defeated Abdulla, who fled across the Oxus and disappeared from the scene. The government was now administered by the victors, but the incapacity of Bayan Selduz, who was a hopeless drunkard, broke up the empire into a number of petty states, and Haji Barlas was not able to do more than maintain himself at Kesh.

* Read December 9, 1914.

† The authorities for this period include "A History of Persia," by Sir John Malcolm; "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches," by Joseph von Hammer; "A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia" (the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*), by Ney Elias and Denison Ross; the "Zafar Nama" of Sharaf-u-Din Ali Yezdi, and the "Institutes of Timur" (ed. Davy and White).

‡ Haji signifies a man who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca; it is a title of honour in the Moslem world.

The Governor of Mongolia, or Jatah, at this period was Tughluk Timur Khan, who, on seeing the state of anarchy into which Transoxiana had fallen, determined to annex it. He started on an expedition for this purpose in A.H. 761 (1360), and marched on Kesh; Haji Barlas, deeming the odds too great, attempted no defence and fled to Khorasan, where he was afterwards killed by brigands.

The Fame of Tamerlane.—Tamerlane has impressed Europe more than any other Asiatic conqueror. Chengiz Khan, a century and a half earlier, was not brought into direct contact with the Near East or with Europe, but conquered lands remote from the ken of the West, and it was not until after his death that his descendants subdued Russia to the north and Mesopotamia to the south. Tamerlane, on the other hand, overran Persia and Mesopotamia, and subsequently entered Russia and attacked the Kipchaks of the lower Volga valley; he also plundered Moscow. He then turned his eyes towards India, the reputed treasure-house of the world, which he invaded. Here he passed the limits both of Alexander the Great and of Chengiz Khan, the former having halted on the Bias, while the latter barely crossed the Indus. Westwards, too, he took Damascus and weakened the power of the Mamelukes, and finally defeated and captured Sultan Bayazid I. of Turkey on the field of Angora. No Asiatic conqueror in historical times has performed such feats of arms as these, and consequently none is entitled to the fame of Tamerlane.

His Birth in A.H. 736 (1335), and his Early Years.—The historians of Tamerlane trace his descent from a certain Karáchár Khan, a vizier in the service of Chagatay, who was connected with his master's family. This genealogy is disputed, but its correctness is of little importance. We know that he was the son of Amir Turghay, chief of the Barlas, a noble Turkish tribe, and nephew of Haji Barlas. From an early age he showed unusual promise both in the council chamber and in the field, where he served with distinction under Amir Kazghan. He was also noted for his skill and endurance in the pursuit of game, resembling in this respect Alexander the Great.

His Submission to Tughluk Timur Khan.—Tamerlane, by the death of his father, had just become the head of his family at the time of the flight of Haji Barlas, and this event proved a crisis in the life of the young Amir. As the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* runs :

His father was dead and his uncle had fled ;
The people were exposed to the ravages of a stranger.

Its enemies had placed the tribe in danger :
It was become as an eagle without wings or feathers.

To save the situation, Tamerlane decided to tender his submission to Tughluk Timur Khan, by whom he was received with much distinc-

tion. In the following year the Khan of Jatah obtained possession of Samarcand, and appointed his son Khoja Ilias Oghlan to the governorship of Transoxiana, with the young Tamerlane as his councillor, although a certain Amir Begjit was given the supreme authority. Intrigues naturally followed, with the result that Tamerlane was obliged to flee from Samarcand.

His Early Wanderings.—Being pursued, he turned on his enemies, and defeated them. Then with but a handful of men he sought out Amir Husayn, the grandson of Amir Kazghan, who had recently been beaten by Tughluk Timur and was wandering in the desert. Together the two adventurers proceeded to Khwarazm or Khiva, where the Governor attempted to seize them by treachery, and they were forced to retire to the desert for protection. There they led a life of risk and hardship, Tamerlane and his wife being on one occasion imprisoned by some Turkoman and escaping with difficulty.

Tamerlane or "Timur the lame."—It was during this period that Timur acquired in Sistan his soubriquet of "the lame"; and details of the story have been preserved. In A.H. 764 (1363), when wandering in Southern Afghanistan, he received an appeal for help from Jalal-u-Din Mahmud, the Keiani prince of Sistan, whose subjects had rebelled. Tamerlane and Amir Husayn immediately accepted the invitation, and with the aid of their thousand veterans three out of seven forts held by the rebels were captured. The latter then submitted to their Prince, pointing out that if Tamerlane were allowed to capture the other forts, Sistan would lie at his mercy. Persuaded by these weighty arguments, Jalal-u-Din collected a force with which he attacked his allies, and although Tamerlane succeeded in breaking the centre of the Sistan army, he received two arrow wounds, one in his arm and the other in his foot, which was thus permanently lamed. From this he became known as *Timur lang*, or "the lame," two words which in European languages have been merged in the euphonious form of Tamerlane. The word Timur signifies iron.

The Rallying of his Relations and Adherents.—In Timur's "Institutes"* there is a delightful account of how relations and adherents rallied to his standard during this period. It deserves quotation, if only as revealing the character of the Great Adventurer. He writes: "I had not yet rested from my devotions, when a number of people appeared afar off; and they were passing along in a line with the hill. And I mounted my horse, and I came behind them, that I might know their condition, and what men they were. They were, in all, seventy

* Timur's "Memoirs" (*Malfuzat*) and "Institutes" (*Tuzukat*) are works the genuineness of which is not universally accepted. Still there is much internal evidence that they were written by the Great Conqueror himself, and they are of considerable value and of great interest as showing his ideals and personality.

horsemen ; and I asked of them, saying, ' Warriors, who are ye ? ' ; and they answered unto me, ' We are the servants of Amir Timur, and we wander in search of him ; and lo ! we find him not. ' And I said unto them, ' I also am one of the servants of the Amir. How say ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him ? ' When their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy ; and they alighted from their horses, and they came, and they kneeled and they kissed my stirrup. I also dismounted, and took each of them in my arms. And I put my turban over the head of Toghluk Khoja ; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels, and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Amir Sayf-u-Din ; and I clothed Tukub Bahádur with my cloak. And they wept, and I wept also. When the hour of prayer was arrived, we prayed together."

The Campaigns with Khoja Ilias.—After their operations in Sistan the two companions in arms proceeded to Kunduz, and in A.H. 765 (1363) they won a battle against the forces of Jatah by a demonstration against the rear of the enemy and by lighting an enormous number of fires, which struck panic into their foes. After the fight, Tamerlane regained possession of Kesh, the inhabitants of the district flocking to his standard by thousands. At this juncture Toghluk Timur died, and Khoja Ilias, on his way home to ascend the throne, was attacked by the two Amirs, who gained a victory after a hard contest. But in the following year, A.H. 766 (1365), Khoja Ilias defeated the two allies in the Battle of the Mire, and besieged Samarcand, from which, however, he was forced to withdraw owing to heavy losses among his horses.

The Struggle between Tamerlane and Amir Husayn, A.H. 767-71 (1365-69).—After the first success over the Amirs of Jatah, the two victors, probably owing to the intense respect which still existed for the family of Chengiz Khan, set up a puppet in the person of Kabil Shah Oghlan, but retained the power in their own hands. Their friendship, which had been welded in the furnace of adversity, could not withstand the strain of success, and open hostilities broke out, in which Tamerlane was at first unsuccessful. His fortunes were restored by a most brilliant feat of arms, which deserves to be recorded as an illustration of the amazing enterprise and initiative of the famous conqueror. Karshi, a town only a few miles to the south-west of Kesh, had been captured by his rival, and he felt bound in honour to recover it. His forces were too small to assault it openly, and Amir Husayn was in the neighbourhood with an army too powerful to be attacked. Tamerlane, giving out that he had departed to Khorasan, crossed the Oxus. When he was satisfied that his enemies were deceived and " had spread abroad the carpet of riot and dissipation," he made forced marches, escaladed the walls by night, slew the guard at the gate, and frightened away the rest of the startled garrison by sounding trumpets. The

men who accomplished this consummate feat of arms were only 243 in number, and when this became known the little band was assailed by Amir Husayn. To the amazement of his enemies, Tamerlane sallied out repeatedly and inflicted such loss in his charges that the larger army retreated. Not long afterwards Amir Husayn was forced to capitulate at Balkh, where he was put to death.

The Conquest of Jatah and of Khwarazm, A.H. 771-82 (1369-80).—The successful issue of the contest with Amir Husayn gave Tamerlane complete control of Transoxiana, and for a full decade he was busily engaged in conquering the neighbouring states of Jatah to the east and of Khwarazm to the west.

The Surrender of Herat, A.H. 782 (1380).—In A.H. 782 (1380) he began his famous campaigns in Persia, his first objective being Khorasan. Ghias-u-Din Pir Ali, the Kart Prince, after being lulled into false security, was surprised and submitted. His submission was accepted, but so heavy a contribution was levied on Herat and other towns that they were reduced to dire poverty. Kandahar and Kabal also submitted later on, but isolated strongholds continued to resist in various portions of what is now termed the kingdom of Afghanistan.

The Siege of Kalat-i-Nadiri and of Turshiz.—The famous natural fortress now known as Kalat-i-Nadiri, which I visited some years ago, won imperishable fame by resisting all attempts at assault after a surprise had failed.* Tamerlane invested the Nafta *darband*† in person, his Amirs attacking the other entrances. Some Badakshani hillmen found a way up the cliffs and negotiations for surrender were opened up, but while they were in progress the astute defender broke down this track. Fourteen assaults were delivered, but without result, and the great Tamerlane had to admit defeat. However, he left a force to blockade the fortress, and in the end it was surrendered owing to an outbreak of plague.

The city of Turshiz, the site of which I have examined,‡ was taken by force of arms. It was believed to be impregnable owing to its deep ditch and high walls; but the water was drawn off by well-diggers, a mine was run under the walls, and it had to surrender. The garrison was spared and re-enlisted under Tamerlane to serve in Turkestan.

The Sistan Campaign, A.H. 785 (1383).—The slow progress made by Tamerlane at this period, as compared with the ease with which the Mongols overran Persia, deserves attention. Herat had indeed submitted, but the resistance of Kalat-i-Nadiri and of other strongholds must have strained the resources of the Conqueror. Jatah, moreover, needed watching, and consequently it was not until the fourth year

* Vide "A Fifth Journey in Persia," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for December, 1906.

† A *darband* is a defile which forms the natural entrance.

‡ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for February, 1911.

after the campaign began that Tamerlane was able to invade Sistan. Marching through Herat and Afghan Sabzawar, his cavalry devastated the whole district; Zirreh (which is probably the ancient Zaranj and the modern Nad Ali) was breached and stormed without resort to siege operations. Tamerlane now advanced on the city of Sistan, and made a personal reconnaissance. To quote from the *Zafar Nama*, "I made towards a gate, and when only a short distance away I ascended a mound, which is called Kutluk, and halted upon the summit. I placed as a precautionary measure 2,000 men-at-arms, in complete armour, in an ambush. When the people of the country saw me come to a stand upon the summit of the mound, they recognized whom they had to deal with, and Shah Kutb-u-din, the Prince of Sistan, despatched to my presence Shah-i-Shahan and Taj-u-din Sistani, who were the chief of all his leaders."

Tate,* who has made a plan of Zahidan, as the ruins are now termed, shows a mound close to the south angle of the walls, and there is little doubt it was from here that the Great Conqueror examined the city.

Meanwhile the Sistanis, unaware of the hidden force and careless of the safety of their deputation, swarmed out of the city and advanced to the attack. The usual ruse of a feigned retreat and a surprise by the hidden troops drove the undisciplined peasantry back to their walls with heavy loss, but they had fought bravely and killed many of the enemy, whose horses they stabbed with their knives.

Undismayed, the Sistanis next attempted a night attack, which at first caused some confusion, but the disciplined troops rallied and inflicted terrible losses on the enemy. The city was then assaulted by the entire army, and its ruler, realizing that he could not hope to resist for very long, resolved to surrender. During the course of the negotiations Tamerlane set off with a small escort to visit one of his divisions. Again the Sistanis assailed him, climbing down from their battlements. This act of hostility provoked Tamerlane to order a fresh assault, and the city was taken. Its garrison was put to the sword, and its population was massacred. Its great area is now so desolate and lifeless that when I visited it the wonderful lines of Isaiah† came to my mind: "An habitation of dragons, and a court for owls. The wild beasts of the desert shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island, and the satyr shall cry to his fellow."

The Campaign in Northern Persia, A.H. 786 (1384).—In the year following the conquest of Sistan and the consolidation of his power in Khorasan, Tamerlane undertook what may be regarded as the first of his distant campaigns. Hitherto he had been operating in districts

* "Sistan," Parts I. to III. p. 55. This useful work is by G. P. Tate of the Survey Department of the Government of India.

† Chapter xxxiv. 13, 14.

familiar to him and not very far from his base. Crossing the Oxus with a powerful and well-equipped army, he marched into the valley of the Gurgan and camped near Astrabad. Its ruler, who had submitted but had since rebelled, resisted for a month, and then, seeing no hope of success, left his state to be ravaged, and fled. After the conquest of Mazanderan, Tamerlane advanced on Rei and Sultania, and having taken these royal cities returned to Samarcand.

The Campaign in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Fars, A.H. 788-90 (1386-88).—Two years later a second and even more distant campaign was undertaken, in the course of which Tamerlane occupied Azerbaijan, crossed the Aras, overran Georgia, and received the submission of the Princes of Gilan, of the Khan of the Lesgians, and of the Prince of Shirwan. His next objective was Van, the capital of the rising Kara Kuyunlu dynasty, which was sacked; its Prince, Kara Yusuf, leaving it to its fate and remaining in exile until the Conqueror had quitted the district.

Zayn-ul-Abidin, son of Shah Shuja of the Muzaffar dynasty, now occupied the throne of Fars. He had not followed out his father's policy of submission to Tamerlane, but had imprisoned his envoy. Consequently the Great Conqueror ordered a march on Isfahan, which formed part of the Muzaffarid dominions. This city surrendered, and a heavy contribution had been almost collected when the chance playing of a drum brought together a mob which attacked and slew the 3,000 Tartars quartered in the city. Tamerlane was merciless in avenging this outbreak, and 70,000 heads built into pyramids taught a terrible lesson.

Tamerlane and Hafiz.—Shiraz hastened to open its gates when the invaders approached. Tamerlane sent for Hafiz, and the celebrated interview is described by Dolatshah as follows :

“I have subdued with this sword the greater part of the earth; I have depopulated a vast number of cities and provinces in order to increase the glory and wealth of Samarcand and Bokhara, the ordinary places of my residence and the seat of my empire; yet thou, an insignificant individual, hast pretended to give away both Samarcand and Bokhara as the price of a little black mole setting off the features of a beautiful face; for thou hast said in one of thy verses :

If that fair maiden of Shiraz would accept my love,
I would give for the dark mole which adorns her cheek
Samarcand and Bokhara.”

Hafiz bowed to the ground, and replied : “Alas! O Prince, it is this prodigality which is the cause of the misery in which you see me.” The repartee delighted Tamerlane so much that he treated the Poet with kindness and generosity.

The Campaigns with Toktamish, A.H. 790-93 (1388-91).—Toktamish, the head of the Eastern or White Horde, was a great figure on the

stage of Russia, Moscow being sacked by him in A.D. 1382. The sovereignty of the Western or Golden Horde also passed into his family, and thereby the two elder branches of the family of Juji* became united. Tamerlane had helped him when a refugee, but with marked folly and ingratitude he took advantage of his absence in Fars to invade Transoxiana, where he defeated the force which met him, and ravaged the country. The Great Conqueror returned to Central Asia, and after a long and exhausting march across the uninhabited steppe, at last, aided by the treachery of the standard-bearer of Toktamish, defeated the representative of the house of Juji at the Battle of Terek, inflicting on him heavy losses.

The Campaign in Fars and Irak, A.H. 794-95 (1392-93).—In A.H. 794 (1392), hearing that the state of affairs in Persia was unsatisfactory, or more probably wishing to extend his conquests farther west, Tamerlane decided on another Persian campaign. He marched as before by way of Astrabad and Amul, reducing various strongholds which had held out against him and extirpating a nest of Ismailis, which had escaped from the massacre by Hulagu.

At the beginning of the following year he advanced on Khorramabad and Shuster, attacking and capturing the Kala Sufid, celebrated for its connection with Rustam, who obtained possession of it by a ruse.† He then marched on Shiraz, where, to his astonishment, his army, 30,000 strong, was charged by Shah Mansur, Prince of the Muzaffar dynasty, at the head of a body of 4,000 armour-clad horsemen. Sharaf-u-Din, who was present at this engagement, gives the following spirited account: "Shah Mansur advanced at their head like a furious lion, and in opposition to his reason, which should have preserved in his mind a suitable idea of the person he had to do with. On a Friday, at the hour of prayer, he attacked our main body, composed of 30,000 Turks, the most dexterous men of their time, in a place named Patila; he however overthrew their squadrons, broke their ranks, made his way into the midst of them, and gained posts of the utmost consequence behind our army. Then he returned, furious as a dragon, to the fight, seeming resolved to lose his life. Timur stopped short with some of his favourites to consider the extreme vigour, or rather rashness, of this prince, who dared to attack him in person. Timur, seeing him come directly against him, would have armed himself with his lance to oppose him, but he could not find it, because Poulad Choura, the keeper of it, had been so vigorously attacked, that he had fled and carried away the lance. Timur, who had only fourteen or fifteen persons with him, did not stir out of his place till Shah Mansur came up to him. This rash person struck the Emperor's helmet twice with

* "Mohamedan Dynasties," p. 228.

† *Vide* Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

his scimitar; but the blows did no harm, for they glanced along his arms: he kept firm as a rock, and did not change his posture."

The Prince was not properly supported in his gallant charge. The two wings of his small force fled, and, surrounded by enemies, he was slain by Shah Rukh, the celebrated son of Tamerlane, who cast his head at his sire's feet, exclaiming, "May the heads of all thy enemies be laid at thy feet as the head of the proud Mansur!" This exploit of arms sealed the doom of the Muzaffar dynasty, all the members of which were put to death. Baghdad was the next objective of the Great Conqueror, and unable to resist, the great city submitted after its Prince had fled.

The Siege of Takrit, A.H. 796 (1393).—From the erstwhile capital of the Caliph, Tamerlane marched north and besieged Takrit, a fort held by a noted robber-chief named Hasan, who, confident in its strength, prepared to resist to the uttermost. The siege was the most celebrated of the day. The lofty walls, which rested on the living rock or merely connected portions of the cliff, appeared to be impregnable, but the army of Tamerlane was not to be denied. Seventy-two thousand men were employed in mining the solid rock, and with such success that at a given signal the mines, filled with combustibles, were simultaneously set on fire, the props were burned, and many of the strongest towers fell. Hasan retreated, fighting bravely, to an inner citadel, which was attacked in the same manner, and the siege ended in the capture of the garrison, the members of which were distributed among the various regiments to be tortured to death. With pardonable pride Tamerlane ordered that a portion of the fortress should be left to prove his prowess to future ages.

The Second Campaign in Russia, A.H. 797 (1394).—Tamerlane had now subdued Persia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Georgia; his next exploit was to march across Kipchak to the heart of Russia. Moscow was plundered, and Toktamish, who had dared to invade Shirwan, again saw his country devastated. In the following year the Great Conqueror sacked Astrakhan and strengthened his hold on the Caucasus, and he concluded this arduous campaign by returning to Samarcand across Northern Persia.

The Invasion of India, A.H. 800-801 (1398-99).—Tamerlane's design of invading India was at first opposed by some of his generals, who were appalled at the magnitude of the enterprise. An omen was sought in the Koran, and the verse "O Prophet, fight with the infidels and the unbelievers" came forth and silenced all objections. The army, 92,000 strong, was divided into three corps. The first was despatched from Kabul against Multan; a second corps was ordered to invade the Panjab, keeping to the foot-hills of the Himalayas, while the leader himself marched with the main body. Upon reaching the vicinity of Delhi, Tamerlane, anxious to fight a decisive battle rather

than risk the difficulties of a siege, entrenched himself and assumed the defensive. By these tactics he entirely deceived Sultan Mahmud, whose army he defeated, and, to quote the "Institutes," he "conquered the chief city of Hind."

The Campaign against the Mamelukes, A.H. 803 (1401).—After his return from India, Tamerlane, who was now approaching his seventh decade, might well have rested on his laurels and deputed to his sons the care of his widespreading empire; but conquerors, like actors, seldom retire from the stage. Hearing that Ahmad, the Jalayr Prince, had returned to Baghdad, the veteran chief made forced marches into Azerbaijan, distant more than one thousand miles from Samarcand. Ahmad, to strengthen his position, put to death various inhabitants of Baghdad suspected of favouring the enemy, but a rising drove him out of his capital and he was obliged to take refuge with Kara Yusuf.

Tamerlane advanced into Asia Minor, and besieged and took Sivas. After this success he swung southwards into Syria, where Aleppo and afterwards Damascus became his prey. Returning eastwards, he took Baghdad by assault and marched to Tabriz, where he rested his army.

The Defeat of Bayazid, A.H. 804 (1402).—His last campaign was perhaps his greatest. In Central Asia, in Persia, and in India he had encountered no formidable state ruled by a warlike monarch, and with his large numbers, perfect discipline, and vast experience, victory must have become a matter of course.

The Osmanlis whom he was now to meet were descended from a Turkish tribe which had fled from the neighbourhood of Merv before the hordes of Chengiz Khan, and just a century before had founded a mighty dynasty. The early victories of this warlike people lie outside the scope of this work. It suffices to state that in the stricken field of Kosovo, in A.D. 1389, they worsted the Servians and their Christian allies mainly owing to the bravery of Bayazid, and that seven years later at Nicopolis the chivalry of Europe broke and fled before the armed might of the Sultan, whose rapidity of action had earned for him the title of the "Thunderbolt."

When Tamerlane stormed Sivas, a son of the Sultan was put to death, and Bayazid, who was besieging Constantinople, hastened over to Asia Minor to meet the invader. But Tamerlane had meanwhile marched into Syria, and it was not until a year later that the two great conquerors confronted one another on the field of battle.

Bayazid appears to have become indolent after his great successes, and, moreover, he was notoriously avaricious, the most fatal of all failings in the East. Consequently he was no match for his great opponent, who was ever fit and ready for war. The decisive battle was fought at Angora, which had witnessed the final defeat of Mithridates by Pompey and at a later date the first victory of the Osmanlis.

Bayazid brought his men on to the field tired and suffering from thirst, and some of his contingents deserted, relying on the reputation for generosity enjoyed by the invaders, whose agents had been active. The Janissaries and the Christian contingents fought splendidly, but the greater numbers of Tamerlane ultimately prevailed, and, as old Knolles writes, "He with much ado obtained the victory." Bayazid was taken prisoner and, after an attempt at escape, was chained at night; this circumstance, and the fact that the royal prisoner travelled in a barred litter, originated the legend of his confinement in an iron cage.* Tamerlane reaped the fruits of victory by occupying Asia Minor, including the ports of Brusa, Nicaea, and Smyrna. From the last-named city he expelled the knights of St. John. It is interesting to learn that Tamerlane wrote a letter to Henry IV. of England in which he offered free commercial intercourse to his subjects. Henry's reply, the draft of which is preserved, congratulates him on his great victory over the Turks. Both letters were conveyed by John Greenlaw,† an English Minorite or Friar Preacher who was resident at Tabriz and is termed Archbishop John.

The Castilian Embassy to the Court of Samarcand, A.D. 1403-6.—Henry III. of Castille, son-in-law of "time-honour'd Lancaster," was noted for the embassies which he despatched to remote parts of the world, chiefly, it is to be supposed, with a view to forming alliances which should act as a check on the Osmanlis and neighbouring Moslems, but also with the purpose of extending the fame of Spain and of gaining knowledge of other countries.

We learn that two of his envoys were present at the battle of Angora, and that Tamerlane dismissed them after his victory with an ambassador of his own, who carried rich presents of jewels and fair women to the King of Castille. In continuance of this diplomatic intercourse, Ruy Gonzalez di Clavijo‡ was despatched to the Court of Tamerlane on a second embassy. Thanks to the careful diary of this trusty old knight, we possess a vivid and most interesting contemporary account of the Great Conqueror.

Starting from Cadiz, accompanied by the ambassador whom Tamerlane had sent to the Court of Castille, the travellers experienced danger from both storms and currents, and upon reaching Rhodes were unable to obtain any accurate information as to the whereabouts of Tamerlane. They decided to make for Karabagh in Azerbaijan, and

* Bayazid appears in Marlowe's "Tamburlaine the Great," and is made to beat out his brains against the bars of the cage.

† *Vide* "Original Letters Illustrative of English History" (Third Series, vol. i. pp. 54-58), by Sir Henry Ellis. I have to thank Mr. A. G. Ellis for this reference.

‡ *Vide* "Embassy to the Court of Timour," translated by Sir Clements Markham (Hakluyt Society).

in pursuance of this design landed at Trebizond, and proceeded by the well-known route to the frontier town of Khoi. There they met ambassadors from the Sultan of Egypt bearing gifts to Tamerlane, among them being "a beast called *Jornufa*," . . . which was a wonderful sight"; and the two embassies travelled eastwards together.

Clavijo describes the beautiful mosques of Tabriz "ornamented very skilfully with mosaic, and blue and gold work," and gives the population at 200,000 houses, or 1,000,000 persons, with the remark that it was formerly more populous. Sultania, too, is described as an important centre, and some account is given of Gilan from hearsay. Continuing along the historical trunk route so often referred to, they mention the city of Teheran—for the first time, so far as I know—and a diversion was made to Lar, now the favourite summer camp of the English colony. Rejoining the Meshed road in the vicinity of Damghan, the ambassadors, who were ill from the constant riding and heat, reached Nishapur, where a member of the embassy died. At Meshed the Castilians were permitted to visit the Shrine of the Imam Riza, and a reference is made to the "large tomb which is covered with silver gilt."

The onward route lay by Merv, and the party nearly died of thirst in the desert before the Murghab was reached. The Oxus is referred to as "the Viadme which is another of the rivers which flow from Paradise. It is a league in width and flows through a very flat country, with great and wonderful force, and it is very muddy."

Crossing by a bridge of timber near Termiz, the travellers passed the famous "Gates of Iran," the Eastern Darband, or "Shut Gate," and Clavijo dwells on the power of the monarch who was lord of both the celebrated passes bearing this name; the other, to the west of the Caspian Sea, between known as Derbent, I have visited more than once. Kesh, the home of Tamerlane, is described, and its polished glazed tiles, in gold and blue patterns, made a great impression on the Castilians.

Finally Samarcand was reached, and after waiting for eight days, according to etiquette, the ambassadors were received by Tamerlane. The description of the Great Conqueror and of the audience is of historical value and had better be given in the words of Clavijo:

"Timur Beg was seated in a portal, in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace; and he was sitting on the ground. Before him there was a fountain, which threw up the water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The lord was seated cross-legged, on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which there was a spinel ruby, with pearls and precious stones round it. As

* Giraffe.

soon as the ambassadors saw the lord, they made a reverential bow, placing the knee on the ground, and crossing the arms on the breast ; then they went forward and made another, and then a third, remaining with their knees on the ground. The lord ordered them to rise and come forward ; and the knights, who had held them until then, let them go. Three Mirzas, or Secretaries, who stood before the lord, came and took the ambassadors by the arms, and led them forward until they stood together before the lord. This was done that the lord might see them better ; for his eyesight was bad, being so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely. He had not given them his hand to kiss, for it was not the custom of any great lord to kiss his hand ; but he asked after the king, saying, ‘ How is my son the king ? is he in good health ? ’ When the ambassadors had answered, Timur Beg turned to the knights who were seated around him, amongst whom were one of the sons of Toktamish, the former Emperor of Tartary, several chiefs of the blood of the late Emperor of Samarcand, and others of the family of the lord himself, and said : ‘ Behold, here are the ambassadors sent by my son, the King of Spain, who is the greatest king of the Franks, and lives at the end of the world. These Franks are truly a great people, and I will give my benediction to the King of Spain, my son. It would have sufficed if he had sent you to me with the letter, and without the presents, so well satisfied am I to hear of his health and prosperous state.’ ”

Clavijo describes the beautiful gardens with their tiled palaces where banquets were given. The ambassador, who was invited, marvelled at the gorgeous tents, one of which “ was so large and high that from a distance it looked like a castle ; and it was a very wonderful thing to see, and possessed more beauty than it is possible to describe.” He also refers to the feast at which the marriage of one of the princes of the blood was celebrated, and at which the drinking went on all night. It is interesting to notice that Sharaf-u-Din mentions the presence of the Frank ambassadors ; “ for,” he writes, “ even the smallest of fish have their place in the sea.” Truly a delightful touch !

The Castilian gives instances of Tamerlane’s justice, observing that “ when a great man is put to death, he is hanged, but the meaner sort are beheaded.” He also visited Pir Mohamed, son of Jahangir, who was named his grandfather’s successor. He describes him as being very richly dressed in “ blue satin, embroidered with golden wheels, some on the back, and others on the breast and sleeves.” He was watching a wrestling match and does not appear to have condescended to address the envoys.

Finally Samarcand, the beloved city of Tamerlane, “ a little larger than the city of Seville,” is described as surrounded by many gardens and vineyards, a description which still holds true. Its inhabitants

were mainly captives brought from every part of the Empire and "they are said to have amounted to 150,000 persons, of many nations, Turks, Arabs and Moors, Christian Armenians, Greek Catholics and Jacobites, and those who baptize with fire on the face, who are Christians with peculiar opinions." *

Here we must leave the Castilian Knight, with deep gratitude for his valuable account of the dread Tamerlane, whose kindness and liberality to this Frankish Embassy, which was overwhelmed with gifts and supplies, contrasts very favourably with the starvation which the monk Carpini endured when fulfilling a similar task at the Court of the grandson of Chengiz Khan.

The Death of Tamerlane, A.H. 807 (1405).—When Tamerlane returned in triumph to Samarcand after the defeat of Bayazid, he was, as the above account shows, a very old man. But the lust of conquest did not diminish, and in A.H. 807 (1404) he convened a Diet, at which he proposed the subjugation of China, on the double ground that the race of Chengiz had been expelled from that empire, and also that the enterprise would be a holy war. The proposal was accepted with acclamation, 200,000 picked men were equipped, and the great army began its march. The Jaxartes was crossed at Otrar, the city which first saw the hordes of Chengiz Khan, and there the sudden illness and death of Tamerlane put an end to the enterprise.

His Character and Achievements.—Tamerlane, the "Lord of the Conjunctions," † was perhaps the greatest Asiatic conqueror known in history. The son of a petty chieftain, he was not only the bravest of the brave, but also profoundly sagacious, generous, experienced, and persevering; and the combination of these qualities made him an unsurpassed leader of men and a very god of war adored by all ranks. Malcolm brands him for a massacre of his prisoners at Delhi, but, awful though this was, it was dictated by imperative military exigencies. Did not Napoleon act in a similar manner in the last year of the eighteenth century? In the "Institutes" it is laid down that every soldier surrendering should be treated with honour and regard, a rule which, in striking contrast with the customs prevailing at the period, is remarkable for its humane spirit.

The object of Tamerlane was glory, and as in the case of all conquerors, ancient or modern, his career was attended by terrible bloodshed. He sometimes ordered massacres by way of retribution or from policy, but there were few that had their origin in pure savagery. Again, Tamerlane was a devout Moslem, who, though he took advantage of the tenets of Islam for his own aggrandisement, was nevertheless a patron of learned men, a writer of some merit, and fond of the

* Perhaps Hindus with their caste marks are here referred to.

† In the East it is believed that the great conjunctions of the planets portend the advent of super-men.

game of chess. He was also careful to allow no favourites, but decided everything of importance himself,* and in an absolute monarch this constitutes a virtue of no mean order.

His achievements seemed almost to border on the superhuman. He carried his arms in every direction throughout a long life, in no campaign was he worsted, and when he died, as Gibbon says, "From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hands of Timur."

Tamerlane lies in a domed mausoleum at Samarcand. The cenotaph consists of a block of dark jade, believed to be the largest in the world, the actual tomb being situated in a vault below. I count it a special privilege to have visited the tomb of this great maker of history, where he lies with his relatives and his spiritual leader, and is still known as "*the Amir.*"

Answering various questions by Sir Henry Trotter, Mr. E. R. P. Moon and others,

COLONEL SYKES said that it was true that in the picture of Tamerlane he had shown on the screen he was represented as very much darker than the Mongol race to which he belonged. But that was possibly due to the fancy of the artist, whose portrait undoubtedly in other respects came nearer to the original than other painters. They had shown him as a small man lacking vigour and personality, while this picture showed him to be a man of character and of determination. Answering an inquiry as to the westernmost point to which Tamerlane carried his arms, he said that Smyrna and Brusa were actually farther West than Moscow; but in Europe Moscow was the limit of his conquests. Replying to Colonel Pemberton as to whether the depopulation and barrenness of large parts of Central Asia might in some measure be attributable to Tamerlane's conquest, Colonel Sykes said that the desiccation going on for so many centuries in Middle Asia was the chief element in the depopulation of countries formerly well peopled. He would point out, however, that these regions had for the most part greatly increased in population and prosperity since Russia had taken them over some thirty years ago. If Colonel Pemberton revisited Central Asia after the lapse of years since he was last there he would see a marked increase of population and prosperity, specially round Merv, where a curious custom prevailed. The distribution of water for irrigation was calculated on the number of wives of the Turkoman farmer. If he had six wives he was entitled

* The first of his twelve maxims runs: "It is necessary that his words and his actions be his own. That is to say, that his soldiers and his subjects may know that what the king sayeth and doeth, he sayeth and doeth for himself; and that no other person hath influence therein."

to six lots of water. The result was that the market price of ladies in Central Asia had gone up to the high figure of £400, and a great many of the farmers disregarded the Prophet's interdiction by marrying more than four wives. This produced an unfortunate state of affairs in Persia, where, as the ordinary price was not more than £40, a great deal of kidnapping for Central Asia went on. The theory of the water allotment was that each wife represented a family, and water must be provided for crops to feed her offspring. The wives did most of the work, and that was another reason for the competition for them. It might be said that the whole of the region in Central Asia outside Afghanistan which Tamerlane brought under his rule was now part of the Russian Empire, except Bokhara, which had the position of a Native State with internal independence, very much like the Hyderabad State in India.

Speaking of Merv, Colonel Sykes said that the destruction wrought by Chengiz Khan was the second of its kind, and others followed. Altogether there had been, he thought, six different sites of the city. Baber, the founder of the so-called Moghul dynasty of India, was of the same tribe as Tamerlane, and one of his descendants. Curiously enough, in his lifetime Baber always ran down the Mongols. Tamerlane's tribe were Turco-Mongols. The meaning of Turk was a helmet, and the tribesmen who gained ascendancy at Constantinople were called Turks from a hill in their habitat having this shape; at least that was the general belief.

Mr. CRESWELL said that he believed that by his constant campaigns Tamerlane did incalculable harm to Oriental art. For instance, the splendid thirteenth and fourteenth century lustre pottery did not survive the period of his conquest. So far as he had been able to discover, it was not to be found in any building erected after that date. He asked the lecturer whether this was not the case, and whether mosaic decoration did not similarly decay under the withering touch of war. It would seem that the craftsmen were wiped out, and had no opportunity of passing on their secrets of manufacture to those who came after them. It was also understood that he took away from Damascus all its swords and blades and its reputation for their manufacture. When his star appeared Central Asia had reached its high-water mark of artistic excellence.

COLONEL SYKES said that he could not go into these points in detail on the present occasion, but he thought there was a great deal in what Mr. Creswell had said. There was no question that about this time lustre work became a lost art. Answering a lady who had visited the tomb at Samarcand, he said that it would seem that this beautiful mausoleum was built by Tamerlane as a tribute to his spiritual leader, to whom he was devoted. The grave of the holy man occupied the

central position under the dome, while that of Tamerlane himself was on one side of it.

The CHAIRMAN said they would all agree in thanking Colonel Sykes for a peculiarly interesting lecture. He had heard him lecture many times on many different subjects, and he always managed to select interesting subjects and to present them in a very interesting way. They were fortunate to hear the details of Tamerlane's life from one who had travelled so extensively in the countries with which the name of the great conqueror was identified. His intimate knowledge of men and things in the countries of which he spoke always gave Colonel Sykes's lectures a particular value.

BRIEF REVIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA *

By W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL

ON February 12, 1912, the Emperor of China abdicated, and on the 15th Yüan Shih-k'ai was elected by a National Council, sitting at Nanking, Provisional President of the Republic of China.

During 1912, the first year of the Republic, nothing was done to "elevate the people, secure them peace, and legislate for their prosperity," as had been promised them in the Republican Manifesto of January 5, 1912; the whole year was consumed in an interminable fight between the President, who sought to put in force urgently needed reforms for the re-establishment of law and order, and the National Council, which strove to secure absolute control for itself over the whole administration of the country, and refused the Executive all power and means of action. The chaotic conditions in every branch of the Government, both metropolitan and provincial, which had marked the last two or three years of the Empire, grew steadily worse, and complete anarchy and a dissolution of the State seemed imminent.

The year 1913 began with the convening of a National Assembly, but this brought with it no change for the better in the internal conditions of the country; on the contrary, they grew worse. A rebellion, led by the enemies of the President and of the Peking Government, broke out in the summer, but in less than two months it was completely suppressed, and on October 6, Yüan Shih-k'ai was elected President of the Republic for a term of five years. His hand thus strengthened, and realizing that the great mass of the people longed only for the restoration of order, he at once began to take effective steps, looking solely to that end and regardless of all political ideals. He deemed rightly that his duty to the people was too great for him to hesitate to force the adoption of measures which the experience of the preceding two years had superabundantly demonstrated were absolutely necessary for the salvation of China. The radical party, which controlled the National Assembly and had openly incited and led the revolt of the previous summer, was broken up, and the Assembly, first prorogued, was shortly after dissolved, as were also the various provincial assemblies and local self-governing boards.

That the dissolution of the National Assembly was an indispensable condition prerequisite to any possible reform of the State, there exists no longer a shadow of a doubt in the mind of any unprejudiced person. In the uneducated condition of the country as regards all political, social, and economic questions, such a large and utterly inexperienced body (576 Representatives and 261 Senators)

* The proof of this article was not corrected by the author, whose death occurred suddenly at Honolulu, on his way out to China.

could but block all useful and necessary reforms, retard the restoration of order and the economic recovery of the country.*

The dissolution of these bodies met with the hearty approval of the whole of China, an approval which confirmed the Government in its determination to begin promptly the work of reorganizing the State. With the assistance of an Advisory, or Political, Council, drawn from the various provinces and the principal departments of the Central Government, and whose duties were to temporarily assist the Executive in the discharge of his duties, Yüan Shih-k'ai began the herculean labour of reform and modernization of China which is to culminate in the establishment of a parliamentary government, truly representative of the needs and aspirations of the various social elements of the nation.

The old provincial administration, bad as its personnel unquestionably was in a number of cases, had experience, some authority, and had been generally able to maintain at least a semblance of order and to collect a considerable part of the revenue, of the State. The men of the Revolution of 1911 to 1912 broke it down, placed the provinces under military governors or *Tutuh*, and filled every office with new men, regardless of their fitness, and often for a money consideration. Carpet-baggers and spoilsmen were everywhere, while hundreds of thousands of uncontrolled soldiers and numerous bands of brigands preyed upon the people, terrorized the countryside, and paralyzed all trade.

Encouraged by the promise of autonomy made in the early days of the Revolution and of the remission of former burdensome taxes, the provinces kept for their own use such revenues as they were able to collect and the people willing to pay. Notwithstanding the pressing needs of the Central Government and its impotent appeals for money assistance, most of them, during the years 1912 and 1913, contributed little or nothing to its support.

Such was the general condition of China when the present year opened. It is the first in which the Government of Peking has found itself free to initiate the reforms which it believes will best and most rapidly contribute to the establishment of peace and order throughout the country.

The first problems which have perforce faced the Government have been the creation of efficient civil and military administrations, the initiation of measures to relieve the financial embarrassment of the country (which has been steadily increasing in gravity since the Japanese-Chinese War of 1894, and especially since the Boxer troubles of 1900), the development of the economic resources of the country, and the elaboration of a practical educational system suited to the requirements of the people.

Before its dissolution the Political Council advised the President to convene a Provisional Constitutional Conference, composed of noteworthy men from all parts of the country, to amend the Constitution of 1912 in such of its provisions as had been proved impracticable from the outset. This was done, and on May 1 of this year these amendments, in sixty-eight articles, were promulgated. I need not dwell at length on these changes in the earlier compact. The most noteworthy is that instituting the system of Presidential government, and abandoning that of Cabinet government chosen by the framers of the Provisional Constitution. Generally speaking, the Amended Constitution follows closely the

* A glance at the list of laws enacted by the National Assembly from March, 1912, to April, 1913, will show the futility of such a body. See the *China Year Book*, 1914, pp. 500-502.

lines of the Japanese Constitution of 1889, which, in the opinion of a well-qualified writer, has shown its suitability in the past, and may well prove sufficiently flexible to permit the people of the country, just so soon as they have acquired sufficient political experience and capacity, to exercise a really controlling influence over the Government. "There is no reason," this writer adds, "to believe that the Chinese will not be able to bring about the same result if they are only patient, and do not attempt to move too rapidly along a road which is, it must be remembered, strewn with the failures of those essaying the journey with too little regard for the lessons of the past and with insufficient preparation."*

A Council of State as provided for in the Amended Constitution, composed of seventy men of broad experience, or otherwise well qualified to offer intelligent comment and criticism to the measures submitted to it by the Executive, and to otherwise assist him in carrying the overwhelming burden put upon him, was promptly organized in May, and began its sessions on June 20, under the presidency of the Vice-President of the Republic.

The work since then accomplished by the Chief Executive in reorganizing the metropolitan and provincial administrations is so vast that it would lead beyond the limits of this paper to enumerate, let alone analyze, even the main features of the principal mandates and regulations issued by him, or under his order by the various Ministries. The leading feature in all the measures adopted is centralization, together with clear definitions of the duties and responsibilities of the various services of the State, and the creation of adequate checks and means of effective control over all branches, so as to insure regularity, uniformity, and faithfulness in the discharge of their various duties. The details into which many of these documents go may seem to most Occidental readers quite unnecessary and not infrequently even prejudicial to any broad and intelligent appreciation of the more general and important principles on which they are based. Such is not, however, the case in China, where, from the earliest days of its history, a strong love of red tape, and an extraordinary fondness for details and seemingly endless minutiae, have been a distinguishing but apparently indispensable feature of its bureaucracy. The mandates and regulations issuing from Peking can only be judged by their general results, not from their prolixity and endless reiterations.

The general plan of the reorganization of the civil administration of the country accomplished during the present year may be summarized as follows: The twenty-two provinces composing the Republic have been completely restored to civil government and placed under the orders of Governors with extensive powers, defined at great length in special regulations, over all civil officials in their provinces and over the newly created provincial militia (or Militia Protection Corps), and with direct responsibility to the Central Government for their faithful performance. The administrative budgets for each province and its subdivisions are fixed by the Central Government and may not be exceeded, and all officials handling public moneys are placed under bond, the amount of the bond being held by the nearest Government bank.

Each province is divided into a small number of circuits under the orders of Intendants of Circuit appointed by the President, but directly responsible to the

* "The Amended Constitution," by Dr. Frank L. Goodnow, Peking, May 14, 1914, p. 10.

Governors for all their acts. These circuits in turn are subdivided into districts under the orders of magistrates appointed by the Governor from a list of eligibles after successful examination before an Examining Board in Peking. They exercise within their respective jurisdictions similar powers to those of the Intendants.

Besides the High Court and other courts established in Peking, a Court of Assize has been opened in each province, the Chief of which is under the direct control of the Ministry of Justice, and has supervision over the various magistrates of his province when acting judicially. Other reforms have been made in the judicial system, but not a few cannot be carried out at present, partly for lack of adequate revenues, but principally for lack of trained Judges. Time and persistent efforts can alone solve the latter difficulty.

The military forces of the provinces have been more or less amalgamated so as to form a certain number of military circumscriptions, each under the command of a General, who takes the place of the Tutuh, which rank is abolished. The Generals in command of military circumscriptions are under the direct and general control of a Superior Military Council at Peking. The far-reaching importance of this army reorganization cannot be over-estimated, for it creates for the first time a truly national army instead of the semi-independent provincial ones, which have frequently in the last few years shown themselves worse than useless in times of emergency.

A Commission for the punishment of high officials, and an Administrative Court to interpret and enforce the Regulations and protect the people against illegal acts or erroneous interpretations of the laws by officials, have been established; furthermore, an Audit Department, or Court of Accounts, to audit all accounts of the Central Government, each Governor in his province performing the same duty when so empowered by the Ministry of Finance; otherwise it is done by an officer of the Treasury specially appointed for that purpose. Many other devices for insuring efficiency and the faithful discharge of duties have been devised, and the President and Governors have put forth constant and praiseworthy efforts to secure their strict enforcement. The lists of punishments inflicted on officials, military as well as civil, high and low, who have been shown to have embezzled, accepted bribes, illegally exacted money from the people, fled before the brigands, and otherwise failed in the discharge of their duties, with the scathing condemnation of their acts by the President and the Governors, evidence the necessity for all these measures, and the strong appeals of the President to officials of every class to devote themselves to the whole-souled, honest discharge of their duties which have appeared in the *Government Gazette* during this year would fill a volume; but as this cancer in China has existed for centuries, it cannot be hoped that it will be easily eradicated, although the steadfastness of purpose and strong will of the present Executive, as well as the present system of checks on dishonesty and inefficiency, which have now been put in force for the first time, may bring about a rapid and salutary change. This devoutly-to-be-hoped-for consummation may be hastened by the native and foreign Press of China, which is growing rapidly in importance, general ability, and influence, and is already exerting a great and often beneficent effect on public opinion. The President will have its full support in all his efforts to evolve a good and faithful public service, but it is too soon to foreshadow the outcome of this great fight. It took many years in other countries before honesty could be fairly established in the public services; it will probably be the same in China.

38 BRIEF REVIEW OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA

The financial condition of China has received more attention abroad than any other phase of the situation. It will only be briefly treated here.

When the revolution of 1911-12 began the debt of China was, in round figures, £188,000,000, of which amount about £150,000,000 had been contracted for the payment of indemnities to foreign Powers, and £38,000,000 for productive investments, principally the building of railways. Subsequent to this, and down to the beginning of 1914, there has been added to this amount about £37,600,000, consisting of the "Crisp" and "Reorganization" loans, amounting in all to £30,000,000, and £7,600,000 for short term loans, domestic and foreign, these falling due this year. The annual payments, interest and amortization, on these £225,000,000 approximate £10,000,000. All these loans, exclusive only of the short term ones, are amply secured on the foreign customs receipts and on other revenues of the State. Payments on them as they fall due have been met, but the State has been left impoverished, the provinces, for the most part, for reasons explained previously, not sending their usual quotas to Peking for the expenses of the Government.

While the larger part of the available revenue of the State has been consumed in the payment of its foreign debt, the currency, as a result of at least half a century of constant mismanagement, has reached a chaotic condition, the country has been flooded with an enormous mass of depreciated subsidiary silver and copper coin, and the provincial governments and the native banks have added to the disorder by the issue of vast amounts of paper money without any metallic reserve to support them. Such was, substantially, the situation at the beginning of the present year.

The necessity for monetary reform and the establishment of a uniform national currency has been recognized for years past by the Government as indispensable though extremely difficult. In its treaties of 1902 with Great Britain, and in those of 1903 with the United States and Japan, China pledged herself to carry out these measures. In 1904, and in subsequent years, various edicts bearing on the subject, including a programme of currency reform, were promulgated by the Imperial Government, and various other preliminary steps were taken looking to its initiation. In April, 1911, an agreement was at last signed with an international group of banks for a loan of £10,000,000 sterling for this purpose, but the revolution supervened, the loan was never floated, and, though negotiations were taken up again with the group of banks in the latter part of 1913 and a new currency law promulgated in February, 1914, nothing has, so far, come of them, the Chinese Government wishing only to borrow from the banks for the time being a sum of £8,000,000 to pay off the short term loans, and only later on the funds for currency reform, which it does not feel able to undertake before the provinces have got rid of the debased paper money with which they are at present flooded. The banks, on the other hand, would only consider a loan for currency reform purposes, and took little interest in the redemption of the short term loans. As things have turned out it seems fortunate for China that the negotiations were suspended when they were; if the loan had been agreed to, the war would have prevented its being floated, and the hands of the Chinese Government would have been nevertheless tied.

While fully realizing that without the carrying out of the monetary reform no permanent stability can be reached in financial matters, the Government has found itself able, at least, to help some of the provinces to redeem their paper money, and to extend the operations of the Bank of China and the Bank of

Communications, especially the former, which has contributed greatly in restoring credit throughout the country. In its endeavours the Government has been powerfully assisted by the new Salt Administration, which has been able to supply it regularly since it came into operation in the autumn of last year with a much larger revenue than had been expected by the most sanguine.

As long ago as 1885, George Jamieson, of the British Consular Service in China, writing on the "Revenue of China," advocated the establishment of a uniform scale of taxation of salt and its levy at its place of first sale, after that, free trade all over the country.*

In the spring of 1913 the Government of Peking had signed a loan of £25,000,000 with the international group of banks referred to previously. This loan was made a charge of the entire free revenue of the Salt Administration, which China pledged herself to immediately reorganize "with the assistance of foreigners," and detailed regulations for the proposed service were incorporated in the loan agreement.

The suggestion of George Jamieson has been substantially carried out by the very able foreign "Associate Chief Inspector of the Salt Administration," Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E., late of the Indian Civil Service, whose services were secured very shortly after the loan had been agreed upon. Under his energetic and firm management the reorganized Salt Administration was, in a few months, yielding to the Government a revenue equal to that collected by the Chinese Maritime Customs, and was illustrating, as the older service had done, the great immediate advantages which accrue to China by the employment of foreigners of high character and experience in the great task of modernizing her administrative methods. The revenues now being derived from the salt gabelle are enabling the Government to tide over its most pressing difficulties more than all the fiscal expedients, such as title-deed tax, business tax, destination tax, even more than the land tax as it is now collected, and the success attending this reform has been a great stimulus to the Government in its determination to persevere in the face of immense difficulties in its endeavour to relieve China's financial embarrassment by bringing about more efficient and economical methods in the administration of already existing sources of revenue, by the employment of able foreigners, and by the creation of a regular, classified, civil service, rather than by seeking to contract abroad loans for administrative purposes.

Although the provinces have been generally able and willing during the present year, thanks to the disbanding of large numbers of troops and to the growing efficiency of their administrative services, to remit to the Central Government some part, at least, of the monthly quotas due from them for its support, nevertheless, there not being sufficient for all its needs, which included the gradual adjusting of the paper currency in the provinces, in August last the Government decided upon issuing an internal 6 per cent. loan, the first issue being fixed at about £1,600,000. Although decided upon with some not unnatural hesitation (for the Chinese have never in the past been willing to lend freely to their Government their money, have no confidence in its trustworthiness and its business methods), the present internal loan, which was issued on September 1, was fully inscribed within a few days, much to the satisfaction of

* (G. Jamieson) "The Revenue of China." A series of articles reprinted from the *China Mail*. Hongkong, 1885. 8vo., p. 22.

the Government, which saw in it an indication of its growing popularity, and of the confidence the people were now reposing in its determination and ability to restore and maintain peace, order, and the national credit. It may well be that the judicious election by the Loan Committee of Mr. Aglen, the successor of Sir Robert Hart, as Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, to be co-Director of Accounts, "to manage all the receipts and payments in connexion with the proceeds of the loan," contributed not a little to increase the confidence of subscribers.

The Government was at last able in September to pay its way with the revenues it was receiving by the exercise of the strictest economy and the enforcement of discipline among its servants; something that had not been done since the Revolution first broke out in 1911.*

While the attention of the Government has been principally devoted during this first year of its independent existence to the creation of what it hopes will prove adequate and well-regulated administrative services and to financial questions, the activity it has shown in taking up other matters and in initiating measures for the present welfare and the economic development of the country has been most remarkable. There is hardly a subject which it has not touched, and while it is premature to judge of the permanent value of the work done by the Government, even if all of its orders had already had a commencement of enforcement, which is improbable, still it is most encouraging to note this strong desire of the Government and people to seek to apply discriminatingly the methods and experience of foreign lands wherever they find they can be adapted to their service.

During the year a considerable number of agreements have been entered into by the Government with various foreign companies for the building of new lines of railway, most of them extending, or linking up, trunk lines already in operation. Experience in the past having taught the Chinese the danger of "peaceful penetration" by railways owned and operated by foreigners, the present agreements (as in the case of the lines most recently built for it by foreign firms) provide for the construction of the railways under contract, with general mortgages on the lines as security for the loans to be floated by the contracting companies. The outbreak of war in Europe will, of course, defer for a long time the construction of most, if not all, of the new lines, but they must be constructed some day, as they will prove of great and permanent value both to the State and the people.

In connexion with the subject of railways it is of particular interest to note that, while the nationalization of the railways of China was violently opposed by the provinces just before the outbreak of the Revolution, and was in fact its immediate cause in the province of Ssu-ch'üan, it is now being carried out by the Government in perfect harmony with the provincial shareholders—another striking proof of the growing popularity of the Government and of the confidence now reposed in its railway management, and to the far-reaching reform in railway administration initiated this year to insure greater efficiency, economy,

* By an order of the Ministry of Finance, the amount to be remitted annually by the provinces to Peking for the support of Government is fixed at Tls.27,900,000, exclusive of the three Eastern (Manchurian) Provinces. The disbursement of the Central Government are at present less than £500,000 a month.

and uniformity. Early in the year a commission for the "unification of railway accounts and statistics" was organized; its members were the best qualified men available in China (Chinese as well as foreigners), and it was given the expert assistance of Dr. Henry C. Adams, of the United States Interstate Commerce Commission. The committee's conclusions have already been submitted to the Government; their enforcement will probably shortly be ordered, and their important beneficial effect will unquestionably be rapidly felt.

The subject of developing the mineral resources has not been overlooked during this year. In March new mining regulations were promulgated, and, though they have not met with general approval, many foreigners thinking them most unsatisfactory, some important concessions have been granted under them to foreign companies. The most important concession granted during the year is that to the Standard Oil Company of New York, for exploitation of the oil resources of the provinces of Chih-li and Shen-si. The arrangement appears advantageous to all parties concerned, and will, it is thought, stimulate the further development of the large petroleum deposits scattered throughout China.

Some public works of importance have likewise been authorized by Government during the year, and others, already begun some years ago, but discontinued, have been taken up again. The most important work initiated is the proposed reclamation of a large area of over 700 square miles in the province of An-hui, by the conservancy of the Huai River. The preliminary survey made by Colonel W. L. Sibert, of the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, has already been completed, and it is understood that its conclusions are favourable to the undertaking of this important work which it is hoped will be financed in the United States.

The building of an ice-free port at Hu-lu-tao, on the Gulf of Pechili, is to be pushed to completion, and the conservancy of the Liao River at Niu-chuang has been favourably considered by Government, and will, it seems likely, be done at last. Neither of these two important public works require the expenditure of a large sum of money, while they are of vital importance to the trade of a vast, rich, and rapidly developing country.

While the lack of adequate revenue prevents both the Central Government and the provinces from initiating many new enterprises recognized as of great and permanent value to the country, encouragement has been given to private initiative; but the large amount of capital which was withdrawn from productive employment during the last two years, and which is still to a great extent hoarded in the Treaty ports and in other safe places, together with other minor causes, have greatly hampered and retarded the developing of internal trade and the establishing or expanding of promising enterprises, although, everything well considered, the economic revival, already begun in 1913, and which has been since maintained, is very remarkable.

While order has been established throughout the country generally, and the Government's strength and popularity have steadily grown during this year, brigand bands, composed principally of deserters or disbanded soldiers of the revolutionary armies, which began to overrun some of the provinces in 1912, and have not yet been entirely suppressed, although the largest and most active band, that of the "White Wolf," has, after a year's campaign, been finally dispersed and its chief killed. There have been also several cases of mutiny in small bodies of troops, but they have been promptly quelled. As China has hardly ever been quite free from brigandage in some section or other of the country,

and its soldiery have always been deficient in discipline (judged from a Western point of view), too much importance must not be attached to the existence of these unfortunately chronic sources of irritation, nor to the activities of the various secret societies with which the country has always been honeycombed. As to the revolutionists or anarchists (*luan tang*), among whom are some of the ardent and misguided idealists of the revolutionary period, they are closely watched by the authorities, whether they are in China or abroad ; and while they may remain for some time to come a source of irritation to the Government, it seems very unlikely that they can engineer any uprising whatever against it, the mass of the people being disgusted with their methods, no longer believing in their ideals, and absolutely refusing to contribute funds for their propaganda, or even give them tacit sympathy.

Besides the losses of life and property occasioned by the brigands, China has not escaped this year the usual visitations of droughts, floods, and, what is less usual, of locusts. Vast regions in Southern and in Central and Northern China, which in the early summer were broad fields of waving crops, have been swept clean, and the people reduced in many places to destitution, though it is probable that some of the late crops, and the aid the authorities and people can give and are sending them, will keep most of the sufferers (probably several millions) from actual famine.

Education of the people along modern and Western lines has for years past been recognized by the Government of China as a reform of vital importance, and a programme of education was adopted in 1905 and, at vast expense, partially carried out. In 1910 there were said to be 57,267 Government schools in the province (exclusive of Peking), with 89,362 teachers and 1,626,529 pupils, the expenditure on account of which was 24,334,305 taels (approximately £3,500,000). With the outbreak of the revolution, and the complete dislocation of the fiscal system of the country, most of the schools were closed or became disorganized, and the whole matter has since then been taken up again ; but financial difficulties have retarded materially its settlement, although the general lines along which the national educational system is to be organized were laid down by a National Educational Conference called by the Minister of Education in the summer of 1912. The various Government special colleges and schools for the technical education of employees in various services of the State, have been maintained, and in the case of some of them reorganized and enlarged.

On July 8 the President issued orders for the creation of an " Educational Fund " of about £1,200,000 for the encouragement of particularly meritorious students by means of annual grants. Their number is not to exceed at any time 1,200, and they are subject to yearly examinations by a special permanent Commission appointed for the purpose. It is hoped that this reward will encourage talented students to pursue their studies and original researches at home or abroad until such time as they can find remunerative employment, when the scholarship lapses. Pending the raising of the full amount of the fund, the Government is to assign an annual sum of £30,000, the interest of the amount of the endowment, so that it may be put at once into operation.

One important result of the disorganization of the educational system, and an indication of the growing appreciation of the people of the excellence of the schools and colleges maintained by foreigners in China, as well as of their recognition of the value of modern educational methods, is found in the largely increased numbers of pupils who have entered these educational establishments

since the revolution first began. The popularity of the foreign Universities and colleges in China is steadily increasing, and their importance in the general scheme of educational reform fully recognized and appreciated by the authorities.*

It seems probable that technical training will figure much more largely than in the past in the educational system, and that students sent abroad to complete the education given them in Government or missionary Universities or colleges will be chosen from those who have selected careers the exercise of which will be of value in the economic development of China. China wants the West to send back to her, not idealogues imbued with the latest and most impracticable social and political theories, professional politicians in embryo, but common-sense men, able and willing to help, each in his special line, in the upbuilding of the country.

I have only been able to touch in the previous pages on a few of the internal questions which have received attention from the Government of China during the present year. I have not referred to the subject of foreign trade, as sufficient data are not yet in my possession for the purpose. The value of the foreign trade during 1913 established a record, but H.B.M.'s Consul-General at Shanghai was obliged to say of it: "No satisfactory explanation has been offered for this phenomenal advance in trade-return figures in a year which appears to have been stigmatized on most sides as bad for business, and in which external conditions invite the same conclusions."† We can but hope that the year 1914 has in store for us a similar surprise.

The first two months of 1914 appear to have been good from a Customs point of view, and the general tone of business circles in the Treaty ports became distinctly hopeful in May and June, though Customs receipts showed a certain falling-off. The improved financial condition, the Government's steadily increasing popularity, and a growing confidence in its ability to maintain order, justified hopes that the worst had passed, when the declaration of war in Europe upset all calculations, dislocated trade, causing a heavy loss to the Chinese Exchequer, and otherwise prejudicially affected the trade of the whole country. With the assured command of the sea in the hands of the Allies, who are the countries the most interested in Chinese trade, it seems highly probable that its dislocation will be but of short duration; but however short, any blow to China's trade, especially the export, cannot but be most disquieting in the present convalescent state of the country. The war will also result in making it impossible for China, perhaps for a long time to come, to secure the large amount of foreign capital necessary for the rapid development of her railways, of her natural resources, and of her industrial enterprises.

The military operations which Japan has undertaken against Germany in the leased territory of Kiao-chau have obliged China to take such steps as she could for the preservation of her neutrality, but extraordinary difficulties must always confront her in this connexion, arising, for a large part, from the peculiar

* The *Peking Gazette* of May 26, 1914, says that "an investigation made by certain authorities" shows that the number of schools and colleges of various grades maintained by missionary societies in China is—British and American, 3,964 schools with 107,269 pupils; German, 179 schools and 5,384 pupils; Roman Catholic, 5,934 schools and 132,850 pupils.

† Report for the Year 1913 on the Trade of Shanghai, No. 5376, Annual Series, Dipl. and Cons. Reports, p. 8.

privileged position which foreigners hold under the treaties in "leased territories," "concessions," and "settlements," and their increasingly exaggerated claims of extra-territorial rights, as also from their owning and operating certain lines of railway and other industrial enterprises in the interior. China's neutrality has been so frequently violated in the past by various foreign Powers that it seems fatuous to expect that it will be respected during the present operations in Shantung whenever it serves the purpose of one or the other of the belligerents to violate it. The Chinese Government have, however, taken extraordinary precautions for the strict maintenance of her neutrality, and have given further evidence thereby of their strong desire to maintain unimpaired her good relations with all Treaty Powers.

The foreign relations of China during the past two years have been uneventful. The Government has shown in all negotiations with Treaty Powers a most friendly and accommodating disposition, and its efforts to maintain and strengthen its friendly relations with all the world have been a noteworthy success.

In Outer Mongolia the Khalkas refused to recognize the Government of the Republic, and in December, 1911 (encouraged in this secession by the Russians, who hoped thereby to establish a buffer State along this part of their frontier and acquire exclusive trade-rights in this region), they declared their independence of China. On November 3, 1912, the Urga Convention was signed between Russia and the Khalkhas, but it was only a year later that the Government of Peking found itself in a position to recognize Khalkha autonomy. This it did in an agreement with Russia under certain conditions, accepted Russian mediation to establish relations between Outer Mongolia and China, and agreed to open negotiations at Kiakhta, on the Russian frontier, and in which Russia and the Khalkhas would both participate. The relations of trade between Outer Mongolia and China are so close, and of such long-standing, the dependence of the Mongols on the Chinese in all matters of trade and business so strong, that it was not long before the enthusiasm for independence had subsided, and a well-defined disposition on the part of the Khalkhas to renew close relations with China became evident, and grew rapidly as the disinclination of the Russian Government to take upon itself the sole responsibility for the maintenance and development of Outer Mongolia became better understood by them. The negotiations which were to have taken place at Kiakhta have been delayed, probably by the unwillingness of the Mongols to participate in a discussion *à trois* while there was still the least hope that they might get some foreign Powers to recognize their claim to complete independence. The hope has apparently failed; the Conference was called during the present summer, and has already met (in September) at Kiakhta. The outcome of the negotiations cannot be doubted, the autonomy of Outer Mongolia under Chinese suzerainty will be reaffirmed, trade relations regulated, the status of Chinese settlers defined, and the ultimate result will be that China's hold on Outer Mongolia will gradually become stronger than in the past, and will successfully displace, or keep down, all outside competition.

The problem of Tibet's political status is still unsettled. The exaggerated claim of the Lhasa Government that autonomous Tibet should include the Kokonor region with its mixed population of Tibetans, Mongols, and Chinese, and which at no period of its history has ever been subject to its rule, together with other inadmissible demands, has resulted in the negotiations *à trois* with

the Government of India, initiated in 1913, coming to naught. The question will shortly be taken up again, this time in Peking, under perhaps better conditions for a successful solution. The probable settlement of the Outer Mongolia question in the conference at Kiakhta may point the way to an acceptable settlement of that of Tibet, especially as the trade relations of Tibet with China are quite as vital to its prosperity as they are in the case of Mongolia. The two countries stand in absolutely similar relations to China, their severance of all political ties with it could only result in great and permanent loss to them, but these relations must be placed on a new footing in which the legitimate, essential rights of both Mongolia and Tibet are fully recognized and amply guaranteed, and under which Ambans and Chinese officials can no longer prey on the country and oppress the native authorities and peoples.

Minor questions concerning incidents on the Franco-Chinese and other frontiers have been settled in a most friendly spirit, as have also all other similar matters in other parts of the country, with the exception of that of Pien-ma with Great Britain.

The settlement of the claims of foreigners resulting from losses incurred during the late Revolution have been at last adjusted, and are probably all paid off by now. They would have been settled before this had they in every case been reasonable or well founded; such, unfortunately, has not been the case.

The Peking Government has continued this year to press on the Treaty Powers her very equitable right under the terms of the Final Protocol of September, 1901, to an effective 5 per cent. customs duty on foreign imports promised her by the Signatory Powers. Her right to it is undeniable, and the failure to secure it is, and has been for some years past, causing her Treasury an annual loss of revenue of about half a million sterling—a most serious loss for a country in its embarrassed financial position. Most of the Powers have recognized China's right, and are willing to agree to the increase; some, however, are still holding out, asking for compensation—a most unfair demand in the present case, and one which we may sincerely trust the majority of the Powers will induce them to withdraw at an early date. A prompt settlement would be of extreme value to China at the present moment, when she is, as the effect of the European war, thrown entirely on her own resources.

By Article VIII. of the Treaty of 1902 with Great Britain, China undertook "to discard completely the system of levying *likin* and other dues on goods at the place of production, in transit, and at the destination." The British Government in return agreed that a surtax, equivalent to one and a half times the effective 5 per cent. import duty as provided for in the Protocol of 1901, should be levied on all British imports when once the reform promised by China had been carried out. The same agreement on substantially the same terms was entered into with the United States in the Treaty of 1903.

The carrying out of these provisions, depending on the acceptance by all the Treaty Powers of the surtax on their imports, it seems nearly superfluous to say that they have so far remained a dead letter, some of the Treaty Powers asking absolutely impossible "compensation" for their acceptance, and the Chinese Government, on its side, having been unable to see its way to undertake the reform.* During the past year the informal discussion of the subject has been

* In this connexion the Memorandum submitted to the Ministry of Finance this spring by Mr. Wang Ching-fang, one of the ablest financial agents of the Government, is of particular interest. See *Peking Gazette*, May 8, 1914.

taken up again by the Government and the Treaty Powers, and it seems now possible, to use the expression of a writer on the subject in a recent issue of a Peking newspaper, that the Government will "grasp the nettle of internal taxation with both hands, and root it up for good and all."

From the preceding résumé of events during the last twelve months, it is hoped that the reader will get some idea of the present condition of China, and will realize the difficulties, both political and economic, that the country has had, and still has, to contend with, and will gather a conception of the methods and experiments being employed in dealing with them. The efficiency of the remedies being applied it is premature to pronounce upon; we should allow them to be fairly tested, and lend our sympathetic support to the country in its efforts to carry them out. There can be no doubt that Government and people are wideawake to the necessity of introducing a fair modicum of political and a great deal of economic, change to give new life to the country. In applying Western theories and methods to the attainment of both these most desirable ends, mistakes will be made, failures encountered, and opposition and distrust raised in China as well as abroad, but the changes will be made in time, and though a long period will probably be required for the reconstruction, the renovated structure will prove all the more solid and serviceable.

November 5, 1914.

OBITUARY

By the death of Mr. A. Cotterell Tupp, LL.D., the Central Asian Society has to regret the loss of an old and valued member—in fact, of one who, in conjunction with Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, laid the foundations of the Society in 1901, from which year onwards he had been continuously the Hon. Treasurer and a Member of Council.

Mr. Tupp, who was born in 1840, was educated at University College, London, where in the year 1860 he obtained a First Class, with honours in Classics and Science. He was selected by competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1861, and in 1862 was posted to the North-West Provinces, where he passed through the usual curriculum of a District Officer's work, and in 1876-77 received the special distinction of being called on to write a portion of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, especially the statistical tables of the North-West Provinces. After sixteen years' service as Magistrate and Judge he was selected for an appointment in the Financial Department of the Government of India, in the higher grades of which he served with success. Ultimately, after managing the finances of four great provinces in succession, and also holding for a short time the responsible post of Comptroller-General to the Government of India, he retired from the service in 1889. He will be best remembered in India for three works which he wrote on "The Competitive Civil Service of India," especially with reference to the mistakes which had been made in the irregular and unsystematic recruitment of that service, which had led to serious blocks in promotion. The result of his agitation was that recruitment was fixed on an actuarial basis, a number of senior men were induced to retire by the grants of accelerated pensions, and promotion has, thanks to Mr. Tupp's endeavours, since proceeded on normal lines, although even now there may be occasional blocks. Mr. Tupp's work in connection with this matter was of the highest permanent value, and his personal exertions were unremitting and praiseworthy. He came to England, and devoted his well-earned leisure to besieging every official at the India Office and elsewhere whom it was necessary to persuade of the justice of his cause, even moving constituencies to influence their M.P.'s in Parliament, till finally his efforts were crowned with success.

Mr. Tupp always took an active interest in economic questions, especially those which concerned the welfare of India. From 1880 to 1895 he was a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, and took a prominent part during the Bimetallic Controversy, assisting to form the Bimetallic League in 1881, and the Indian Monetary Association in 1887. After his retirement from India his energy was devoted to a multiplicity of topics, and he frequently lectured before the East India Association. He also took part in the management of University College, London, where he had been educated, and became a life governor of the school as well as of the college. His varied activities led to his studying

and becoming an authority on the relations of India with the foreign countries beyond her borders.

Mr. Tupp published many lectures and papers, especially on the Silver Question, which his long experience of Indian finance specially qualified him for treating; but they, like most works on political economy, are "caviare to the general." In recognition of his labours the University of St. Andrews conferred on him the degree of LL.D.

During the last year or two, consequent on ill-health, Mr. Tupp's familiar face has been missed from the meetings of the Central Asian Society, and he finally passed away on September 27, 1914, at the age of seventy-four. Still, his name will be long remembered in the Central Asian Society as one of its founders and most keen supporters, by Indian officers generally for his exertions in rectifying errors in the organization of the Civil Service, and—although, consequent on the establishment of a gold standard in India, the Bimetallic Controversy is fast passing into oblivion—by that small circle of financial experts and economists who are able to appreciate his contributions to that discussion.

NOTES AND NEWS

University Education in China.—In a single decade, or at least since 1905, China has abolished her ancient educational system, associated with centuries of tradition, and has accepted in large measure the spirit and method of training found in Europe and America. The first great need felt was that for teachers, and normal schools were established rapidly throughout the empire.

In the province of Chihli in the year 1908—the province where Yuan Shih-kai was Viceroy—only three years after the imperial edict abolishing the old learning, the following modern institutions were to be found: 1 university at Tientsin, 1 provincial or high college at Paotingfu, 17 industrial schools, 2 medical colleges, 3 alien language schools, 4 law schools, 1 physical culture and music school, 1 telegraph school, 8 commercial institutions, 5 schools for agriculture, 30 middle schools, 174 upper primary schools, 108 mixed grade primary schools, 8,534 lower primary schools, 131 schools for girls, and 179 half-day and half-night schools. This makes a total of 214,367 students in the province of Chihli alone, together with an additional 17,000 students in the city of Peking.

There is, indeed, no greater revolution in China than that relative to the education of women. In the province of Chihli there were reported recently to be 3,314 women students, distributed under 203 teachers, through 61 different towns, and including two kindergarten training schools, 118 elementary schools, 3 high and 3 normal schools.

A like educational advance is evident throughout the larger cities and the chief provinces of the middle kingdom. Eight thousand students are to be found in Nanking, with 109 schools and 730 teachers, 1 person to every 34 of the Nanking population being represented in these modern institutions. Chihli leads at present with 8,524 institutions, Shantung with 3,523, followed with a long list of provinces claiming an ever-increasing number of young men and young women studying along lines similar to those known in the West. The Imperial University of Peking, which was opened in 1911, embraces virtually all the principal departments of technical and literary study, and the oriental student is trained here in literature, law, natural science, languages, agriculture, commerce, and engineering.

A National Museum for Peking.—Under the Manchu régime valuable collections of porcelain, paintings, jewellery, and other treasures were kept in the Imperial Palaces of Mukden, Jehol, and Peking. With the exception of the Mukden collection, a portion of which could generally be seen on application to the office of the Manchurian Viceroy, these collections were seldom or never accessible to the public, foreign or Chinese. Only on very rare occasions were any of the valuable collection of dynastic portraits at Mukden displayed to view.

At various times since the dethronement of the Manchus there has been serious danger of the whole or a portion of the Imperial collections passing into the hands of Western curio dealers. The Imperial Family appears to have regarded the sale of these treasures as a legitimate method of replenishing its treasury, and dishonest custodians were not averse from disposing of articles the absence of which would not attract attention. There is little doubt that in Mukden, Peking, and especially in Jehol, there was systematic pilfering of the Imperial collections.

A portion of the Imperial Palace in Peking has now been reconstructed and

converted into a National Museum, in which to deposit these national treasures. The accommodation does not at present admit of the exhibition of more than a portion of the collections, amongst which the artificial flowers, etc., made out of jade and other precious stones, figure prominently. The exhibition as at present arranged is thoroughly representative of the Imperial collections, and will undoubtedly prove a great attraction to visitors to the capital.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.—The original Anglo-Japanese Alliance dates from 1905, when an Agreement was signed by Lord Lansdowne and Viscount Hayashi (August 12, 1905). The Agreement was revised in 1911, by the omission of three articles which had become superfluous, and by the addition of a new article providing that neither party should be compelled by the Alliance to go to war with a Power with whom it had a general arbitration agreement. For all practical purposes, however, the agreement of 1905 is the Agreement of to-day; the Alliance of 1905 is on precisely the same lines as the Alliance of to-day. The articles which have disappeared are those recognizing paramount Japanese interests in Corea, and promising British assistance to Japan if in her war with Russia she were assailed by any other Power. The latter was regarded, and rightly, as the essence of the original contract. It undoubtedly secured, as it was designed to secure, the localization—to use a word more common now than then—of the Russo-Japanese War. Nor was Lord Lansdowne overstating his case when he said that the British Government were “justified in believing” that the conclusion of the Agreement was not without effect in “facilitating the settlement by which the (Russo-Japanese) war was so happily brought to an end.”

HOW JAPAN STANDS.

But by 1911 all that was in the past. Japan and England, in their new Alliance, stood on a more equal footing—in the sense that neither stood to gain, directly and immediately, as Japan had gained in 1905. None the less, the Agreement was, and was intended to be, a very practical thing. Conceivably, in view of the existence of a German squadron in the Far East, based on the port of Tsing-tau, its practical aspects may shortly appear. The parts of the treaty chiefly bearing on the present situation are Section (c) of the preamble and Articles II. and V. According to the preamble the object of the Alliance, apart from the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the preservation of the integrity of China, is “the maintenance of the territorial rights” and “the defence of the special interests” of the two Powers in “Eastern Asia and India.” For this object both Powers agree—

“To communicate with one another fully and frankly.”

“To come to the assistance of their Ally if by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any Power or Powers, either High Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble.”

“To conduct the war in common,” in such circumstances, and “make peace in mutual agreement.”

“To arrange, through the naval and military authorities, the conditions under which and means by which such assistance is to be made available.”

The Alliance is for ten years, dating from July, 1911, and is then terminable on twelve months' notice. It is provided, however, that if, on the date of expiry, either Ally is actually at war, the Agreement shall continue till peace is concluded.

The Text of the Agreement is as follows :

PREAMBLE.—The Government of Great Britain and the Government of Japan, having in view the important changes which have taken place in the situation since the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of August 12, 1905, and believing that a revision of that Agreement responding to such changes would contribute to general stability and repose, have agreed upon the following stipulations to replace the Agreement above-mentioned, such stipulations having the same object as the said agreement, namely :

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India.

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by ensuring the independence and the integrity of the Chinese Empire, and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.

ARTICLE I.—It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this Agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II.—If by reasons of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any Power or Powers, either High Contracting Party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this Agreement, the other High Contracting Party will at once come to the assistance of its Ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.—The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this Agreement.

ARTICLE IV.—Should either High Contracting Party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power, it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such Contracting Party an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such treaty of Arbitration is in force.

ARTICLE V.—The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present Agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the Naval and Military Authorities of the High Contracting Parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VI.—The present Agreement shall come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years after that date.

In case neither of the High Contracting Parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the High Contracting Parties should have denounced it. But if, when the date fixed for its expiration arrives, either Ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

The Agreement was signed, for Great Britain by Sir Edward Grey ; for Japan by Mr. Takaaki Kato, the Japanese Ambassador at the Court of St. James.

From the Birmingham Daily Post.

Tsing-Tau.—Tsing-tau, the capital of Kiao-chau, was, when taken over by Germany in 1899, small and insignificant, but its possibilities were easily recognizable. Tsing-tau itself was a little fishing village on the shore of Kiao-chau Bay. But the bay itself was destined, whether under Germany or under China, to become a great commercial port and a strong naval base. Situated at the eastern end of the Shantung province, it was admirably adapted for a Power wishing to introduce her produce into one of the most densely-populated districts in China. Nature, too, had made it an admirable harbour. The bay, nearly 200 square miles in extent, had an entrance no more than two miles wide. Round this bay Germany "leased" a narrow strip which, with the islands in the bay, came to another 200 square miles. Round this, again, was a second belt about thirty miles wide consisting of "neutralized" land. In point of fact, this territory, nearly 3,000 square miles, was virtually German. Here were all the elements of a great German port.

Germany must have spent something like £20,000,000 on Tsing-tau. To the north-west was built a mole three miles long, to give additional security against the prevailing wind. Piers and jetties, waterworks and barracks, were built, and round these sprang up the adjuncts of the great port—hospitals and warehouses, schools, hotels, private houses. To-day the tiny fishing village has become a port, a naval base, a popular seaside resort. Its shores are lined with wharves, its streets are clean and carefully planned, its hills are crowded with the houses of foreigners and of the few Chinese who are allowed to inhabit the place. And with the building of the Shantung Railway, Tsing-tau began to progress as a port. When war broke out, Shanghai and Tientsin were beginning to grow anxious. The exports of the place in 1912 were valued at two and three-quarter million pounds, the imports at four millions. The population of the little fishing village had grown to over 60,000.

But it was also a place of great naval importance. Easily defensible, it was in an excellent strategic position. A strong force based there practically commands the China Sea, and overlooks three-quarters of Chinese and Japanese trade. That Germany accepted and appreciated this is obvious from the fact that all along Kiao-chau has been under the Navy Department and not the Colonial Office. Precisely what its defences were is not quite certain. The bay and the surrounding waters were mined. The nearer hills were crowned with forts reputed impregnable to sea attack, and mounting 200 Krupp guns. On land the position was scarcely as strong. Bernhardt, years ago, wanted another half-million spent on the land defences to make them impregnable. Their general character is pretty well known, and determined the nature of the Allies' operations.

Kiao-chau Bay is surrounded by two belts of hills. The one close up against the bay is fortified. Outside it is a belt of level country, sloping upwards to a second and larger range of hills twenty miles away.

Japanese Ship-building.—Professor Terano of the Imperial University of Tokyo gives in the *Glasgow Herald* of December 30, 1914, the following interesting account :

"The war in Europe has had a certain definite effect on industry so far away as Japan from the areas directly interested. As a natural consequence of the hostilities, imports from Europe have been practically suspended, and Japanese

shipbuilders are now suffering from the lack of materials. The necessity of promoting home industries in order that her shipbuilding may become perfectly self-supporting has never been felt so keenly as at present. This matter is now under careful consideration, but it is very difficult to make any predictions regarding the result. Then, again, the building of steam trawlers, which was once a very prosperous industry in Japan, has practically ceased owing to the over-production and the gradual decrease in the earnings of these vessels. But the adoption of oil motors in small fishing craft is showing steady progress, there being at present about 3,000 motor fishing vessels scattered all over Japan. The number of these is increasing with wonderful rapidity, and motor building has now become a very important industry.

As to the mercantile marine, three 12,000 ton liners—the *Suwa Maru*, the *Yasaka Maru*, and the *Fushimi Maru*—built for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha's European service—were completed during 1913, and three 7,500 ton cargo steamers, one fitted with geared turbines of 5,000 i.h.p., one a 5,500 ton passenger steamer, two cargo steamers of 3,200 tons each, built on the Isherwood system, and also a large number of coasting steamers, were launched, while there was considerable activity in the building of small craft. Of new work now on hand there are two 10,000 ton steamers, one 7,500 ton steamer, and many others on the stocks at the principal shipyards, but with very little prospects of fresh orders in the immediate future.

The year was, however, a record one in the history of Japanese shipbuilding, having superseded all its predecessors in the matter of total output. The most important and most interesting vessel launched was the battleship *Fuso*, of 30,600 tons displacement. She was floated out of the new building dock at Kure in March. She carries twelve 14-inch guns in six turrets, all arranged on the centre line, and she is the largest and most powerful battleship now afloat. There are besides three sister ships under construction—the *Yamashiro* at Yokosuka Naval Yard; the *Hiuga* at the Mitsu-Bishi Works, Nagasaki; and the *Ise* at the Kawasaki Dockyard, Kobe. All the guns are of purely Japanese design, and they are now in course of construction at the Kure Arsenal and also at Muroran Steel Foundry in Hokkaido. The engines of the vessels consist of turbines of the Brown-Curtis type, and with Japanese Navy type water-tube boilers, excepting the *Hiuga*, in which Parsons turbines are to be installed; the machinery is all being built in Japan. The materials used in the construction of the vessels are also supplied from the Imperial Steel Works at Wakamatsu.

The battle cruiser *Hiyai*, a sister ship to the Barrow-built *Kongo*, was completed last summer, and is now engaged in active service; while her other two sisters—the *Kirishima* and the *Haruna*—are undergoing speed trials. After the outbreak of the present war a supplementary Budget was passed in a special sitting of the Diet held in September for the construction of ten destroyers, each of 600 tons and 9,500 i.h.p., to be completed in about six months. The principal private firms are invited to assist in this new construction, two each having been ordered from the Mitsu-Bishi Works and from the Kawasaki Dockyard, and one each from the Osaka Iron Works and the Uraga Dock Company. The others are to be built in the Imperial Dockyards, home-made materials only being used in the construction of the hulls, engines, and equipments.

NEW MEMBERS.

Mrs. McCoy, Mr. M. Ingram, Mr. W. J. C. Laurie, Mr. Alwyn Parker, Captain H. Tryon, and Colonel Maunsell, have been elected members of the Society.

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SOME PAST AND PASSING FEATURES OF THE SITUATION IN CHINA*

BY DUNCAN H. MACKINTOSH

WHEN I received the honour of an invitation from your Council to read you a paper on matters in China, it was not until I had first been given assurances that all short-comings on my part in dealing with these matters in a manner worthy of the traditions of your learned Society would be treated leniently, that I accepted the invitation.

I was, moreover, encouraged to accept it for the following reasons :

My residence in the Far East extended over a period of thirty-one years, in the service of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank.

Of that period I had the honour of representing that bank at Tientsin from 1895 to almost the close of 1913, when I retired. This latter period (1895 to 1913) was admittedly one of the most important and one of the most eventful in the recorded history of China.

During that time I was thrown into business contact and social intercourse with very many high Chinese officials, Viceroys at Tientsin and others, two of whose names will at least be familiar to you, those of Li Hung Chang and the present and enlightened President of China, Yuan Shih-Kai. It was for these reasons, then, that I ventured to think that any remarks which I might make to you this afternoon, as coming from one recently on the spot, might perhaps be invested with some degree of interest. Great events in China during the period which I have named have crowded upon each other's heels in such rapid succession, with so many complications left in their train, that it is small wonder that the great majority of people at home have been quite unable to follow them clearly, and consequently get a somewhat confused view of what has been happening.

Blue Book after Blue Book has been published. But the mere sight of a Blue Book gives the average man a cold shudder.

In any case, owing to the mass of correspondence contained in Blue Books, it would take someone thoroughly acquainted with China to act as guide to conduct the would-be student through its labyrinths.

Having made these remarks by way of introduction, I shall now proceed with my subject.

In connection with the present war in Europe, the question

* Read January 20, 1915, Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

which seems at the present time to be uppermost in the public mind is what effect is likely to be produced on China, through the passing of the territory at Kiao Chow from the hands of Germany into the hands of our ally Japan.

The question is admittedly one of great importance.

But if the lessons of the past form a guide for the future, then the question must be examined in the light of historical facts.

In order to form any kind of judgment we must first see and understand what effects were produced in China—and there were many—when Germany seized Kiao Chow for the murder of two missionaries. We must also consider at the same time what effects were produced on those foreign Powers having relations with China whose interests at once became involved when Germany suddenly, with no previous communication with the Chinese Government, committed this act of aggression on the mainland of China, “in obedience,” as Admiral von Diederich’s proclamation of 14 November, 1897, ran, “to the commands of the Emperor of Germany.”

As in Belgium, so it was in China; this manifestation of the “Mailed Fist” was at variance with the provisions of a treaty—or should I say a “scrap of paper,” according to the most recent definition? At any rate these “scraps of paper” seem to be made of highly combustible material, from the explosions which follow their being touched.

The treaty in question was the document known as the Treaty of Tientsin, negotiated by that great statesman Lord Elgin for Great Britain, with Prince Kung and others for China, in 1858.

Up to this very day it remains the working chart for the mutual guidance of relations between the two countries. Under its wise provisions peace has been maintained between the two countries, whilst commerce, its main objective, has steadily swelled year after year to its present large dimensions. Under the most favoured nation clause in that Treaty all other nations, Germany included, independently secured equal opportunities for their commerce and industry. It represented a fair field and no favour.

Let us see what a great authority in Chinese matters—an American writer, Mr. H. B. Morse—has to say about Lord Elgin and his treaty in his book, “The International Relations of the Chinese Empire,” from which I quote: “Lord Elgin was one who could think imperially. His object was to leave behind him a situation which should conduce to peace and not to continued friction; and his treaty has been the rule governing China’s international relations during the more than half a century which has elapsed since its signature.

“The verdict of posterity has been that history has justified his assertion that, ‘I have been China’s friend in all this,’ and that in following this policy he also best served British interests.”

All German merchants in China enjoyed equal rights with all their competitors. They had lived in peace and that friendly intercourse with British and other foreigners which is one of the most pleasant features of life in China. They had neither part nor lot in this act, in which is easily recognized the hands of the German "Mailed Fist" party. Always standing behind that party, and exercising a powerful influence over its councils as a "voice behind the Throne," was the great firm of Krupps. There are very strong reasons for believing this to be true in the case of China, and that the influence of that firm in China made itself felt when that country was hesitating before taking the plunge of going to war with Japan in 1894 over the state of affairs in Corea.

What took place was this: in addition to seizing Kiao Chow, Germany made certain demands on China for the murder of the two missionaries. One was for a zone of 50 kilometres around Kiao Chow, in which Germany demanded sovereign rights for ninety-nine years. In another the Chinese Government were required to defray the cost of occupation of Kiao Chow. The last demand was that Germany be accorded preferential rights for the building of railways and working of mines in the Province of Shantung. China's protests were in vain, and she had to accede to the "Mailed Fist," if I may again borrow the then newly coined phrase of the Kaiser's about Kiao Chow.

The most favoured nation clause was thus infringed, as our Minister in Peking pointed out at the time, and the balance of power in China rudely upset.

Our Ambassadors in St. Petersburg, Paris, and Tokio, sent despatches reporting the grave views held in each of these capitals of the incidents. Of these the most prophetic, as after events proved, was that of Japan.

Sir Ernest Satow, our Ambassador there, reported: "The general opinion in Japanese official circles seems to be that a prolonged or possibly permanent occupation of Kiao Chow would imperil the peace of the Far East."

The Russian semi-official organ *Novosti*, in a significant article, made at the same time the following amongst other comments:

"If Germany is not deterred by protests on the part of the other Powers, the occupation of Kiao Chow will form a very convenient excuse to ask the Reichstag to grant a further increase of the navy. If, therefore, Germany declines to evacuate Kiao Chow, Russia on her side will have every right to occupy in retaliation some portion of Chinese territory."

In the Reichstag itself there was some sharp criticism. Herr Bebel said that from the "lawless way it was carried out it would have justified foreign governments in sending a Kruger telegram to the Emperor of China," and significantly went on to say the "noise about China is

to cover the naval vote." But the voices of the critics were the voices of those crying in the wilderness.

As to Great Britain, it must be borne in mind that our vast and preponderating interests in China are purely of a commercial nature. All that Great Britain wants, or has ever wanted, to see is a prosperous and independent China.

The history of British diplomacy is one of a strenuous and prolonged struggle for preserving the open door and the independence and the integrity of China. The ultimate expression of these efforts is to be found in the Treaty of January 30, 1902, with our ally Japan, the preamble of which says, speaking of China: "The Governments of Great Britain and Japan . . . being specially interested in maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China in securing equal opportunities in that country for the commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree . . ." Then follow the articles of the defensive and offensive alliance.

In this long struggle Great Britain had the assistance of another very powerful though invisible ally, whose forces were accumulating all the time. The name of that ally was Fair Dealing.

When the bolt from the blue descended in China, the indignation felt by the Chinese can be better imagined than described. It would be superfluous for me to enter into it, and I shall leave it at that.

Throughout the foreign communities in China grave misgivings were felt as to the consequences of this fateful step. The Chinese Government thereafter regarded with suspicion all the big foreign Powers and the railway projects put forward by their nationals.

I will take as an illustration of my meaning certain passages which appeared in a Memorial to the throne from the powerful Viceroy of Wuchang (Hankow), Chang Chih Tung, and the State Director-General of Railways in China, Sheng Hsüan-huai.

The Memorial of March, 1898, three months after the seizure of Kiao Chow, was a prayer to the Emperor for the construction of a railway-line between Hankow, in the Yangtze, to Canton, in the south, for the better protection of the country. The translation of this Memorial is to be found in the Blue Book of China, No. 1, 1899, from which I take the following:

"The powerful foreign nations stand around watching for their opportunity, and, making trivial pretexts in the conduct of international affairs, swiftly despatch their warships from one end of the Empire to the other. It is impossible to say when our communication by sea may be blocked; therefore the establishment of internal communications has become a necessity. . . . Recently Germany has unreasonably stirred up trouble, and has seized the important positions of Kiao Chow and Chimo. She has also secured the privileges of railway con-

struction in Shantung Province, thus reversing the former condition of affairs."

These final words, it will be noted, referred to the infringement by Germany of the favoured-nation clause of the Treaties.

The Memorialists went on to show their apprehensions of this line falling into the hands of powerful foreign nations, stating that in such a case, "Not only is our throat stopped by the foreigners being in possession of our ports, but our vitals are injuriously affected. Should we wish to raise and drill soldiers, make arms, or obtain funds for the necessity of the Empire, it will be impossible, and China will not only *not make progress*, but we fear we shall barely be able to maintain our independence." They went on to say that they had approached Belgium, remarking: "But Belgium is a small country, and her strength is inconsiderable, and often she has pointed out that an unfinished railroad is hardly a sufficient guarantee for a loan." "There are grave objections to allowing France, England, or Germany, to undertake the work," the Memorialists went on to say, in suggesting as an alternative the United States.

The apprehensions and fears expressed as to ulterior designs on the part of the Great Powers, I may here remark, seem to account for the fact that the Chinese Government gave the contract for the building of the Peking-Hankow line to Belgium, and that some three years ago they gave the contract for the projected great trunk line running, roughly speaking, east and west from the western confines of China to the sea, thus lying athwart the line running north and south, to the same power—Belgium. The estimated cost of the latter railway is about £10,000,000.

Early in March of the year 1898 came the news that Russia was negotiating with China for twenty-five years' lease of Port Arthur and the adjoining harbour of Taliénwan, which she subsequently obtained. She gave assurances that nothing would be done to infringe the favoured-nation clause of the Treaty of Tientsin or other existing Treaties, nor would she demand sovereign rights in the leased territories. The occupation took place on March 28, 1898.

Thereupon Great Britain negotiated for, and obtained lease of, Wei-hai-wei, which she occupied on May 24, 1898. China was accorded facilities for using the harbour for her warships so as to inconvenience her as little as possible. The object, of course, was to restore as far as possible the lost balance of power as a means towards preventing the threatened dismemberment of China.

Prince Henry of Prussia arrived in Peking in May. By command of the Kaiser he conferred the Order of the Black Eagle on the Emperor of China, not the Order of the Black Eye, which, in given circumstances, were his original instructions when he left Potsdam. This Order of

the Black Eagle is, curiously enough, now in the possession of a well-known Shanghai stockbroker.

Prince Henry in the same summer visited Kiao Chow, Port Arthur, and Wei-hai-wei, on a German warship. He observed to an Englishman that at Kiao Chow he saw thousands of coolies putting up fortifications. At Port Arthur he saw tens of thousands engaged in the same operation.

At Wei-hai-wei all that he saw taking place was two British officers laying out a cricket-pitch. "The world is yours," he is said to have added.

On June 11 of the same year, 1898, the Emperor issued the first of a remarkable series of decrees calling for reform, from which I take the following pregnant remarks :

"For a long time the condition of Imperial affairs has been the subject of discussion among the officials of the Empire, both metropolitan and provincial, with a view to "bring about necessary changes for improvement. Decrees have been frequently issued by the Emperor for a special system of examinations, for doing away with the surplus soldiery, for the alteration of military examinations, and for the institution of colleges.

"In spite of the fact that these things have so often been carefully thought out, and so many plans have been formed, there is no general consensus of opinion, and discussion is still rife as to which plans are best. There are some among the older officials *who affirm that the old ways are best* and need no alteration, and that the new plans are not required. Such babblings are vain and useless.

"The Emperor puts the question before you thus : In the present condition of Imperial affairs, with an untrained army, with limited funds, with ignorant *literati*, and with artisans untaught because they have no fit teachers, is there any difficulty in deciding, when China is compared with foreign nations, who is the strong and who is the weak ? It is easy to distinguish between the rich and the poor. How can a man armed with a wooden stick spite his foe encased in a coat of mail ?" An obvious hit at the "Mailed Fist."

"The Emperor sees that the affairs of China are in an unsettled condition, and that his various decrees have availed nothing. Diversity of opinion, each unlike another as fire differs from water, is responsible for the spread of the existing evil.

"Now, therefore, the Emperor orders all officials, metropolitan and provincial, from princes down to *literati*, to give their whole minds to a real endeavour to improvement. With perseverance, like that of the saints of old, do your utmost to discover which *foreign country* has the best system in any branch of learning, and learn that one. Your great fault is the falseness of your present knowledge. Make a special effort, and determine to learn the best of everything. Do not

merely learn the outside covers of the books of knowledge, and do not make a loud boast of your own attainments. The Emperor's wish is to change what is now useless into something useful, so that proficiency may be attained and handed on to posterity."

The reforms advocated aroused the whole force of the old conservative and reactionary party within and without the Palace and the Grand Council, and a bitter struggle ensued, in which the Emperor was finally overthrown and confined, and six of his councillors summarily beheaded. The Empress-Dowager once more took the reins of the coach with the reactionaries on board, which finally landed in the ditch of the Boxer outbreak, and siege of Tientsin and Peking.

The whole of this thrilling and pathetic story of the reform movement is so well and so vividly told in the pages of that remarkable book, "China under the Empress-Dowager," that comment by me is unnecessary. After these events came the Russo-Japanese War, which was fought on Chinese soil.

The above professes to be no more than a rough outline of some, not all, of the aftermath of disastrous events which followed in the wake of the German seizure of Kiao Chow. Kiao Chow has always been a thorn in the side of China, all the more acutely felt because of the enormous fortifications erected there, costing some millions of pounds. German culture, as applied in this way to Chinese soil, had in Chinese eyes an ugly and menacing look. Kiao Chow was a *point d'appui*, as a German Chancellor called it, or fulcrum, from which Germany could bring to bear a tremendous amount of influence on China.

With regard to the question of the change of tenancy, all that I have now got to observe is that our ally Japan stands with Great Britain for maintaining the independence and integrity of China. She has given an undertaking to restore Kiao Chow in due course to its rightful owners, the Chinese. We know that Japan respects and keeps her obligations. I venture to think that by the removal of the series of complications to which the position of Germany in China gave rise, we shall see a happier and brighter state of things in China. Internally, with the adoption of a new form of Government, will she have to work out her own salvation in her own way. All that we know is that in Yuan Shih Kai she has a very enlightened President and a very strong man, who commands the respect of all who are brought in contact with him.

With regard to the foregoing, and with regard to loans to the Chinese Government, we have heard criticisms as to matters such as Five Power Loans. If those who made such criticisms could only realize the difficult part our statesmen and Ministers have had to play with regard to China, they would have paused and considered as to the advisability of making them, I venture to think.

With regard to another subject, railway development in China, when I first went to Tientsin there were then only 175 miles of railway open. That was the line between Tientsin and Shanhai Kwau. There are now, roughly, some 6,000 miles open.

On my arrival at Tientsin, I had to ride up immediately to Peking, which is eighty miles from Tientsin—a journey which can now be made in under three hours. I rode up, as that was preferable to a jolting cart. On my return to Tientsin, still rather stiff in my joints after my ride, I met that distinguished English engineer, Mr. Kinder. As a stranger in the north, I asked him when we might expect to have a railway connecting Tientsin with Peking. He replied jokingly, "The line between Peking and Tientsin will probably be the last line to be built in China." He was referring, of course, to the exclusiveness of the capital.

But a new spirit was abroad even then, in 1895, and it was rather a matter of surprise to me that very winter to find myself almost daily engaged in negotiations with the Chinese State Railway Director, Hu Yun Mai, a dear old Chinese gentleman, afterwards appointed Governor of Peking, for a loan for the construction of the line from Tientsin to Peking, which was then begun. The advances made at the time were subsequently merged with the cost of further extensions, and paid off by the loan floated in London known as the Imperial Railways of North China Loan of 1899 for £2,300,000. The line which forms part of the security for this loan is a very important one, because it leads to the Chinese Capital, Peking. With a view to preserving the integrity of China, it was essential to see that under no pretext should it be wrested from or hypothecated to any Power, and that its control should not pass out of Chinese hands. The journey to Peking can now be made in under three hours.

One must visit China to realize fully how much railways are needed there, and how materially those constructed have added to the prosperity of the country. I will take the trade of Tientsin as being a typical example. Shipments of wool form one of the main staples of export trade in Tientsin. It is taken off the sheeps' backs in the Province of Kansuh, which borders on Thibet. That wool used to take four to six months on its journey (a little less now with railway development) to Tientsin, borne by water on the Yellow River to a point where the river takes its bend to the south, then by caravans of camels to Tungchow, then again by river to Tientsin, thence to America or Europe by steamer.

If we consider the cost of handling at each stage and the cost of carriage, and add the interest on the money from the time that it left the sheeps' backs until it reached the consumers' hands, say six to eight months, you can safely say that it is only in China where such a trade could exist in open competition with wool from more favoured

countries, because there is no such trade in the wide world to compare with this particular trade in the time occupied in its transit.

I have travelled over the following railway systems: Tientsin-Puchow (Puchow is on the Yangtsze), Peking-Hankow, Peking-Kalgan, Tientsin-Moukden, Moukden-Dalny, Port Arthur, Moukden-Harbin, Shanghai-Nanking Railways. Wherever one goes one sees striking evidence of what railways are doing in the carriage of both freight and passengers in that fertile, highly industrious, and thickly populated country.

Throughout all their trouble, the recent rebellion included, the Chinese motto seems to be "Business as usual." Their ingenuity in overcoming difficulties is simply marvellous, and year by year their trade expands. Owing to the present war their trade has suffered to some extent. The total collections of Chinese revenues has fallen, according to a recent Reuter's telegram, from Tls. 43,969,000 at 31 December, 1913, to Tls. 38,907,000 at 31 December, 1914. This, expressed in sterling, amounts to a fall of some £600,000. The southern ports were the principal sufferers. That busy centre, Shanghai, actually registered an increase in the Customs Revenue.

When, to go no further, we remember that the *Emden* and her consorts were at large for some months of the war, threatening merchandise, exports, and imports on the water, this falling off was inevitable. For the purposes of trade it is preferable to have your goods on land than at the bottom of the sea.

It is satisfactory to note that the salt revenue, which forms the security for the Quintuple or Five Power Reorganization Loan of 1913 for £25,000,000, actually exceeded the Maritime Customs Revenue, after deduction of all expenses net revenue—\$57,833,756, nearly treble what loan service requires. This result is due to Sir Richard Dane's successful administration. He had at the outset enormous difficulties with vested interests to contend with. His ability and tact overcame these obstacles. Incidentally he has raised Chinese credit in a most remarkable way.

With regard to Chinese loans, it is satisfactory to note that China has punctually met all her engagements to December 31, as my late colleague in the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Sir Charles Addis, courteously informs me. There is one most important reform with which China has to deal: that is the reform of her currency.

We all know the importance which countries attach to their currency. Evidence of this is found in the fact that in every coin in our pockets we find the image of a past, or present, or reigning sovereign on it. Currency has been called the great circulator and distributor of merchandise. Adam Smith compared it to "the road along which commerce travels." If the road is bad, then commerce will meet with difficulties, and sometimes insurmountable obstacles. A great political

economist said: "A bad currency is a national evil of the first magnitude."

It seems paradoxical, but nevertheless true, that such a practical people as the Chinese have neglected this question. There is no State control over the mints, or silver smelting shops as they are called in China. These are instead semi-private establishments. For the purposes of trade the circulating medium is in ingots of silver, which are not only of different weight, but of different fineness. The number of well-known taels or weights in China is 170. There should, of course, be only one. Just imagine what would happen if we had 170 different kinds of sovereigns or shillings in this country! How should we get on with business?

In two treaties of comparatively recent times China has undertaken to reform her currency. But she has had her hands full lately, and we must not be impatient. The national wealth of a country lies in the industry of her people—that is an axiom. China is one of the most industrious nations in the world. Those who live there have the daily evidence of that truth before their eyes. Her resources, with a population of some 400,000,000, are accordingly great, which I venture to think will become more and more apparent as railway development proceeds. With regard to British interests in China, we have a faithful custodian in that devoted servant of the Crown, Sir John Jordan, in whom the whole British communities in China have the most implicit confidence.

Mr. J. W. JAMIESON, C.M.G., asked whether the whole of the salt revenue had been brought under Sir Richard Dane's control. At one time there were four or five principal centres of manufacture, but at least one-third of the whole production was in Szechuen. He had not yet ascertained whether the factories there had been brought under control.

Mr. MACKINTOSH said he was afraid he did not know. From what Sir Richard Dane told him soon after his appointment, he understood that his policy was to push his way step by step, gradually acquiring the necessary control in the face of the most intense opposition. As to how far he had succeeded in completely covering the ground he did not know.

Sir LOUIS DANE, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, said: I do not pretend to be an authority on China, though I think at the early age of two I nearly left my bones there. So much has been said about my brother, Sir Richard Dane, that I am sure his ears must be tingling at all the praise bestowed upon him. When he writes to me he says little of his achievements, for he is one of the most modest men who ever lived. He was staying with me in April, 1913, in the Punjab, and one day I received a telegram from the Chinese Minister

in London asking if I knew where he was, and if he was prepared to go to China to reorganize the salt administration. As some of you may know, my brother is a keen shikari, and with an expenditure of a considerable amount of money and trouble he had arranged for a very extensive shooting tour from the Cape to Cairo. He was not in the least disposed to give up this alluring prospect for the administration of salt revenue in China. However, I had a strenuous argument with him, and pointed out that he really knew something about salt, which very few people do, and that if he did not go to China some one of the numerous contending nationals there would take over the administration of the salt gabelle, which would be a serious loss to British prestige. So, very reluctantly, he consented to go. The reason why he was selected is that for about fourteen years he had been intimately concerned in India with the administration of salt revenue, first as Commissioner of Northern India Salt Revenue, and afterwards as Inspector-General of Salt and Excise. During that period the Chinese Government sent over two officials to India to sit at his feet and learn how salt should be administered. Also he was rather intimately connected with Lord Brassey's Opium Commission. It might have been supposed that the Chinese Government would not have wished a gentleman who had been connected so closely with that inquiry to take high office, but apparently what they knew of him predisposed them in his favour.

I have great difficulty in extracting from my brother what he is doing and how he is getting on officially, and I generally get my information in this respect from the *Times*. But he did write to me not long since on his return from short leave in England, and went so far as to say that, after a great deal of trouble, he really believed that he had convinced the Chinamen that they had a great asset in the salt revenue, and that they were now co-operating most heartily with him in all his schemes. At first neither they nor anybody else thought that he would make anything out of the salt gabelle; and I remember reading in the *Times* and other papers articles showing that it was a wild-goose chase to send anyone to China to deal with that matter. He has turned his long previous experience in India to account; and his office system is very much the same, though not yet so efficient, while generally he has been working on the lines on which the Salt Department is worked in India, though, as in India, local peculiarities and necessities are carefully considered. He has personally inspected all the salt sources, except those in Yunan and Szechuen, and I believe that at the present moment he is in Szechuen. The Chinese Government began by regarding him as a very troublesome but very valuable person—very much as an entomologist regards a strange bug he has caught under his glass, which he does not dare to let loose, and yet does not know what to do with it there; and he had to be very insistent in

doing battle for salt as a source of revenue for the Central Government. You will be interested to hear that in the past year, after providing for the whole expenditure of the department for eighteen months in advance, he has had the pleasure of handing to the Chinese Government a net sum of £4,000,000, an amount which neither he nor they ever expected to be realized. I feel it due to the meeting to give this information, though I am perfectly certain I shall get into trouble with my brother for explaining how he went to China and what he is doing there.

Mr. MACKINTOSH said that, when he was speaking of Sir Richard Dane, he had not the slightest idea that any relative of his was present, far less that his distinguished brother was there.

Mr. E. R. P. MOON said the reference to British prestige by Sir Louis Dane and a remark made in the paper led him to put a question. They had been told of the great effect on Chinese public opinion of the occupation by Germany of Kiao Chow, which constituted a breach of international agreement. It was suggested that they were perturbed and alienated by the fact that a footing was being obtained on Chinese soil by a European Power. It was nearly seventy-five years since the island of Hong Kong was taken and occupied by us, and perhaps any hostile sentiment which that act might have engendered had long since passed away. But perhaps Mr. Mackintosh would tell them his view of the future of China generally in respect to her relations with Great Britain. He asked the question because not long since the *Times* gave a long extract from some Peking paper in which the native writer expressed himself in strong opposition to English influence.

Mr. MACKINTOSH said he remembered reading the article in the *Times*, and the effect on his mind at the time was one of surprise that a paper which had given such valuable support to the cause of Chinese progress should publish such an article, which seemed to him inspired by someone having an interest in Kiao Chow. If our interests in China stood on such a foundation as that, our position there would be indeed precarious. The value of good relations with Britain, alike from a trading and political point of view, was recognized by the Chinese Government and people. As to the Chinese Press, it was notorious that for a little consideration you might get any article published you cared to pay for; so he attached little importance to the extract. He noticed that the *Times* was careful to indicate that the communication came not from their own representative in Peking, but from "A Correspondent." They had lately heard that the paper quoted—the *Peking Daily News*—had been acquired by the Germans, so he did not think they need trouble about it.

In answer to Mr. Moon's question, he pointed out that the Germans made speedy use of their position at Kiao Chow. They had secured preferential rights for building railways in Shantung, and they at once formed a railway company, which built a line tapping the important

market centres in Shantung. It brought down great and growing trade to Kiao Chow. Wherever a railway was put in China, they found it carrying in a very short time a large amount of freight. It was quite true that China was well supplied with waterways, but, especially in the north, they had not got navigable canals, and therefore the railways would play a most important part in the development of China. He remembered that at one period, when it was discovered that beans could be made into soap, almost at once there came through the Manchurian lines beans to the value of £2,000,000. Three years ago the price of linseed went up very high owing to scarcity. The trade had been unknown in Tientsin, but it suddenly sprang into existence, and crops for the production of linseed were grown for the first time near Peking. When they looked at these facts they saw how quickly trade responded to railway facilities, and could better understand the promptitude with which Germany turned her footing on the mainland to account.

Sir WALTER HILLIER said that he had been informed by the Chinese Minister that the translation in the *Times* from the Peking paper to which reference had been made was extremely bad, and did not correctly represent the sentiments of the writer. The Chinese Minister promised to send him a copy of the original text, but he had not received it yet, as it had somehow been mislaid.

The CHAIRMAN: We have passed a very pleasant hour listening to the paper, and we have gained a great deal of useful information regarding China. I was not aware myself that when Germany seized Kiao Chow she was acting in contravention of treaty rights; but I think that in any case her high-handed action was likely to breed considerable suspicion in the minds of the Chinese regarding the probable action of other European nations.

My own knowledge of the Chinese has been principally gained from observation of the merchants of that race I have met in Burma and elsewhere. We all know that the Chinese merchants have a great reputation for honesty, and also I noticed in Burma that they have great business capacity. Many of them make very large fortunes, and it always seemed to me very extraordinary that the Chinese had not been able to acquire for themselves a better Government, seeing how very capable they are in other countries. What we have heard to-day respecting the administration of the Salt Department by Sir Richard Dane, shows what can be done by efficient administration in China. I hope the Republican Government will go still further, and employ more Europeans—I won't say Englishmen, but Englishmen for preference—in other departments of administration, thus carrying what has been a very successful experiment still further.

Of course the first essential for China is good government and strong government. I should say that the first thing for Yuan Shih Kai and

his counsellors to do is to get a well-disciplined and well-organized army, and everything else can follow. It is quite evident the resources of China are so very large that its rulers can easily, with good administration, find sufficient money to meet the expense of a more efficient government than they have at present. I am sure that I voice your feelings when I convey to Mr. Mackintosh our hearty thanks for his excellent paper, based as it is on very long and intimate acquaintance with the country.

Mr. MACKINTOSH briefly expressed his thanks, and the proceedings closed.

THE NEAR EAST AND THE WAR*

BY H. CHARLES WOODS

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, on taking the chair, expressed regret that the president, Sir Mortimer Durand, could not be with them, as he was very indisposed, and was down in Cornwall recuperating. Their energetic hon. secretary, Mr. Penton, was also absent; but was most usefully engaged in supplying boots for the Army, and as boots were consumed, he understood, at the rate of a pair to each man every three weeks, they might take it that his hands were pretty full. The lecturer did not need any introduction to their Society, of which he was a member. For the last nine or ten years he had paid almost annual visits to the Near Eastern countries he would describe. They had all seen his articles in the newspapers, and he had written books on the Balkans. Although there were so many parts of the world claiming attention at the present time, the Near East must not be forgotten, for it was of special importance in connexion with the war.

Throughout the last decade, and more especially since the re-establishment of the Turkish Constitution in the year 1908, the political situation in the Near East must have been deeply engaging the attention of the Governments of all the Great European Powers. Indeed, that situation and the problems connected with this ever danger zone of Europe were, as we now know, the immediate cause of the present awful European conflagration. Under these circumstances, although my subject is, I fear, somewhat outside the scope of those which are usually discussed here, my object is to endeavour to interest you in some of the things which have come to my notice during my travels in the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor, and to explain in a few words the part which the peoples of the various countries are playing or may play in the present great war.

As this article covers a very wide area of country, and as it is impossible to avoid a certain number of statistics, I have divided my remarks into three different sections:

1. A description of the countries of the Near East.
2. A very brief outline of the results of the two Balkan cam-

* Read February 17, 1915, Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.

paigns, showing how these results were the immediate cause of the present war.

3. A very short account of the part which has been played in the war by Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey, and of the attitudes which may possibly be adopted by Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania.

Let me begin with Serbia. The kingdom, which was almost doubled in size as a result of the two Balkan wars, now has an area of nearly 34,000 square miles, and a population of rather more than four and a half million souls. Belgrade, the capital, is built largely on the sides of a hill, at the apex of a triangle, two sides of which are formed by the Rivers Danube and Save. Such is the position that, upon the outbreak of war, it was absolutely necessary for our little ally to move her seat of Government to Nish, or to some other place of security in the interior of the country.

After Belgrade, Nish, the temporary capital, is the largest town in Old Serbia—that is, in the area which was Serbian before the recent Balkan wars. Made up of a combination of modern Serbian houses and of old Turkish hovels, the present metropolis is situated on both banks of the River Nishava. From a military point of view, the town lends itself to defence, for it is practically surrounded by detached hills, backed by higher mountains, so situated that it is impossible for an enemy to advance up the river valley or to hold that city until these hills have been captured.

The kingdom of Montenegro, which was also more or less doubled in size as a result of the two recent wars, now has an area of about 5,600 square miles, and a population of about 516,000 souls. Cetinje, the capital, would in any other country be little more than a village. Its population only numbers about 4,000. Although the country possesses two Houses of Assembly, the rule of King Nicholas is for all practical purposes absolute. In the past, in his own words, His Majesty has been the ruler and father of his people.

With regard to Albania, at the present moment it is very difficult to give any definite facts, for the frontiers have never been accurately defined or traced. If the country continues to exist on the basis originally intended by the so-called European Concert, then its area will be approximately 10,700 square miles, and its population should be about 800,000 souls. Owing to the breaking up of the European Commission of Control, it has now no proper Government. Order, where order exists, is therefore being maintained by the local chiefs. Durazzo is accepted by some as the capital, but Scutari is by far the most important city. On the other hand, Valona and its fine harbour, now occupied by Italy, is the town and district of which we may well hear the most during the next few months or years.

Turning to Greece, I do not propose to give any historical or geographical facts. Sufficient is it to say that as a result of the

Balkan wars the country, including the islands allotted to it by the Great Powers, has been more or less doubled in size, and that it has now an area of about 43,000 square miles. Its population is about five million souls. During the last four years, largely owing to the energy of the late King and of M. Venizelos, the army and navy have been completely reformed, and the whole governmental system of the country has been regenerated.

Bulgaria—the country which made the greatest sacrifices in, but derived the smallest benefits from, the two Balkan wars—has now an area of about 43,000 square miles, and a population of about 4,750,000 souls. Since the liberation of the Principality in 1878, the prosperity of the State has gradually increased. Whilst in the year 1887 there were no railways in Bulgaria proper, the country now possesses some 1,384 miles of line, besides nearly 240 under construction. Again, in the year 1887, soon after the fusion of the Bulgarian and East Roumelian armies, the combined strength of the two forces did not exceed 100,000 men. The capital—at the time of the Liberation little more than a collection of mud huts—is now a prosperous modern city.

Turning to Turkey, and with regard to the past, sufficient is it to say that, as a result of the Balkan wars, the European dominions of the Sultan were reduced in size from an area of over 65,000 square miles to an area of somewhat under 11,000 square miles, and from a population of over six millions to a population of under two million souls. Excluding the only nominally subject territories—Egypt and the Islands of Cyprus and Samos, and any districts now occupied by Russia—Turkey in Asia still has an area of nearly 700,000 square miles, and a population of over nineteen million souls.

Rumania, with an area of over 53,000 square miles, and a population of over seven and a half million souls, is the largest country in the Balkan Peninsula. Moreover, partly owing to its geographical position—for the most part upon the north of the Danube, and so to speak wedged in between the Austrian Empire and Russia—Rumania forms a sort of link between East and West. In addition, largely owing to the fact that practically no sacrifices were made at the time of the Balkan wars, the late King of Rumania was able during the second war to make his influence felt as a factor of paramount importance. This influence, which has been well maintained, is still of the greatest consequence, not only in the Balkan Peninsula, but in Europe as a whole.

I must now approach the second, and from my point of view the most difficult, part of my lecture—namely, that section which deals with the results of the two Balkan wars—results which I have already said were the immediate, if not the real, cause of the present European conflagration. In a word, as these wars brought about no satisfactory

settlement of many of the most important Balkan questions, and as they left the former Allies divided amongst themselves, the real source of danger, after as before the two campaigns, lay in the ever increasing rivalry between Russia and Austria-Hungary, each possessed of their Balkan protégés, or of those whom they hoped might become their protégés.

From a more local point of view, the so-called settlement of the year 1913 was so unsatisfactory that it rendered probable the more or less immediate outbreak of the present war. Serbia, although practically doubled in size, was still without that outlet to the sea for which she had really gone to war. Bulgaria, deprived of the legitimate fruits of an original and all-important victory, naturally continued to remain on the most strained terms with Serbia as a result of the terms of the Treaties of Bucharest and of Constantinople. The Ægean Islands Question—nominally settled by the Great Powers last spring—laid the seeds of a continuing enmity between Turkey and Greece.

Early last year it was claimed by some, and by those among whom the wish must have been father to the thought, that the formation of the then so-called New Balkan Alliance, made up of Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Rumania, was as favourable, if not more favourable, to the cause of the Triple Entente than would have been the continued existence of the original League, formed of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro. Others, and amongst them the Austrians and the Germans, were not slow to realize that, however friendly to Serbia her new Allies might be, with the exception of Montenegro, these so-called Allies were not likely immediately to engage in a war in which they had no direct interest. In a word, whilst the policy of the Germanic Powers certainly suffered a great set-back by the defeat of Turkey, Count Berchtold was undoubtedly entitled to claim a temporary diplomatic success as the result of the destruction of the original Balkan League.

The events of the last few months have proved that this is only too true. Indeed, after the second Balkan War, had the rightful claims of Bulgaria been received and treated by her former Allies with greater moderation, and had it therefore been possible to arrange a federation of, or at least a friendly understanding between, the Balkan States, Austria would certainly never have dared to attack or to threaten Serbia. In a word, the dastardly murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Consort at Serajevo in July last might have taken place; but even then, if the great war had had to come, it would have broken out upon some other issue.

The future alone will prove what further disastrous events will result from the fatal termination of the second Balkan War; and from the fact that, in and during the earlier stages of the present campaign, no adequate measures appear to have been taken to secure for Bulgaria

concessions which would render absolutely certain her attitude, should that attitude be tested by the infringement of her neutrality by Turkey, or should her Government be forced into a highly critical position by events which may yet take place in other parts of the Balkan Peninsula.

With regard to the actual events of the war itself, time absolutely forbids my doing more than giving the very briefest outline of the nature of the operations which have taken place in the different Near Eastern theatres of war, and indicating in a few words the various conditions and considerations which govern the policies of the Balkan countries, which up to the present time have maintained their neutrality.

Let me begin with Serbia and Montenegro. The Austrians directed their first attack upon Serbia, against Belgrade, because this appeared to be the easiest place, and also against the northern and western frontiers of Serbia—frontiers protected by the Rivers Danube, Save, and Drin. The attack across the Danube never seriously developed, and Belgrade was not then taken. The Austrians, however, having entered Serbia in the north-western corner of that country, were eventually defeated between Shabatz and Loznitza, in an engagement known as the Battle of Jadar, which took place about the middle of August. Partly as an indirect result of this Serbian victory, and partly as a consequence of the situation in Galicia, the Austrian armies were then driven back or withdrew into Bosnia and Herzegovina. Subsequently the forces of Serbia and Montenegro united in these provinces, the army of the former country occupying Vishegrad, and the forces of the two countries ultimately advancing to the immediate neighbourhood of Serajevo.

Later on, and during the first half of September, a second invasion of Serbia took place. This time the Austrians, who had by then brought up reinforcements, delivered their attack across the River Drin. The left or northern flank of this force was first defeated, the right subsequently being driven back in every district save one during very hard fighting, which occurred between September 7 and 15.

The position during the ensuing two months was practically one of stale mate, neither side seriously advancing or retiring across the Austro-Serbian frontier. But in November, and after the entry of Turkey into the war, the Austrians came on in great force and shelled the Serbians out of their trenches, compelling them to retire from their frontier and from Valievo, and to remove their headquarters from that town to Kraguivatz. They then took up positions running along a range of hills which extend in a more or less southerly direction from Belgrade.

Subsequently it became advisable for the Serbians to evacuate Belgrade, which was occupied by the enemy on December 2, and to concentrate upon a shorter line. This done, and on the arrival of the gallant old Serbian King, a counter-attack was ordered, and carried out

so successfully that the Austrian centre was pierced, and the right or southern flank was completely routed. At first the Austrian left or north flank was only successfully frustrated in its endeavours to drive home its attacks against the Serbian right. But this section of the enemy's line, which had advanced fatally and slowly, soon suffered the fate of the right, and the Austrian rout became general about December 10. Our gallant little Ally, who never loses a moment in turning a success into a complete victory, pursued the enemy; and as the distances in Serbia are comparatively short, she regained possession of Belgrade after a desperate battle on December 14.

Montenegro in the meantime has engaged the forces of Austria along and more or less near the common frontiers of those countries. She has also bombarded, from the Lovchen Mountain, the forts of the famous Austrian stronghold and naval base at Cattaro.

The great importance of the whole of these operations is that the Serbians and Montenegrins, who during the last two years have fought two wars, have gallantly contained and occupied a very considerable Austrian force, which would otherwise have been utilized against Russia, or perhaps even against France. Serbia having lost at least 50,000 men, and Montenegro having lost about 10,500 men, in casualties during the previous wars, have now respectively put into the field approximately 300,000 and, say, 25,000 men. For this, and for the gallant way in which they have fought for and defended the interests of the Triple Entente, these countries and their peoples deserve the gratitude, and they have the gratitude, of England, of France, and of Russia.

Passing over Albania—a State which has played, and which cannot well play, any serious diplomatic or active part in the war—we come to Greece. The interests of this country have been, and particularly now are, on the side of the Allies. Whether Greece maintains her neutrality or throws in her lot against Turkey, at the same time, mobilizing a field army of, say, 250,000 men will largely depend upon the general trend of events in the Near Eastern theatres of war, and especially upon the policies which are ultimately adopted by Rumania and by Bulgaria.

Turning to Bulgaria—a country the attitude and possible rôle of which is of all preponderating importance—the position is extremely critical. The key of the whole situation lies in the fact that the Government cannot actually join or throw in its lot with any side or countries which do not at least promise compensation for the shameful way in which Bulgaria was treated before and at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest in July, 1913. Moreover, so long as her future is not adequately secured and safeguarded, Bulgaria cannot afford to take up arms against Turkey, because her only accesses to the sea are by way of her Black Sea ports—now rendered

useless owing to the closing of the Dardanelles—and to the Ægean through Dédéagatch, the railway to which port runs for some miles through Ottoman territory, between Adrianople and the sea.

Judging from all the news which has come to hand, and from my personal knowledge of the sentiments of the people, I do not think that the Bulgarians are desirous of throwing in their lot against Russia and England. The great question now is whether Serbia, Greece, and Rumania, and especially the first two countries, will prove themselves willing to restore to Bulgaria areas of Macedonia which by right of the nationality of the people which inhabit them, and by the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty concluded before the first Balkan War, should be hers, and whether the Allies will promise to her districts of now Ottoman territory which they actually agreed should be allotted to her during the negotiations of 1913. If so, then Bulgaria may put into the field some 300,000 men or more upon the side of the Triple Entente and of Serbia. If not, she will naturally either maintain her neutrality to the end, or use these forces against her local or other enemies in any way which may seem advisable to her when the time arrives.

With regard to Rumania, the interests of that country are what might be called semi-Balkan and semi-international. As far as the first of these is concerned, the most important is that nothing should take place in the Balkans which would in any way threaten the general interests of Rumania, or so strengthen the position of her Balkan neighbours as to affect those interests. In a word, this is the real reason why, at the time of the first Balkan War, Rumania claimed and obtained territorial compensation from Bulgaria; and it is also the cause which made her intervene on the side of Serbia and of Greece against Bulgaria at the time of the second Balkan campaign.

At the present moment, seeing that Serbia and probably Greece will undoubtedly be increased in size as the result of the present war, Rumania is coming to recognize, or has already recognized, that the Treaty of Bucharest has become a dead letter, and that Bulgaria should and must receive compensation either for the maintenance of her neutrality, or for joining in the war on the side of the Triple Entente. This means that Rumania is using, and will use, her influence to endeavour to get Serbia and Greece to satisfy Bulgaria, in order that she (Rumania) may be certain of a free hand to operate elsewhere when the proper moment arrives. As far as it is possible to judge, too, Rumania seems inclined to prove the *bona fides* of her attitude by handing back, under certain circumstances, at least part of the territory to the south of the Dobrudja which she acquired from Bulgaria during and as a result of the Balkan Wars.

From an international point of view, the foreign policy of Rumania is bound up with the fact that there are domiciled near, but outside

her frontiers and in Austria-Hungary, nearly four million Rumanians, and that about 800,000 people belonging to the same race have their homes in Bessarabia, part of which district was annexed by Russia after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. As far as the present moment is concerned, therefore, the real key to the whole situation lies in the fact that since the outbreak of the present war the policy of Rumania has naturally been directed in order that, by some means or other, she may ultimately secure possession of one or other of these districts.

For many years there is no doubt that Rumania, and especially her late King, have been pro-Austrian. Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that some thirty years ago the country joined Germany in a defensive alliance. This alliance, the terms of which have never been published, is believed to have bound Rumania to come to the assistance of Germany and Austria should those Powers be attacked by Russia. But as Germany and Austria were the aggressors in this war, there exists no obligation to compel Rumania to join in against Russia, or even to maintain her neutrality should she consider it to be in her interests to side with the Allies. In short, her position is exactly the same as that of Italy in regard to the former Triple Alliance, and if she takes part in this war at all, it is most likely that she will do so for and not against Great Britain and her Allies.

If we except this as the true basis of the present situation, the only outstanding question is whether Rumania will maintain her neutrality, and if not, how and when she will join in the war on the side of Russia, France, and England. Whilst she herself is the best judge as to her own policy, the reasons for haste would seem to be that Rumania must move before Russia has completely overrun Transylvania or any other part of Hungary. To do otherwise would perhaps make her entry into the war so late as to result in her action not really being welcomed by Russia, and consequently in Rumania not receiving those rewards to which she considers herself entitled.

The great importance of any action on the part of Rumania would be that were her army to cross the Hungarian frontier, it would, so to speak, form a uniting link between those of Russia and Serbia, and thus secure what may be called their inner flanks from an attack on the part of the Austro-German forces. The Rumanian Army is, too, not only powerful, but it is fresh. Moreover, as the country is situated in immediate proximity to those which have been at war during the last three years, there is no doubt that much has been done to improve and to perfect the training of its military forces. At the present moment, were she to enter the theatre of hostilities, Rumania could place in the field a force of at least 400,000 men. Her army, in which, of course, service is compulsory, is well organized, well clothed, and well equipped.

We now come to Turkey. From the moment of the outbreak of the war, it ought to have been obvious to everyone who had studied the recent trend of events in the Ottoman dominions that Turkey would seize the first opportunity of throwing in her lot with Germany. The reason of this was not that the people really disliked England and France, but that a certain section was undoubtedly anxious to use the occasion to attack Russia, and that at the beginning of the war the Turks seemed to think that to side with Germany would enable them to inflict some damage upon Greece, from whom they were anxious to regain the Ægean Islands of Chios, Mitylene, and Lemnos.

Thus, throughout the first three months of the war it was markedly apparent that the Germans would spare no pains to drag Turkey into hostilities. The legitimate confiscation by England of the two Turkish Dreadnoughts was skilfully utilized to inflame public opinion against us. The Capitulations, which governed the special position of Europeans domiciled in Turkey, were abolished. The British instructors in the Turkish Navy were summarily dismissed. Ottoman intrigue became rife from end to end of Albania, and Turkey was persuaded to mobilize—a measure which she was not in a financial position to undertake, and a measure which could only have been directed against the Allies.

But the all-important feature and the real turning-point in the whole situation was the arrival at Constantinople of the *Goeben* and of the *Breslau*. The so-called purchase of these vessels placed the Turks in a position which naturally justified them in thinking that they were a match for any naval force which they were likely to meet in the Black Sea. From then, and until the outbreak of war, the entire attention of the German Representative at Constantinople, and of the Turkish Government, was directed towards the rapid conveyance of German men and war material to the shores of the Bosphorus. As a matter of fact, shortly after Turkey entered the war arena, there were at least 12,000 Germans and Austrians in the Ottoman Dominions. This vast army of supporters and instructors was collected largely owing to the fact that men who should have returned to their own countries for military service, either remained in or went to Constantinople, it being understood that their presence there would ultimately be more valuable to the common cause than would have been their return home.

Space is too short to enable me to describe the details of the manner in which Germany actually rushed Turkey into war. Sufficient is it, therefore, to say that the Germans finally endeavoured to telegraph instructions to the Turkish Staff at Erzeroum without consulting all, or even most, of the members of the Ottoman Government, and that the outbreak of hostilities was postponed owing to the fact that the telegram was intercepted by a vigilant post-office clerk. Later the

Germans did succeed, personally I believe, without the knowledge of any member of the Cabinet except that of Enver Pasha, in launching a naval attack upon Odessa, and upon other of the Russian Black Sea ports—an attack which was the immediate cause of war.

Turning to the nature of the war itself, sufficient is it to say, partly owing to the fact that the Turkish and Greek frontiers are no longer contiguous, and partly because the Ottoman fleet cannot leave the Dardanelles, that it is practically impossible under present circumstances for Turkey in any way even to threaten the position of Greece. Consequently, so long as the present conditions prevail, her military operations, for which she mobilized an army of about 800,000 men, must of necessity be confined to four areas. The first of these is in European Turkey, and the remaining three are in or on the borders of the Asiatic Dominions of the Sultan. They are—

1. The district surrounding Constantinople, and in fact all European Turkey. Here, according to my information, the Turks have kept an army of about 310,000 men, in order to safeguard themselves from a possible attack upon Adrianople by Bulgaria, to try to protect themselves against the danger of a Russian landing on the Black Sea coast, and to endeavour to defend the forts on the European side of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. In addition, and more or less forming part of the army destined to protect the capital, there are at least 60,000 men in and around the Asiatic forts of the Bosphorus, and about the same number on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles. If these figures be approximately correct, this accounts for about 430,000 men.

2. The areas lying within and near the north-eastern frontiers of Asia Minor, in other words the districts of which have recently been the scenes of hard fighting on the borders of the Caucasus, and to a lesser extent of engagements in Persia.

As far as we know, at the beginning of the campaign, the Russians advanced into Turkey by three more or less distinct routes—namely, those which led upon Erzeroum, that running past Mount Ararat and through Bayazeid, and that leading across the Persian frontier and towards the lake and town of Van. On or about November 20 the Russians secured possession of Kupru-Keui, situated as it is about halfway between the Turkish frontier and Erzeroum. Immediately after that, acting on the usual German rule of taking the offensive at the first possible moment, the Turks began to advance from the direction of Erzeroum, and continued to do so until the Ottoman forces were defeated during the early part of January, near the borders of, but within, Russian territory. Whilst details are still lacking, we must presume, too, that the Russian columns, which had previously advanced by way of Bayazeid and out of Persia, began to retire about the same time, that is, in the latter half of the month of November.

During the last part of November, and throughout December, three Turkish corps—the 9th, 10th, and the 11th—advanced from Erzeroum in such a way that the 11th moved by the main road from Erzeroum to Sarakamish, whilst the 10th moved in a more northerly direction by way of Id. The 9th corps filled the gap and formed the connecting-link between the other two. Another and more or less independent force, which appears to have advanced from the direction of the Black Sea, and which consisted at least in part of regiments belonging to the first or Constantinople corps, moved in a south-easterly direction upon Ardahan. The idea seems to have been that the 11th corps should engage and hold the Russians in front and near Khorassan, whilst the 9th and 10th corps swept round by Id and Olti, in order to take the army of our Ally in flank at or near Sarakamish.

In a word, what actually happened was this: The Turkish force coming from the North did take Ardahan, but after an occupation lasting only a few days, it was driven out by the Russians on January 3. At the time of the final stages of this Turkish advance—that is, about Christmas—the 11th corps was firmly holding the Russians at Khorassan, whilst the 9th and 10th were pushing forward by a flank march. For days there was a terrible struggle in and around Sarakamish, but finally the action began to turn in favour of the Russians. First the 10th, or left-hand corps, was driven back, and then the 9th, which thus became practically isolated, was either entirely cut to pieces or completely captured. These events took place during the opening days of this year.

The 11th corps, which had been reinforced from Erzeroum, then vigorously took the offensive in order to lessen the difficulties and dangers of the retreat of the 10th corps, which was then being pursued by the Russians. This Turkish offensive, which appears to have been conducted with the utmost dash and bravery, seems to have necessitated a retirement and regrouping of the Russian armies. Nevertheless, according to the confident language of a long communiqué recently issued in Petrograd, the Russians, in spite of violent snowstorms, report that between January 8 and 16 they pursued and defeated the Turks in the neighbourhood of Kara Urgan, and thus completed this part of the campaign in the Caucasus.

The whole question of the importance and magnitude of the Turkish defeat is bound up with the strength of the forces which were really engaged on the respective sides, with the number of reinforcements available, and with the nature of the lines of communication by which these reinforcements can be brought up into the battle area. According to Petrograd communiqués, the Turks were numerically superior to the Russians. This is probably true, for personally I believe that the Turks despatched approximately 200,000 men to Eastern Asia Minor during the

weeks which immediately preceded and followed the outbreak of the war. If this be correct, it means that 200,000 men were available for the campaign against Russia, in addition to those quartered and mobilized locally during the period of war preparations. But with the exception of a section of the 1st Army Corps, which took part in the capture of Ardahan, the 9th, 10th, and 11th corps are the only ones which we know to have taken part in the recent fighting. As these corps always have their headquarters at Erzeroum, Erzingan, and Van, it therefore appears to me extremely likely that, so far, the great and best proportion of the Turkish troops may not really have been actively engaged with the Russians at all.

The power of resistance of the Turks now largely depends upon the fact that as by the Black Sea their lines of communication are extremely insecure, and by land extremely bad, it is difficult to see how they can feed and supply their army located in this district. When the proper moment arrives, and when the strain of the Polish campaign has become somewhat less acute, the Russians can always bring up reinforcements, which should be sufficient not only to hold but to push back the Turks in a district in which the population is for the most part far from favourable to the continuation of the rule of its present Ottoman masters.

With regard to the Turkish advance upon Tabriz and into North-Western Persia, I propose only to make a few brief remarks to-day. To do otherwise would not only involve a lengthy historical discussion, but it would also raise questions to which, as Persia has proclaimed her neutrality, it were better that no public reference were made. All that we really know is that the Russian Consul and all the Russians having withdrawn, the Turks entered Tabriz about the middle of January, and that as a result of the Battle of Sofian, at the end of last month, the enemy retired from, and the Russians re-entered, the city on January 30.

So far as I am aware, no details have ever been published as to the route followed by or the composition of the force which occupied the capital of the Azerbaijan Province of Persia, for about as short a time as did the Austrians, who held Belgrade for less than a fortnight. Judging, however, from what we do know, it appears to me probable that the Ottoman forces were for the most part composed of Kurdish irregulars, that the operations which they undertook were practically independent of those based upon Erzeroum, and that they moved into Persia from the direction of Mosul, and by a route or routes the final stages of which are situated to the east of Lake Urmi.

3. The area near the head of the Persian Gulf, concerning the position and operations in which we have heard uncommonly little since it was first announced that a military force from India had taken Fao, at the head of the Persian Gulf, on November 8. Basra

was occupied on November 21 by British naval and military contingents. Kurna was captured on December 5, thus giving us complete control of the country lying between the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates and the sea. Judging from a statement issued by the Press Bureau on January 27, it would seem that operations are still in progress in this neighbourhood, and that severe loss had then recently been inflicted on the enemy.

But the operations at the head of the Persian Gulf may well have a significance much greater than is at first apparent. They mean, that on the outbreak of the war with Turkey, this country was ready to convoy an expeditionary force from India for nearly 1,500 miles through the Persian Gulf. They mean, too, that the Arabs must realize that the Turks are impotent protectors, quite unworthy of the allegiance of a race who have nothing to gain by favouring the continuation of even their nominal control from Constantinople.

4. The area of desert territory which lies immediately to the east of the Suez Canal. Here we are presented with an example of what is practically a new feature of warfare—namely, how far it is possible for a force of considerable size—the army intended for an attack upon Egypt probably numbers at least 100,000 men—to overcome the obstacle created by the necessity of a land march across a practically waterless desert, which has an average width of about 140 miles. The only elements in favour of the Ottoman plan of campaign are that, comparatively speaking, the lines of communication between Constantinople and the Ottoman base in Southern Palestine are good, and that the Turkish Army requires far less transport than would a modern fighting machine.

As a matter of fact, the Sultan can now convoy his troops by railway almost all the way from Constantinople to the borders of Egyptian territory. A good and well-constructed line, known as the Anatolian Railway Company, runs from the shores of the Bosphorus to Konia in Asia Minor. Thence this line has been prolonged by the Baghdad Railway across the Taurus to Alexandretta, and to a point where connection has been, or is, on the point of being established with the railways of Syria, which run northwards from Damascus. There may be a gap in the line in the Taurus Mountains, but if there is, it only amounts to a distance of at most twenty miles—a distance which will no doubt be bridged at least by a temporary line in the not far distant future, and a distance which can in any case be accomplished in one day's march.

From Damascus a line known as the Hedjaz Railway has been built in a southerly direction to Medina. This line, constructed under the auspices of Abdul Hamid, actually runs more or less parallel to the Turco-Egyptian frontier. At one or more points it is distant from that frontier less than fifty miles. Moreover, judging from published state-

ments, it would seem that the Germans are leaving no stone unturned to construct a new line towards or across the frontier which will facilitate the provisioning of the Turkish Army in the desert. To make the position stronger, if the Baghdad Railway has been properly completed to the east of Adana, and if the connection is not merely maintained by way of the branch to Alexandretta, the railway, thanks to the efforts of the Germans, is nowhere along its course situated within really easy reach of the coast.

Although there is no doubt, as recent events have proved, that the enemy can bring up considerable forces to the immediate neighbourhood of the east bank of the Canal, I do not personally think that any large contingent will cross it except as prisoners. The Germans do not care how many of their protégés die from starvation and thirst or perish by the sword. Consequently, in view of all the circumstances and of the fact that the principal object of the enemy is to immobilize as large a British force as possible, it is practically certain, for the present at least, that the canal district will be threatened and re-threatened purely in order to force this country to provide and keep up an adequate garrison for its defence. The Ottoman Army, said to be commanded by Ahmed Djemal Pasha, will not therefore take Egypt, but it will endeavour to overcome an obstacle destined to defeat a far greater fighting machine than that which has been hoaxed into war by the notorious Enver Pasha.

To summarize and to recapitulate my foregoing remarks, I would say that now, as always, it is impossible to attempt to forecast the future trend of events in and connected with Turkey. Sufficient, therefore, be it to add that, in view of the fact that I have every reason to believe that there are now some 12,000 armed Germans and Austrians in Constantinople itself, it is difficult to see how the War Party can be removed from power merely by the overthrow of Enver Pasha and of his immediate followers. The Turks, as a result of a far-reaching defeat in North-Eastern Asia Minor or upon the borders of the Suez Canal, or as a consequence of the threatened arrival of the armies or the fleets of the allies at Constantinople, may revolt against their Germanic masters and sue for an unconditional peace. In the former case, the Sultan may possibly continue to enjoy some prestige in the world's field of politics. In the latter, the greatness, if not the independent existence, of the Ottoman Empire will be a thing of the past.

To-day we must, and do, recognize the Kings of Serbia and Montenegro to be the rulers of countries which have bravely and consistently shown themselves worthy to be classed as Allies by England, France, and Russia. At the termination of hostilities they will and must secure those territorial advantages for which they have fought so well and so hard. The Kings of Rumania and of Greece,

whilst still ruling over neutral peoples, are most unlikely to join hands with our enemies; and if they enter the arena of hostilities at all—I think Rumania is bound to do so—they will almost inevitably take the field on the side of the now Allied Triple Entente Powers. The Tsar of Bulgaria, whose future policy may be the least decided, will be able to play the part of a valuable Ally or of a friendly neutral to whichever side he may ultimately bestow his sympathy.

The Near Eastern question has haunted us for many a year. Two of the most wonderful, and to some the most unsatisfactory, campaigns in history have not long ago been fought. Continued unity amongst the Balkan Allies would then have meant strength to each and all of them. Again, to-day a bold policy of concession by Rumania, Serbia, and Greece to Bulgaria would be worth to them and to the Allies far more than is realized by any except those who are closely following the trend of events in this ever and still great danger zone.

The CHAIRMAN said that in the first place they would like to express their very great admiration for the wonderful work which had been done in the war by their little Ally, Serbia. When they bore in mind that it had been engaged in two wars in the last three years, and that its population was little more than half the population of London, they must recognize that it had contributed remarkably to the prosecution of the work before ourselves and our Allies.

In the only journey he had paid to the regions the lecturer had described, there were one or two things which struck him, and which must strike every traveller in those parts very forcibly. In the first place he saw that the withdrawal of the oppressive Turkish yoke brought new life to those countries, comparable to the coming of flowers in the spring. Wherever Turkish dominion went, a blight seemed to hang over the country, and as it was pressed back towards its original home in Asia, the countries it evacuated sprung once more into life. It would be remembered that the Turkish forces extended so far as twice to reach the gates of Vienna, and that for many years the Turkish Government was in possession of Hungary. Step by step they had been driven back, first from Hungary, then from Serbia, then from Bulgaria, and now they occupied only a very small portion of Europe; and the lands delivered from their thralldom were showing signs of vigorous life, ready to take their place among the society of nations.

The second point that struck the visitor to the Balkans was the greatness of the struggle which had inevitably to come between the two great racial divisions, Slav and Teuton. As the Turks were pressed back, they saw the Germans and the Austrians and Hungarians pressing forward to take their place—pressing on eastwards. At the same time they saw the tremendous forces of the Slavs pressing down

from the north. Both elements were pressing down towards the sea. He must say that what seemed the natural thing—far more natural than the progress of Teutonic forces eastwards—was the progress of the Slavs southwards. They had in these opposing forces the real cause of the present great European conflict.

The aspect of the questions dealt with by Mr. Woods, likely to be more immediate than the others, was the position of Rumania. At the present time the Russians were unfortunately being pressed before vastly increased forces of Austrians and Germans in the provinces on the extreme east of the Austrian Empire contiguous to Rumania. Within the next few weeks it would become a point of very great importance whether Rumania came into the war with the Allies, or whether she remained neutral. He understood that for some time she had been fully prepared for war, for she had been collecting vast amounts of stores and ammunition which she could now obtain from neutral countries, but which she might not be able to obtain so readily if she declared war too soon. There was a risk that the Austrian forces might forestall her and attack her first. That was one of the things we should have to watch in the immediate future.

He was glad to see with them Sir Edwin Pears, whose name they all knew, and who, after thirty years in Constantinople, was probably better acquainted with the Near East than almost anyone else in this country. (Cheers.)

Sir EDWIN PEARS said he had known Mr. Woods for many years, and, speaking with some knowledge of the Near East, he did not believe that it would be possible for anyone within the time which had been at his disposal for the lecture to give a better summary of the position than he had provided that afternoon. (Cheers.) It must not be supposed that he was prepared to endorse every opinion the lecturer had advanced; for instance, he could not fully share his confidence in the action of Rumania. Rumania was a great country, and it might be that she was sitting on the fence at the present time for good sound reasons; but for outside observers directly interested in finding out which side she was coming down upon, the problem was a little difficult. What he did agree with heart and soul was that the key to the position in the Near East was the attitude of Bulgaria. If there was one thing more unfortunate than another in the two Balkan Wars, it was the mistake made by Servia and Greece and Bulgaria in quarrelling over the results of the first war. The pity of it was inexpressible. It was that more than anything else which had weakened the hands of the Bulgarian people, and he agreed with Mr. Woods that it led indirectly to the present great European conflict. It was the duty of all interested in this question to do what was possible to effect reconciliation between those countries. He believed such reconciliation could be accomplished, and he had full

confidence in the statesmen at the head of affairs in this country, in France, and in Russia. It seemed to him impossible that they should not be doing their utmost on the lines which Mr. Woods indicated, rather than suggested. By secret treaties and blunders the spirit of the original treaty of the Balkan Confederation was violated, and Serbia and Greece entered into an arrangement behind Bulgaria's back which led inevitably to the second war. He did not say Bulgaria was not to blame. As an old lawyer he might confess that he rarely had a case in which one party was absolutely right and the other entirely wrong. Let them speak academically, and assume that Bulgaria was wrong; but do not let them forget that Bulgaria did more than any of the other States in the first war, and as a reward secured the smallest amount of territory. But whether she had received more territory or less territory than the others did not concern the immediate question he had in view—that was, the problem of uniting the Balkan States together for common action. He ventured to hope that the statesmanship of the three countries—England, France, and Russia—would apply itself to the problem, and make a proposition to Serbia on these lines: “You must give up those southern portions of Macedonia to Bulgaria, and if you do so we Powers will back you in your efforts to get down to the Ægean Sea. We recognize that you will not be content with a mere strip of territory just enough for your railway-line, and that you must have a substantial territory as far as the Ægean, in return for handing over to Bulgaria those portions to which she is entitled.”

It might be said that a further difficulty arose from the outstanding questions between Bulgaria and Rumania; but he believed that they were practically settled at the present time, and once the difficulties with Serbia were removed, they might anticipate that Bulgaria would throw in her lot with her neighbours, and that the Balkans would contribute a united quota to the great cause of the Entente Powers.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER thanked the lecturer for the very clear and lucid way in which he had put the numerous complications of the Balkan situation. Like Mr. Woods, he had strong hopes for the future of Rumania, based on personal experience from having lived there for a great many years. He hoped that the Rumanians would come, sooner or later, to the assistance of the Allies, but they naturally did not want to incur the expense and difficulties of a winter campaign in that severe climate, which corresponds to that of Southern Russia. He dared say that in the detailed lecture from which extracts had been read, Mr. Woods would show in print the great reason why Rumania should come forward—viz., that there were 3,000,000 Rumanians in Transylvania and in the Bassat, and one of the great dreams of Rumania was to bring them into the kingdom to which they belonged by race and sentiment.

Mrs. ARCHIBALD LITTLE joined in the expression of thanks for a lecture which she described as admirably clear and outspoken. She doubted whether there was anyone in the room more deeply interested in the Balkan question than she was. Her sister was working in Salonika as Sister Augusta, and since the outbreak of the war she had found it almost impossible for letters to get through to her. The only one of the arrival of which she had heard took three months to go, and was conveyed by private hands. She thought that Mr. Woods's lecture would hearten those of them who were anxious about the situation. She believed that if the Balkan States were to unitedly fall into line with the Allies, this would shorten the present terrible war by six months at least, and thus lead to the saving of a vast number of lives.

In reply to a vote of thanks tendered by the Chairman,

Mr. Woods said that the discussion raised points with which he had been unable to deal, largely owing to the impossibility of bringing into a single paper all the complicated questions arising from a survey of the Balkan situation. He thanked Sir Edwin Pears for bringing out so clearly his ideas as to the means by which a settlement between Serbia and Bulgaria might be reached. He was also grateful to Sir Henry Trotter for emphasizing a point made in his paper, though he had not had time to read it—namely, the large number of Rumanians in Transylvania. But for Sir Henry Trotter's speech many of them might have gone away thinking he had ignored this enormously important side of the question of the Rumanian attitude.*

* As this paper was written considerably earlier than, and read before, the beginning of the bombardment of the Dardanelles on Friday, February 19, it is obvious that Mr. Woods could make no direct reference to the probability of this event. That he foresaw that something of the kind was possible is, however, apparent from his summary of the situation in Turkey, printed on p. 84.

AN OVERLAND JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND

THE following is a brief account of a journey from India to England across Central Asia during the past year (1914). The time at my disposal was very limited, and the routes followed are well known. It is not to be expected, therefore, that these notes should contain anything new or very interesting.

I left a small town on the southern edge of the plains of India on the night of May 2, and reached Rawalpindi after two days in the train. Two and a half days' journey in a tonga took me to Baramulla, where the Jhelum flows out of the Vale of Kashmir. Here a houseboat awaited me, and in it I pushed on to Sopor, on the Wular Lake, where I joined Mr. W. B. Cotton, I.C.S., with whom I was to travel as far as the Chinese frontier. On the following day (May 8) we crossed the Wular Lake to Bandipur. May 9 was spent in final preparations, and we started early on May 10. It will perhaps be as well before going further to give some idea of the size and composition of our two parties. With me, besides twenty baggage coolies, were two servants, Amirullah and Hasan Batt. The former had been my Khansama for five years, and had previously accompanied me to the northern boundary of Sikkim. He was an elderly man, but volunteered for the present journey. Hasan Batt was a Kashmiri Shikari, taken by me as general outdoor servant. Kashmiris are generally abused, but he proved to be a thoroughly good and reliable servant. Cotton had seventy-eight baggage coolies, two servants, and a Shikari. Our combined parties were, therefore, over a hundred strong.

The journey from Bandipur to the Mintaka Pass via Gilgit needs little description. Our chief difficulties were in the matter of getting transport for so large a party. We had no trouble at the Tragbal Pass on May 11, but found the passage of the Burzil on May 16 a stiffer task.

The winter snow had not melted, and, in addition, it snowed for most of the previous day, and was still snowing at 2 a.m. on the morning of the 16th, when we had arranged to start. It was not until 4 a.m. that the coolies could be got to move. We reached the summit of the pass at 10 a.m., with the snow still falling so heavily that it was not possible to see more than 100 yards in any direction, and it was evening when we arrived at the Chillum Chauki rest-house. Next morning another sportsman, who crossed with us, and several coolies suffered from snow blindness.

We reached Gilgit on May 23, and spent two pleasant days there with the political officer. He has in his compound a thriving trout hatchery, from it is hoped to stock the rivers of those parts.

Four days' marching from Gilgit took us to Aliabad, where we were entertained by the assistant political officer. Seven more marches brought us to Murkushi, and the night of June 4 found us encamped where the nullahs leading to the Kilik and Mintaka Passes divide. Some of these marches are very trying for laden coolies, especially those from Passu to Khaibar, where the Bator

glacier has to be crossed, and from Khodabad to Misgar, where the parris are very steep.

At Murkushi we had to wait for a day, as the yaks from the Taghdumbash Pamir which were to meet us had not arrived. I spent the morning in going out after ibex, but saw only a herd of females near the camp. The number of ibex shot by the inhabitants of Hunza must be considerable, as they all wear ibex skin boots. The yaks arrived on the evening of the 5th. The Yakmen were Tajiks, and we examined them with interest, as they were a type new to us. On the 6th we did a short march up the Mintaka nullah and camped under the glacier.

Next day we crossed the pass, and pushed on in a snowstorm to Mintaka, where we were met by the most of the inhabitants, and entertained with tea and cakes in the khirga of the headman, Rahim Beg. We were here presented with a sheep by the servant of the Russian officer stationed at Tashkurgan, and sent a present in return. Refusing all offers of accommodation in Khirgas, we passed the night in our tents, and early next morning went on to Paik. We here met another sportsman who had been shooting in the Kukturuk nullah to the west. As soon as my loads arrived, I had them put on to fresh yaks, and sent them on towards the junction of the Taghdumbash and Masar rivers. I then parted from Cotton, who intended to shoot the Paik and Kukturuk nullahs, and afterwards to return to India via Khotan and Polu, trying for yak and ovis Hodgsoni on the way.

That evening I camped at Saik Taka, near the junction of the two rivers. The gently sloping pamir here widens out, and the view was a striking one. To the west and south were grassy valleys, with snowy peaks rising above them. To the east were the tangled mountains guarding the Yarkand River, that evening dark with storms. To the north the valley dropped down to Tashkurgan, with the dimly seen masses of Mustagh Ata beyond.

Next morning I marched twenty miles up the Masar River to Oprang, where the Khunjerab and Oprang nullahs meet. I had now with me one pony, two riding yaks, and five baggage yaks. These animals are supposed to carry 240 pounds each, but they go much better with 200 pounds. I was accompanied also by Diwana Shah, a Beg from Tashkurgan, who had been ordered by the Chinese authorities to assist me. At Oprang I was entertained with cream and bread in one of the khirgas. Here I dismissed the yaks and ponies, as I intended to spend some days in trying for ovis poli, and engaged two local shikaris, Nabi and Abdul Ali. The next seven days were gloriously fine, and I spent them in shooting the Khunjerab, Oprang, and Kava Su nullahs. The number of poli in these nullahs is very considerable, but the heads are for the most part very small. Of the three I got, the largest measured 48 inches. I saw two or three which were probably over 50 inches, but was unable to secure one. None of the five sportsmen, who had been on the Pamirs in this year up to the time of my departure, got anything bigger than 48 inches. The only other large animals I saw in these nullahs were two brown wolves. The scenery on all sides was very grand, and one view from the summit of the ridge between the Oprang and Kara Su streams was particularly striking. To the east were dark precipices, too steep to retain the snow, and to the west a wild confusion of snowy ranges. Far away to the south-east, across the Oprang Pass, was a great mountain, which must have been K. 2 or one of his near neighbours. During these seven days I was entertained in several encamp-

ments of the nomads, and received many presents of sheep, meat, cream, and bread. It was not an easy matter to find exchange gifts for everybody, and in the end I gave away some of my stores, and lived for the time on the local produce. The cream is very good, when clean, and the same remark applies to the bread. I had several visitors, among them Haji Syed Baba Shah of Tashkurgan. He is one of the leaders of the Mulai sect of Mohammedans, of whom the Aga Khan is the head, and takes the title of Hajji not by reason of a pilgrimage to Mecca, but because he has visited the Aga Khan at Bombay.

On June 14 I left Oprang, and reached Tashkurgan in three marches, putting up my tent in the compound of the Aksakal's house. The Amban, who was absent, sent me gifts of a sheep, rice, meal, and firewood, and in return I sent him a suitable present. I then called on the Russian officer, who is stationed here, with fifteen soldiers, and received calls from the Amban's munshi and a Chinese military officer. I wished to go on to Kashgar by way of the little Kara Kul and Gez, but heard that the road was closed through the rising of the rivers. It was necessary to go by Tarbashi and the Keng Kol River. On the morning of June 20 we left Tashkurgan, and did a difficult march of twenty-one miles, crossing the spur running south from Mustagh Ata by the Checheklik Pass, and camping below it. The baggage was now again on ponies, and two of them became exhausted during the ascent to the pass, and had to be unloaded. Next day we went on ten miles to Tarbashi and could go no farther, as we found no yaks ready, and the water in the river was rising fast. These valleys are full of flowers—dandelion, celandine, daisies, wild roses, white gorse, and many others, blue, pink, yellow, and white. Next morning we were away by 4.15 a.m., in order to anticipate the rising waters. The valley soon narrowed to a gorge, and the stream ran swiftly down among big boulders. In three miles we had to ford it not less than twenty-five times, and in places to march straight down it, the water being up to the yaks' shoulders. At Turbillig we changed yaks, and after marching till 7 p.m., and crossing two passes, approximately 12,000 and 10,000 feet high, we reached Tolkara on the upper waters of the Keng Kol River. The Kighirz Beg, who was named Mohammad, had everything ready for us. He was a tall, fine-looking man, and a magnificent bareback horseman. Next morning the baggage was put on two ponies, and we marched thirty miles down the Keng Kol River. At first the pasture was excellent, but farther down the valley became a bare and stony cleft. On the 24th, at midday, we reached Kach Karaul, where the valley widens out towards the desert, and permanent cultivation begins. The baggage was here put on to two camels and a donkey. These were again exchanged for ponies at Agysyar, out in the plain. I wished to camp as near to Yangi Hissar as possible that night, and it was 6.30 p.m. when the last ponies left Agysyar. Hasan Batt and I pushed on as fast as possible to overtake the leading ponies, but it became dark and we lost the road. We had nothing to guide us as the haze of the desert hid the stars, and it was not till 10.30 p.m. that we reached a village. The only people we had seen had fled when I struck a light in order to reassure them. After some trouble we knocked up an Usbeg householder, who, when he saw how matters stood, at once took us into his house, where his family of five was sleeping in a row on the veranda. His wife, not in the least put about, arose and got some bread and made tea. Having made a meal, I was brushing the crumbs away before lying down on the veranda, when Hasan Batt hastily stopped me, saying that the householder

would not like this. In the morning the latter carefully gathered up the crumbs which had fallen, and put them away. He was a very good fellow, but he held yet another superstition, as, on being asked his name, he would not tell it. It was not until the moment of parting that he whispered to Hasan Batt that it was Mohammad.

We reached Yangi Hissar early next morning, and found the rest of the party there. Hira Nand, the Indian Aksakal, a most courteous old man, entertained me at his house, and several Hindustani traders came to see me there. I exchanged calls with the Amban, who lived in a quaint dwelling. It was bazaar day in Yangi Hissar, and in the streets was a many-coloured throng. At 2 p.m. we left, and reached Yapohand at 10 p.m. For two miles the road was three feet deep in water running like a mill-stream, and the countryside was flooded. I put up in the Yapohand *serai*, which was far from clean and rather crowded. Next day we reached Kashgar at 5 p.m., after delays due to rivers being in flood. The Aksakal and a number of Indian traders met me outside the town, and conducted me to the house of the British Consul-General. Sir George and Lady Macartney had the kindness to put me up during my stay at Kashgar, and I spent three very pleasant days there. Much of the time was spent in making calls on, and receiving calls from, the Chinese officials and the Russian Consul-General, and I was also invited to dinner by the Taotai. The Russian Consul-General, Prince D. Mestchersky, very courteously helped me in regard to certain difficulties about my passport. The halt enabled Hasan Batt to wrap the ovis poli horns in felt, and pack them and the skins securely.

On the morning of June 3 I left Kashgar, having engaged ponies to go all the way to Osh. I parted here from Hasan Batt, who was to meet Cotton at Yarkand and accompany him back to Kashmir. I was sorry to part with him, as he was a most cheery and resourceful servant. In his place I engaged Maiyum, a Kanjuti, living in Kashgar.

Five days' marching, at first over a stony plain and then through low and barren sandstone hills, brought us to the Russian frontier post at Irkeshtam. On the way we met and overtook many caravans of camels, ponies, and donkeys. Those going east carried for the most part oil, cloth, and hardware, while wool was the chief article going west. At Irkeshtam a lieutenant of Cossacks was in charge of the customs house, and he had received orders from the Russian Government to pass my baggage. He gave a dinner-party that night, at which two other officers and one of their wives were present. We talked chiefly about sport, and they asked me to go to a shoot on the next day at which ovis poli were to be driven by dogs; but I could not halt. The Cossack lieutenant made up a bed for me in his dining-room. Next day, after saying good-bye, we set out for the Shart Pass in the Alai Range, the shorter route over the Terek Pass being closed by high water in the river. All day we marched over grassy hills, and, after crossing a low divide, entered the Oxus basin and camped in the Alai valley near a Kirghiz encampment. The great Trans-Alai Range closed in the view to the south throughout the march.

On July 6 we crossed the Shart Pass, 12,000 feet high, but fairly easy, and entered the basin of the Sir Darya. The Kirghiz in the Alai valley are greedy and disobliging, very different to those on the Taghdumbash Panir. On the north side of the pass stunted pine-trees were growing, the first we had seen since leaving Kashmir. Three more marches through a cultivated country, in which many Russian *monjiks* are settled, took us to Osh, where I put up in

a *serai*. Our marches after leaving Kashgar had averaged twenty-six miles. Next morning I sold my whole camp equipment, and sent on the other baggage to Andijan in a cart. After parting with Maiyun, I followed in the motor-car which plies between Osh and Andijan. It did the distance of forty miles in two hours. On the following day I left Andijan with Amirullah by the Trans-Caspian Railway, and, after a night in the train, arrived at Samarcand. In the train I had a long conversation with a Tajik merchant, who dwelt on the beauties of Samarcand and the ease with which Russia had acquired it. The way in which the Russians mix with the inhabitants of the country is very striking. The Turkomans sit at the same tables with Russian officers and ladies in railway refreshment-rooms, and talk, laugh, and smoke, without restraint. At Samarcand I spent the better part of two days in looking at the splendid remains of the time of the Mohammedan rulers and wandering through the bazaars. The latter are full of cheap and inartistic Russian products. I then went on to Bokhara, but found that a special permit from the Minister of War was necessary for entering the city gate. On the advice of an Englishman engaged in the wool trade there, I went to Kagan and interviewed the Russian Political Officer about the matter. He obligingly offered to telegraph to the Governor-General with a view to obtaining permission, but, as this would have involved delay and possibly ultimate disappointment, I preferred not to wait, and took the train for Krasnovodsk. Thence I crossed the Caspian Sea, reached Batum by the Trans-Caucasian Railway, and, after crossing the Black Sea to Odessa, took train for Berlin. From there the journey to London was easy, and I arrived on July 30. I was lucky to get through Austria, as war was declared on Servia, and the railways were closed on the day after I passed through.

I had booked a passage for Amirullah from Batum to Bombay by the Austrian Lloyd Line. He reached Trieste on August 8, and found it impossible to proceed by that line. He managed to reach Jeddah, but arrived there penniless. He was succoured by the Consul, and is taking the chance of visiting Mecca and Medina. No doubt when he returns to India his prestige will be very great.

A word may be said about Russian passports for Turkestan. Under the rules for Indian officers permission to visit that country has to be applied for through the Indian Government. If it is granted, the Indian Government provides a passport which is visaed by a Russian Consul in India. Unless care is taken that the visa is not merely a general one, but mentions Russian Turkestan specifically, the traveller will find that such a passport is useless if, as frequently happens, the local Russian authorities have not been informed that he is coming. My own visa was merely a general one, and the Russian Consul-General at Kashgar told me that it was valueless. If I had not been able to produce telegrams showing indisputably that the journey had been sanctioned by the Russian Government, it is certain that I would have been greatly delayed.

W. J. C. LAURIE.

November 8, 1914.

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14. The Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

15. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

16. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence any Member of the Council acting for him.

17. The Honorary Secretary shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be a Member of Council and of all Committees.

18. The Honorary Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. He shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the

Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. He shall be competent on his own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. He shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

19. The Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the former is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Hon. Secretary shall act in his absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

20. There shall be a Council consisting of twelve Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman but inclusive of the Honorary Officers of the Society.

21. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 23.

22. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting, a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

23. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 12 and 13—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

24. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

25. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

26. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

27. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

28. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

29. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

30. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

31. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

32. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

33. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the first Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

34. Ten Members shall form a quorum.

The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH 1, 1915

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Chairman :

1914. THE RT. HON. SIR H. MORTIMER DURAND, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-Presidents :

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.I.E.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1908. RT. HON. LORD CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer :

1914. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary :

1914. E. PENTON, ESQ.

Members of the Council :

1914. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1914. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.
1912. COLONEL PEMBERTON, R.E.
1912. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1912. SIR WALTER LAWRENCE, G.C.I.E.
1913. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1913. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1914. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ.

Secretary

1905. MISS HUGHES.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. Names in italics are those of Councillors resident in India. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

1910. Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.W.F. Province.
†Aglionby, Captain A., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W.
1912. Allen, G. B., Free Chase, Warninglid, Sussex.

B

1908. Baddeley, F. J., 34, Bruton Street, W.
1910. Bailey, Captain F. M., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1906. Bailward, Colonel A. C., R.A. (ret.), 1, Prince's Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W.
1905. Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 7, Cheyne Place, Chelsea.
1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., Artillery Mansions Hotel, S.W.
10 1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks' Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W.
1907. Benn, Major R. A., C.I.E., Political Agent, Kalat, Baluchistan.
†Bennett, T. J., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
1914. Binstead, Captain G. C., Essex Regiment, Hanover Court, Hanover Square, W.
1909. Blandy, J. E., Madeira.
1903. Bottomley, Frank, 157, Sheen Road, Richmond, Surrey.
†Bruce, Lieut.-Col. C. D., Wynters Grange, Harlow, Essex.
†Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
1912. Bury, The Viscount, Guards' Club, 70 Pall Mall, S.W.
20 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.

C

1907. Cadell, P., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
†Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1908. CHIROL, Sir Valentine, 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. Vice-President.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockdrin, Simla.

1914. Crewdson, Wilson, J.P., F.S.A., Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.
 1914. Crewdson, Captain W. T. O., R.F.A., Nowshera, India.
 †Crow, Mrs. F. A., 17, Westgate Terrace, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.
 1907. Cunningham, Sir William, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
 1907. CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, Vice-President.

D

- 30** 1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
 1908. Daukes, Captain C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay, India.
 †Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W.
 1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
 1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W.
 1906. Dobbs, H. R. C., I.C.S., Sibi, Baluchistan, India.
 1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1913. Douglas-Pennant, Captain Hon. G. H., Guards' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W.
 1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane.
40 1907. *DURAND, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 42, Montagu Square, W. Chairman.

E

- †Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.

F

1907. Fancourt, Col. St. J. F. M., C.B., Deancroft, near Stowmarket, Suffolk.
 1906. FRYER, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W.

G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S., c/o The Foreign Department, Government of India, Simla, India.
 1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
 1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W.
 1908. Gibson, Miss, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
 1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., Indian Army. Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, Malakand, N.W.F. Province, India.

H

- 50 1904. *Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
 †Hills-Johnes, General Sir James, V.C., G.C.B., Dolaucothy. Llanwrda, R.S.O., South Wales.
 *†HOLDICH, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. Vice-President.
1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
1906. Hughes, T. O., Political Agent, Panjgur via Karachi, India.

I

1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
 †Inglis, Major J. D., St. Mary's, Colchester, Essex.
1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W.

J

- *†JAMES, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham. M. of C.
 †Jardine, Mrs., 21, Pembroke Crescent, Bayswater, W.
- 60 *†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.
1908. Jennings, Col. R. H., R.E. (ret.), C.S.I., 20, Roland Gardens, S.W.

K

1907. *KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 30, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, W. M. of C.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W.
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W.

L

1904. *LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W., Vice-President.
1914. Laurie, W. J. C., I.C.S., c/o The Secretariat, Behar and Orissa, Bhagalpur, India.
1907. *LAWRENCE, Sir Walter, Bart., G.C.I.E., 22, Sloane Gardens, S.W., M. of C.
1908. *Lloyd, George, M.P., 99, Eaton Place, S.W.
1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India,
- 70 1908. Lockhart, Lady, C.I., 187, Queen's Gate, S.W.
1909. Lyall, Captain, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Kashgar, Chinese Turkestan.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C.

1903. Malcolm, Lieut.-Colonel Neill, D.S.O., Staff College, Sandhurst.
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., Sec. to Government of India, Foreign Dept., Calcutta, India.
1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.
1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1910. Miles, Lieut.-Colonel P. J., 51st Sikhs, Peshawar, India.
1903. MOON, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. M. of C.
- 80** †Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 4, Campden House Chambers, Kensington, W.

O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., Foreign Office, Calcutta, India.
1905. Oliver, D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.

P

1914. Parker, Alwyn, Foreign Office, S.W.
- †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
1907. PEMBERTON, Col., R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W., and Pyrland Hall, Taunton. M. of C.
- *†PENTON, E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. *Hon. Sec.* M. of C.
- †Perowne, J. T. Woolrych, Posbury House, Crediton, Devon.
1914. Perry-Ayscough, H. G. C., c/o The Chinese Post Office, Shanghai, China (via Siberia).
- 90** 1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, W.
- †Picot, Colonel, Indian Army (ret.), 43, Onslow Gardens, S.W.

R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
1904. *RIDGEWAY, The Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., LL.D., 10, Ormonde Gate, S.W. M. of C.
- †RONALDSHAY, THE EARL OF, M.P., 38, Grosvenor Street, W. Vice-President.
1914. Rose, Archibald, H.B.M. China Consular Service, British Legation, Peking.

S

1907. Salano, E. J., 4, Park Lane, W.
 †Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W.
1903. Showers, Major H. L., C.S.I., C.I.E., Resident at Jaipur, Rajputana, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.
- 100** 1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
1903. Stein, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W.
1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, N.W.F.P., India.
1910. Stirling, Capt. H. F. D., 59th Sind Rifles, Frontier Force, Chitral, N.W.F. Province, India.
1907. Stokes, Major C. B., 3rd Skinner's Horse, Military Attaché at Teheran, 50, Marlborough Hill, N.W.
- †Sykes, Miss Ella E., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., Elcombs, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1904. Sykes, H. R., Longnor Hall, Leebotwood, Shrewsbury.
1907. Sykes, Colonel P. Molesworth, C.I.E., C.M.G., H.B.M. Acting Consul-General, Kashgar.

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, Parkside, Corsham, Wilts.
- 110** 1903. Tayler, Miss H., 34, Kensington Court Mansions, W.
1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 123, Sinclair Road, W. Kensington, W.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1908. Tod, Lieut.-Col. J. K., Indian Army, 7th Hariana Lancers, Jacobabad, Sind, India.
1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W.
1907. TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place S.W. M. of C.
1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32, Hans Mansions, S.W.
1908. *TUCKER, A. L. P., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.
1903. Tupp, Mrs. Cotterell, Hazel Bank, The Scores, St. Andrews, N.B.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W.

W

- 120** 1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W., and Moystown House, Belmont, King's Co., Ireland.
- †Walton, Sir Joseph, M.P., Reform Club, 104, Pall Mall, S.W.
1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.

- †Whitbred, S. H., 5, Half Moon Street, W.
 1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W.

Y

- †YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal,
 Shropshire. M. of C.
 1905. Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales
 Terrace, W.
128 †YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.I.E.,
 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Vice-President.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY.

CERTIFICATE OF RECOMMENDATION.

*being desirous of becoming a Member of the CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY,
we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby recommend
to the Society as a Candidate.*

Proposer

Seconder

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OF THE
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1915

PART III.

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TURKEY, THE WAR, AND CLIMATIC INFLUENCES IN ASIA MINOR

BY SIR EDWIN PEARS

THE Chairman (Sir MORTIMER DURAND) presided at a meeting of the Society on March 17, 1915, and in asking Sir Edwin Pears to deliver his lecture, he said Sir Edwin spoke from forty-two years' experience of Turkey, and needed no introduction.

In the course of his lecture, Sir EDWIN PEARS said :

When I was invited by the Council of the Central Asian Society to read a paper before you having reference to the war now in progress, I felt my incompetence for the task. I am not a soldier ; but, in the course of my long residence in Turkey and during my many years' researches into the history of the Greek and subsequently of the Turkish Empire, I arrived at certain conclusions as to the manner in which geographical conditions had affected the history of Constantinople, and of the countries over which it ruled, which I thought were worth the consideration of men who, in thinking of the war now going on in Turkey, were not merely content with the newspaper history of our times. I should prefer to call what I have to say, "Remarks on Certain Factors which have affected the History of Asia Minor and still influence its Political Conditions."

A rough idea of its geography may be found by representing the country as an inverted dish, containing a high tableland varying from 2,500 to 10,000 feet high, and with edges sloping down to the shores of the Levant, the Black Sea, and the Ægean. The eastern portion of Asia Minor is the highest, and it is there, where a series of mountain ranges and gorges exist, that one finds the battlefield, now and during long centuries, between the Armenian and other races. Principally, in our time, the struggle is between the Armenians, the Kurds, and the Turks. When the history of the remarkable Nestorian church comes to be fully written, we shall obtain much more information about the struggles in this part of Asia Minor than we possess.

A valuable book appeared in the spring of last year by the Rev. Dr. Wigram entitled, "The Cradle of Mankind," which gives from personal experience an account of the present struggles between the Kurds, the Armenians, the Nestorians, and the Turks. The photographs and sketches reproduced in this book enable the reader to form a vivid

idea of the character of the country, and enable him to understand how isolated communities could readily be locked up and almost forgotten. Such communities still exist in remarkable isolation.

The Armenians, I fancy, have always been a healthy and prolific race. Their struggles show them to have been vigorous and courageous, and their recent history shows them, to say the least, to be in intelligence not inferior to any race in Turkey. Their courage shows best, however, in mountainous districts. Their defence of Zeitoun, in what in the Middle Ages was called Little Armenia, against the troops of Abdul Hamid, who was reputed to have determined to annihilate the community of the rock fortress, compares well with the bravest deeds of the Montenegrins. Happily their extermination was prevented by the intervention of nearly all the ambassadors in Constantinople, urged thereto by the Press of France and especially of England. But for my present purpose I want to point to them as an illustration of a vigorous people who by the character of their early homes were largely isolated and yet succeeded in holding their own in spite of dispersals of their people and of massacres when they abandoned their mountain isolation. Those who were killed on the plains to which they had descended were soon replaced by their kinsmen from the mountains. Recalling the elevation of Eastern Armenia—Erzeroum at 6,200 feet above sea level—you will realize that the cold in winter is intense. But the climate is healthy, and has produced a sturdy race in that portion of Asia Minor.

The physical conformation of the western portion has also had its effect upon the population. Asia Minor, north of the Levant, has the great range of the Taurus. At its western extremity a range runs northwards with high peaks, some of them snow-covered in July, and with deep, rugged, almost impassable, valleys. These must at all times have afforded shelter to fugitive populations. Everyone of course recalls that the British population were driven to Wales and other portions of the west of England, but our mountain districts can hardly be compared with those of the Taurus. The southern range has been for centuries an almost impassable barrier from Cilicia to the Plain of Konia, except through the Cilician Gates; but in that range, as well as in the one running northward from it, there are abundance of places well supplied with water, where small communities could live and be safe from attack. Such communities would usually be cut off more or less completely from their fellow-men.

Travellers in Asia Minor are constantly struck with the existence of such isolated communities. Curiously enough, also, it has been the habit, certainly during the last three centuries, of the conquering race to transport whole communities from one place to another. Thus, at Bardazag, about sixty miles from Constantinople, there is a town containing perhaps 20,000 inhabitants, all of whom are Armenians. Thirty

years ago I returned from my first visit to Nicæa, the "city of the Creed," with the late Hamdi Bey, whom Oxford honoured some five or six years ago by conferring on him the degree of D.C.L. We rode along the beautiful shores of Lake Ascanius, and then struck into the mountain range which separates the lake from the Gulf of Ismidt. Half-way across we reached an Armenian town of 3,000 inhabitants, and spent the night there. The leading members called upon us during the evening, but could give us no information as to where their ancestors had come from, except that it was somewhere in Armenia. The only other villages in its neighbourhood were either Greek or Turkish.

But I am not thinking of these isolated settlements, to which a parallel may be found in the Slav villages existing in Switzerland less than a century ago, but rather of communities which have become isolated by their geographical position. The isolation may be in mountain fastnesses, or even in underground dwellings, as in Cappadocia. I am looking forward with interest to the completion of the work of Mr. Dawkins, who has paid special attention to the Greek dialects spoken in Greek villages more or less isolated in Cappadocia. Such villages exist hidden away in the great mountain ranges or in underground villages. The Turkish conquerors, with their nomad habits, took possession of the plains, and the population whom they displaced either took refuge or were driven into the mountains. Round about Karamania, and in the districts bordered by the Taurus on the south, running east and west, and the extension of the range running north and south, with many high peaks, there are many Greek and other villages hidden away in the mountain valleys. I may mention two which I visited. Sillè is not many miles from Konia, and the mountain valley in which it is situated bears marks of its having long been inhabited. The hills are pierced with rock dwellings, but, with the exception of a handful of Turkish officials, all the inhabitants are Greek. I learnt from the priest that they got on well with the Turks, because the head of the largest order of Dervishes—the Mehlevi—at Konia, like his predecessors, had always been favourable to them. Every year, at the festival of the Church, the Chilibè of the Dervishes sent them a present of a barrel of oil and another of wine. A few days afterwards I had an interview with the Chilibè in Konia, who confirmed the statement of the priest, and gave the following explanation: "We are an ancient community which preceded Islam and even Christianity, and when the Seljuks came here they expelled the Christian inhabitants, who were allowed to take refuge in the hills. We objected to such expulsion, because we recognized that Christians, like ourselves, are the 'sons of God,' and my predecessors constantly sent them presents as an expression of sympathy. That expression has come into the dispatch of wine and oil, as you found."

At the distance of perhaps fifty miles farther south I visited the Valley of Ivriz, where the famous Hittite monuments exist, probably dating, according to the Hittite experts, about 900 B.C. You will remember the two great figures of the king and priest, together with the long Hittite inscription. About a mile and a half farther up the valley there is a curious duplicate of these sculptures, also hewn out of the naked rock; and there are the remains of what was possibly a Christian church, though it probably served at an earlier time as a pagan temple, dedicated to Sun-worship. The inhabitants of the valley have a type which recalls the Hittite sculptures, and, according to their neighbours some twenty miles away, professed neither Christianity nor Islam, but had certain rites which pointed to Sun-worship. Some twenty-five years ago, however, after the sculptures had been brought to the notice of Western Europeans and occasional visitors went to see them, the people attracted the attention of the Governor of Konia, who took the necessary means to inform them that they were Moslems, and compelled them to build a mosque. When we visited the place there was no attempt on the part of the women to cover their faces, and the mosque did not appear to be much used. The Jezidis, or Devil-worshippers, are another people whose existence as a community has been largely aided by the physical conditions of the country in which they live. A distinguished Roman Catholic archæologist agreed with me that it would not be impossible to find in Asia Minor the representatives of every great heresy which once had a vogue in the Christian Church. The preservation of all these isolated communities has been largely due to the physical formation of the country.

It is their existence which, among other causes, has contributed to the non-absorption by the Ottoman race of the various peoples over whom it rules. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the Turks have continued the practice mentioned of transporting communities from one part of the country to another. The latest illustration of this practice is specially unpleasant: the Turks during the last two years have driven out nearly every Greek, Bulgarian, and Armenian from Thrace. When it is remembered that this was done by a Government which five years ago promised religious equality to all races of the empire, one despairs of any moral progress in the country.

I now come, however, to what is perhaps the most important of the physical causes which have affected the history of Asia Minor and Syria. Readers of the Old Testament have often been puzzled at the numbers of the people of Palestine and its neighbourhood, and of the armies that were assembled. In a controversy which some of the oldest among us remember, Bishop Colenso, whose books on Algebra and Arithmetic were our textbooks at school, attacked the statements as to numbers in a volume which would probably now attract little atten-

tion. An attempt was made to drive him out of the Church, whereupon Bishop Wilberforce is said to have remarked: "Colenso is familiar with Genesis and Numbers, but does not believe in Exodus."

In my studies on the history of Constantinople and the Greek Empire I was struck with the accounts given by various contemporaries of the numerous hordes said to have been sent from Arabia within a century after Mahomet's death. For example, at the Siege of Constantinople in 717, no less than 380,000 men sat down before the city during five successive years and failed to take it. But at that time Moslem armies of Arabs, no doubt reinforced by new converts from Syria and the north coast of Africa, were fighting their way to the Atlantic, across into Spain, until they met their fate in 732 at the great Battle of Tours, where Charles Martel—Charles the Hammer—smashed their army, and prevented, as Gibbon observes, the possible establishment of a school of Moslem theology at Oxford. About six years ago I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Elsworth Huntington, who had been a member of the United States Commission in South Central Asia, whose scientific work is doubtless well known to many members of this Society. Those not acquainted with it have probably read Sven Hedin's book, which gives details of his discoveries, not only of Buddhist civilization, but of great climatic changes in the district which allowed manuscripts and many other remains of civilization to continue in existence up to the present time. The scientific work of the Americans in taking the various sea levels on the Caspian and elsewhere suggested to Mr. Huntington the idea of examining whether and how far similar causes had been in operation in Palestine. It was already known that the Dead Sea showed indications of a change of level in the Valley of the Jordan. I urged upon him that he should also direct his attention to the depopulation of Arabia. In his "Transformation of Palestine," a book which probably many have read, he necessarily gives his first attention to Palestine itself. His book is scientific, illuminating, and of great value, as well as being eminently readable. His researches cover a much wider field than that of Palestine, and lead to the conclusion that at various epochs within the historic period there have been alternate seasons of drought and moisture, and that the changes thus brought about had great influence on the political situation of every country between Egypt and Persia. So far as I know, a Russian explorer is the only writer to whom the idea of alternate climatic changes had suggested itself. Mr. Huntington read a paper on "Olympia" before the Royal Geographical Society, in which he explained his theory, in presence of some of our greatest experts of Greek history, most of whom regarded the theory with a proper amount of scientific scepticism. Leaving aside, however, the application of such theory to Greece, under the circumstances dealt with, candid readers will admit that for Syria and

Arabia he has made out a strong case. Many of his illustrations relate to the period before our era. With them I need not deal. But many later illustrations are given. The Mongols, for example, under Yenghis Khan, who on his death in 1227 had established his rule from the Sea of Japan to the Dnieper, appeared in overwhelming numbers from the north, drove the Arabs beyond Bagdad, and threatened to conquer all Asia Minor and Syria. No entirely satisfactory explanation of the causes which set these great masses of men in motion has been given. They were not apparently due to the ambition of military leaders; they were not the results of dynastic struggles. They appear like spontaneous movements of men set in motion by a common impulse. While not forgetting in the case of Moslem advance the influence of religious enthusiasm, few of the invaders had accepted Islam. Moreover, such influence is insufficient to account for movements which were overwhelming by reason of the numbers of the assailants. At a subsequent period—namely, the end of the fourteenth century—Tamarlane, or Timour the Tartar, made a raid under somewhat similar circumstances into Asia Minor.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the changes of climate is to be found in the existence and subsequent disappearance of roads between Egypt and the Persian Gulf. Let it be noted that during the last 3,000 years a constant political question has been the capture of trade between the East and the West. Such a question is still before us. Roughly speaking, the great traffic between Europe and India was conveyed for 2,000 years along roads. One of these ancient highways wound its way on the seashore from Egypt to Philistia and Judæa and passed eastwards, following the depression now traversed by the Haifa-Damascus Railway, and then struck southward to Joaf. Such road is now absolutely deserted. The most ancient, however, went northward to Petra, which is in the Ghor, thence to Gerassa or Jerash, passing, on the eastward side of the Jordan, through towns, many of which are uninhabited or uninhabitable. Petra, whose grandiose ruins show it to have been a flourishing town, is uninhabited. Philadelphia, Gerassa, Basra, and other places on the route, are occupied by a population not one-tenth, and in some cases not one-hundredth, as great as in the past. Gerassa, since 1883, has been occupied by a handful of Circassians. Its ruins show that it was once a flourishing and well-populated city. One of its theatres, 300 feet in diameter, would seat easily six times the population of the present town, estimated at from 1,200 to 1,500 persons. Its wealth may be judged by its ruins, a colonnaded street with almost 600 limestone columns and carved capitals, with cross streets similarly ornamented. In the time of Christ other parts of the same country were equally prosperous. Great slabs of sculpture from Mishatta, now in Berlin, may serve as another illustration. The ruins also

around the Sea of Galilee, as of Moab, exist by hundreds, and are deserted because the country is unproductive.

In reply to the question, "Why have these countries become less fertile and seen their population diminish?" Mr. Huntington produces evidence to show that all the region of North Arabia and its neighbourhood have been subject to long seasons of drought, alternating with comparatively moist periods. We are now apparently in a long dry period, and the country is less productive of food for man and beast than it once was. Misgovernment under Turkish rule is not a negligible factor; but it plays a comparatively insignificant part in presence of physical causes. Nature has largely written the story of the fluctuation of climate in this part of the world, and notably in the geological depressions, called the Ghor, of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, as far as the Gulf of Akaba. Various members of the Palestine Exploration Fund have at different times given their attention to this subject, amongst them, notably, Lord Kitchener. The Dead Sea, as you are aware, is 1,200 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. Mr. Huntington contends that its level has fluctuated greatly, and fluctuates somewhat, though very slowly, to-day. Such fluctuations are recorded in a series of old strands. Dr. Masterman, of Jerusalem, who has paid much attention to the Dead Sea, concludes that the old strands or beaches may mark old sea-levels well within historic times. Evidence shows that its level was higher during such times than now. The Book of Joshua—probably edited in its present form in the fifth or sixth century B.C.—gives the position of the northern end. M. Claremont Ganneau, one of the most competent of Biblical critics, concludes that in the time of Joshua the level was 300 feet higher than now, though Professor Huntington claims no more than 70 feet. A Russian pilgrim in 1106 stated that "the sea fled in terror at the approach of Christ to receive baptism," the basis of his story being that he recognized at once that the sea once stood at a higher level. Jericho, with its three thousand years of history, once stood on the borders of the Dead Sea, and is now between 500 and 600 feet above its level. The situation of the ruined cities around the Sea of Galilee, no longer on its shores, tell the same story and explain why Palestine has become a thirsty land.

Returning to the existence of roads across Syria to the Persian Gulf within the period of later Biblical history, there were at least five well-known roads from Egypt to Bagdad or Basra. I have already mentioned the two which went to Gerassa. King Solomon, whose reign centres round the year 1000 B.C., endeavoured to divert the trade between East and West through Palestine. The period was one of moisture, and he largely succeeded in his efforts. Solomon's reign indeed marks the culmination of Israel's prosperity. The two roads already mentioned, however, became impracticable after a few

centuries for want of water. In the time of Christ only the two most northerly ones were used. The most northerly one, which passed through Palmyra, is the most interesting for my purpose. It was the "Tadmor of the Wilderness" of the Bible. It was situated 120 miles from Damascus, in an oasis of the Syrian Desert. Three centuries before Christ the route through it to the Persian Gulf had already become a favourite one, and had attracted the attention of the Roman authorities. All will remember its famous Arab Queen, Zenobia, by whom Syria, Arabia, and Egypt were brought under her rule. In 272 the Queen, with her people, resisted Rome, and the Emperor Aurelian defeated her. The period of drought had already set in, and the city not only never recovered its prosperity, but became so far forgotten that when one of the British colonists at our factory in Aleppo visited and identified the ruins about 1650, its rediscovery was considered as an important historical event. Its superb ruins, which I regret to say I only know from photographs and descriptions, bear witness to its former wealth and civilization. Its depopulation and destruction were really completed by a period of prolonged and intense aridity in the seventh century, a century which is marked by many raids of Arabian tribes upon their neighbours on every side.

In the midst of this turmoil and of this period of drought came the message of Mahomet. The Arabs had been prosperous, but were then greatly divided in religious as in other matters. Tribe now fought with tribe for the water and pasture of their own lands. Mahomet furnished them with a common impulse, and instead of Arab devouring Arab, they turned their attention to foreign countries.

It may have occurred to some of you to ask what all this has to do with the present condition of Turkey. I will endeavour to explain. I repeat that the trade between East and West has always been an important political factor. The country now called Turkey has always been largely indebted to such traffic. The Romans, before the time of Christ, had recognized the importance of this traffic, and therefore, when the ancient roads disappeared, set themselves to making others in places where there was less liability of complete failure of water. The great Justinian, whom all lawyers know as the codifier of Roman law—meaning thereby the law of the New Rome—was still more famous in his time and for long afterwards as the builder, especially of bridges and roads. After the lapse of upwards of thirteen centuries the outlines of his roads are still traceable and some of his bridges are still used. I may mention, notably, one which is near the Lake of Sabanja. At a distance it resembles Waterloo Bridge, being probably about the same length, and its roadway is on a level—that is, not rising to the centre. At one end is a *tête du pont*, facing the roadway on the bridge at right angles, and as well adapted for use as when Justinian erected it. Possibly the fact that for a long period

the river has ceased to flow beneath it has had something to do with its preservation. Texier states that there was an inscription on it which he attributed to Justinian; but as when I visited it it was raining very heavily, I have to take the inscription on trust. The successors of Justinian down to the twelfth century paid great attention to roads and bridges, and Constantinople in consequence prospered, for the capital had succeeded largely in diverting the traffic between the Persian Gulf to Europe through to the Bosphorus. The inroads of the Turks and other nomadic people made communication between the towns difficult, greatly impoverished the country, and led to the non-use of the roads, which for all practical purposes disappeared. Let it be said to the credit of the now discredited Young Turkish Party that it largely occupied itself with various useful schemes for the construction of roads. But everyone now recognizes that in addition to ordinary carriage roads railways are necessary. It would be useless here to attempt to mention the various projects, mostly due to English engineers, for constructing a great Trunk Railway, either from a Syrian port or from Constantinople itself, to the Persian Gulf. In 1874 and 1875 the Turkish Government built a railway from Haidar Pasha, opposite Constantinople, to Ismidt. This was then taken over from the Government for its working by an Englishman and an Austrian. One of the clauses of the Concession was that an extension should be granted, the idea already being to make such line the commencement of one to Bagdad. This was to serve the purpose of the great roads made by the emperors, but of course brought up to date. The Germans, however, interfered to prevent the extension being granted, and after the first visit of the present Kaiser to Turkey the Turks evicted the two concessionaires of the Haidar Pasha-Ismidt Railway and gave it over to the Germans. An action was brought before a mixed Commission, and £132,000 were awarded as compensation. Germany had thus got the head of the line. Her influence was greatly increased on the occasion of the second visit of the Kaiser, which was in 1898, and the famous Bagdad Railway Concession was granted in 1902. The railway is now built from Constantinople to the Taurus. The crossing of the range is difficult on account of the friable nature of the rocks, but the necessary works are nearly completed. Once in Cilicia, the railway joins up with the short one from Mersina to Adana, of which for twelve years I was Chairman. From Adana to the foot of the Amanus range the construction is easy, and is in part accomplished. The piercing of that range will be a more difficult task. Thence it is proposed to take it on to Aleppo, from whence it will proceed to Jerablus, a site of great archæological interest, where Mr. Hogarth, equally keen as an archæologist and observer as he is lucid as a writer, has already made a series of interesting excavations. Let it be said to the credit

of the Kaiser that when he learned that there was danger of these excavations being interfered with, he immediately promised, and I believe actually sent orders, that the plan should be changed in such a way as to prevent interference with the examination of the mounds on which Mr. Hogarth was engaged. Thence across towards Bagdad is easy enough.

The question of what political arrangements should be made in reference to the terminus of the railway on the Persian Gulf is one which it would be premature to examine. Let me mention as an interesting fact that Mr. David Forbes went in his motor-car from Aleppo to Bagdad. He found that his car need not want a better road to travel on than the desert itself, and expressed his opinion very confidently to me that if a sum that would not exceed £1,000 were spent in improving the roads leading down to and up from the rivers to the desert again, motor-cars might run regularly from Aleppo to Bagdad in four days.

The Bagdad Railway will take the place of the great historic roads that since the time of Solomon have run across Syria. It is necessary for the development of the country, and indeed every mile of railway constructed in Asia Minor and Syria is pure gain for the people. But it does not appear to me that the Bagdad Railway will be of much use to Constantinople itself. Sea traffic being always very much cheaper than land traffic, merchandise for Western Europe, when coming from the East, is much more likely to be transhipped at Alexandretta, or even at Smyrna, than that it should be brought to Constantinople.

There can be no doubt, however, that Germany attaches great importance to her interest in the construction of the Bagdad Railway. It is her most important interest in Asia Minor. Whether it remains in German hands or is internationalized, it will be, when completed, of great commercial importance to all the lands through which it passes. Beyond that, however, I do not believe that it will satisfy the dreams of some of its supporters. If commercially and by peaceful penetration Asia Minor should become Germany's place in the sun, we should have little reason to complain. But if the idea is that in the ordinary operation commerce will once more find its way between Europe and Asia across the Asia Minor and Syrian peninsula, its supporters will be disappointed. With cargo steamers running at fifteen to twenty knots an hour—and we have already arrived at that—little more time will be expended in the voyage by the Red Sea and the Canal than would be taken by trains, and the difference in freight occasioned by manutention would make that by land so much heavier that the railway would have little chance in competition.

If I may now hark back to my starting-point, I suggest that it is the physical conformation of the country which renders the construction of the Bagdad line comparatively easy. From Constantinople to

Ismidt the level is practically the same. It continues so to Ada Bazar. The ascent of the railway begins through the gorges of the River Kara Sou, beautiful perhaps as any in the Tyrol or Switzerland, and continues to Eski Scheir, or, if you like, to Kara Afium Hissar. Then comes a long stretch of plain, of about 700 miles, as far as the Taurus. The passes there and of the Amanus range I have mentioned. Then, below the ridge of my inverted dish, there are few difficulties to encounter.

I have said nothing about the other slopes to the sea of my inverted dish. One general feature is common to them. They are all, for Turkey, well-peopled, and nearly always by non-Turks. On the Black Sea you have in the east the Lazes, and at Trebizond, Samsoun, Ineboli, many Armenians and Greeks. The coast of the Ægean is and always has been very largely Greek. Smyrna even yet competes in the number of its Greek population with Athens. The fertile valleys of the rivers flowing into the Ægean, with the remains of ancient cities, Ephesus, Halicarnassus, or Bodrun, and other places, will occur to you from your recollection of Magna Græcia. The slope running down to the Levant in Cilicia recalls to me the country round the head of the Adriatic, each being formed by the detritus washed down from the mountains.

A few words must be said of Constantinople. Sir William Ramsay, in an address which he has sent me within the last few days, states that "Constantinople, beyond all imperial cities, has made history through its own natural situation and advantages. London has been made by the English people. It is not London that has made the English people. The United States has made New York and Chicago, but Constantinople itself has made an Empire." The statement is true, with certain modifications, which Sir William would at once admit. The great highway between the East and the West which, as we have seen, once went by various routes from Egypt to the Persian Gulf and to India, had become by the time of Justinian, say 555, diverted through the Bosphorus. But new land routes had been opened from Central Asia to the Black Sea, and with the increased security which the Pax Romana gave, the traffic from South Russia and from the Danubian countries largely increased its wealth. The unrivalled position of Constantinople made its growth inevitable. Villehardouin, describing it in 1204, arrives at the conclusion that its population is "ten times that of our Lord's city of Paris." So long as the roads existed, and the sea was free of pirates, the prosperity of Constantinople continued. With the coming of the Turks and other nomads the roads became unsafe, commerce decreased, and the country fell into poverty and decay. But even then, in the period between 1204 and the capture of Constantinople in 1453, there was a large trade through the Bosphorus. Readers of Colonel Yule's edition of

“Marco Polo” will be astonished to see how far-reaching was that trade. Dering’s “*Histoire de Commerce*,” with other special treatises on the subject, give remarkable statements as to the volume of such trade, and my own opinion coincides therefore with that of Sir William Ramsay that the geographical position of Constantinople made the city.

Will that advantageous position endure? Only partly. The introduction of steamships injured Constantinople as a centre for collection and distribution. Such centres no longer possess the importance of even fifty years ago. The modern tramp-steamer goes round to the various ports in the Black Sea and the Marmora and collects for herself, thereby saving the expense of manutention, which is often heavier than that of transport.

In like manner, steamships have already begun to fetch their cargoes from Batoum and other Black Sea ports, and pass through both Straits without stopping, except to obtain or produce their police permits.

In former times merchandise from Bulgaria had to be sent to Constantinople and there reshipped. Now that Bulgaria has a port—a very wretched one—on the Ægean, her exports will avoid that city.

But all deductions made, and admitting that neither she nor her former competitor, Venice, is ever likely to rival their ancient glory, nothing can prevent Constantinople, with her wonderful geographical position, from being an important commercial city. It is, as Sir William Ramsay says, largely the position which made Constantinople, not the people of the empire over which it ruled.

Sir WILLIAM M. RAMSAY said he would mention one or two examples of the general principles that Sir Edwin Pears had stated. In reference to the Bagdad Railway route, and that motor-car journey from Aleppo to Bagdad of which they had heard, he would like to tell them that three years ago, at Pera, he happened to be talking to the Jewish gentleman who represented Bagdad in the Turkish Parliament. This Deputy said he was about to return to Bagdad, and when asked what route he would take he said: “I shall go via Bombay, as that is the easiest and most comfortable, and even the shortest, route I can take.”

For the last thirty-five years—in fact, ever since he began to travel in Asia Minor—he had been greatly interested in the isolation of communities which seem to be the scattered fragments of various races. His wife and he had often noticed places in which the people had customs of their own, and they had taken note as far as they could of the influences which were most important in producing such isolation. Sir Edwin had mentioned geographical isolation rightly as the principal

cause, but there were other causes. He remembered once finding in a little village in a remote nook of the gorge of the Mæander a population of 400 or 500 people who were altogether out of communication with the rest of the world. They lived on a shelf of rock half-way down the side of the cañon, and they were evidently the remains of some ancient race. They were a small people, the men averaging from 5 feet to 5 feet 3 inches. They were extremely ugly, although good-natured looking, but extremely inhospitable, probably owing to their dread of strangers. They spoke Turkish. He was not long in the village, as they showed no inclination to value his company as highly as he valued it himself. There were a large number of such cases in different localities throughout Asia Minor. The people thus isolated were usually Mohammedans, but generally regarded as heretical, and despised accordingly. They were usually called Shiya, but sometimes there was nothing to indicate what was their special class or type of heresy. The separation produced by geographical situation forbids intermarriage; but sometimes the isolation is not geographical. One finds in a small plain three different villages within a mile of each other, but all of them absolutely isolated by custom and never intermarrying. They each have different social customs. They are all apparently Moslem, and all speak Turkish. Whether they have a private home language is uncertain, but in the central plateau only the Kurds are known to be bilingual.

Coming to the question of climatic changes, Sir William Ramsay said that there could be no doubt that the supply of water in Asia Minor was very much more abundant in the time of the Roman Empire, and there was a much larger population than at the present day. He had noticed, especially in the Plain of Iconium, many water-courses which flowed in ancient times, through which little or no water ran to-day, and there were many evidences of dried-up springs. Probably the chief reason for the great dryness of the soil was that there was no engineering skill applied to storing the water which did fall. Much was done in that way during the Roman period and earlier. There was a considerable amount of precipitation at certain periods of the year, but this fall often did more harm than good, owing to its suddenness and volume. It was not exactly want of water from which the country suffered, but the absence of means of storing up and subsequently using it. A great deal might be done by irrigation and storage to make Anatolia as rich and as well populated in the future as it was in the time of Roman rule. A possible reason had been suggested for the isolation of villages to which he had referred—viz., the want of a sufficient water-supply; the villagers could not allow their numbers to outgrow that supply, and therefore they rigidly kept to themselves. He personally doubted whether this cause had exercised much influence.

With reference to the Haidar Pasha-Konia Railway and the first concession to Germany, which dated from about 1888, he remembered that General Von der Goltz said to a friend at the time: "We should never have succeeded in getting possession of that railway but for the energetic support of the British Ambassador." At that time it was the idea of both political parties in this country to secure the help of the Germans against the Russians by throwing German influence athwart the line by which it was understood that Russia was seeking to approach Constantinople. He mentioned this as an example of the difficulty of foreseeing the effect of any law or any political device. That action which was entered upon deliberately by the British Empire in 1888 under the guidance of one of the best interpreters and understanders of Near Eastern matters—the late Sir William White—had come to be deeply regretted by his successors within the period of a very few years.

Sir EDWIN PEARS, in answer to questions, said he thought that Mr. Elsworth Huntington's theory as to the effect of deforestation upon the climate of Greece was carried somewhat too far. The discussion on the paper he communicated to the Royal Geographical Society showed the general impression to be that he had somewhat overstated his case. The building of the Bagdad Railway had not had the effect of bringing German colonists into Asia Minor. The very employés of the line were French and Italians, and it was evidently difficult to get Germans to fall in with colonization schemes. In reference to European Christian missions in Asia Minor, he repeated the opinion he had often uttered that, no matter by what denomination they were run, they were centres of light and civilization.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said he had been specially interested in the story of the Jewish Deputy who preferred to travel back to Bagdad from Constantinople by way of Bombay. He would like to support the view of the lecturer that the sea route must hold its own for through traffic. He remembered having a conversation many years ago with a famous Russian General, a Governor-General in Central Asia, who was trying to persuade him of the advantage of linking up the Russian and Indian railway systems. He replied: "It's no good building a railway unless it will pay; and where is the traffic to come from to make it pay?" The Russian General answered that it would certainly pay, and when asked to give details of the merchandise the line would take from India, he began by mentioning rice from Burma. He (Colonel Yate) pointed out that this would involve shipment from Rangoon to Calcutta, and then a journey right across India and Afghanistan, and another handling across the Caspian Sea before entering Southern Russia even. And so with other commodities. He showed that the raw produce of India did not require rapid transport, and the trade would inevitably take the cheapest and most

convenient route, even though the sea journey might be a little longer. The General's list of products India would take from Russia had to be similarly whittled down, and on examination nothing remained but asafetida, and, as he told the General, one train a year would be sufficient to carry that. His Russian friend then said: "Well, after all, it's not really a question of making the railway pay; it's a question of promoting friendship between the Russian and British Governments." He replied: "Then, did you build the Merv-Kushk Railway for that purpose?" They both laughed, and the General said: "No; we built the Merv-Kushk Railway to defend our interests in Constantinople and China." That was many years ago; but he was still of opinion that a through railway would not carry much of India's heavy grain and such like traffic. As to passenger traffic, he knew something of the long journey by land, for in the old days, when serving with Sir Mortimer Durand in Persia, he had gone from Persia overland through Russia to England, and he was sure the passenger to India would prefer a good P. and O. steamer to the long and exhausting, hot, dusty, and rattling railway journey which the proposed through connection would provide. He entirely supported the view of the lecturer that for traffic with England no railway route from India could possibly hold its own against the sea journey.

The CHAIRMAN said he entirely agreed with the lecturer and Colonel Yate on the question of sea traffic holding its own against the through railway traffic. He had never been able to understand how, even in the old days, when they were limited to small sailing ships for sea traffic, those ancient trade routes across the desert were so profitable.

With reference to Sir Edwin Pears' allusion to missionaries in foreign countries, he would like to tell of his own experience. Views as to religious proselytism might differ. That was another question. But undoubtedly the mission-stations had been of great value in the way of which Sir Edwin had spoken, not only in Turkey, but in various parts of the world. He would only like to say one thing: It was extremely important that the societies concerned should take great care in selecting the men they sent out to the mission-field. Quality, and not quantity, was the essential thing. He had known one or two instances in which unsuitable men had done much harm. Happily, he knew many in which the workers had done much good. When he was in Teheran the American Presbyterian missionaries there gave him the greatest possible help in every way. They were judicious, devoted, quiet people, and they managed to ingratiate themselves with the Persians to a remarkable extent. One of them, not many years ago, when travelling in Khorasan, had been welcomed by the Mohammedan priests, and even invited to deliver an address to the people assembled

in a famous mosque. That was an extraordinary proof of what could be done by a judicious missionary. He told the story in America on one occasion to a large gathering of students, 5,000 or 6,000 of them brought together from all the Universities of the United States and Canada, some of whom were contemplating going out as missionaries. As he finished, the very man of whom he was speaking walked up on the platform and had a tremendous reception. So he would say to those interested in the missionary cause that they needed to choose carefully the men they sent out.

He concluded by conveying the thanks of the Society to Sir Edwin Pears for his instructive lecture.

IMPRESSIONS OF SEVEN RIVERS LAND AND RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA

COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND presided at a meeting of the Society on April 13, 1915, when Mr. Stephen Graham gave an extemporaneous lecture on this subject.

The CHAIRMAN said that there was no need to introduce Mr. Stephen Graham, as his name during the last year or two had become familiar to them all from his articles in the newspapers and from his books on Russia. But the Society was particularly glad to welcome him, because he had taken the trouble, not only to travel very extensively over Russia, including Russian Central Asia, but he had also lived the life of the people, and had entered into their thoughts and feelings.

Mr. GRAHAM said: It is with great pleasure that I give you my impressions of a country through which I travelled last summer. I feel that I can only give my personal impressions, because probably many of you know a great deal more about Russian Central Asia and the Seven Rivers Land than I do. I simply made my journey through the country, and brought to the study of it my previous knowledge of Russia and my interest in the progress of Russian colonization.

It was just about this time last year when the thought occurred to me that I would cross the Caspian from Baku to Krasnovodsk, and go along the roads of Russian Central Asia, along the Russo-Chinese frontier towards Siberia, proceeding always in a north-easterly direction. I set out on April 30. The first part of the journey was through country that might be visited by any tourist. There is a very good steamer which takes you across the Caspian Sea, and on the other side a first-class train in which you may travel many hundreds of miles with complete comfort. You can travel very easily, and you may see about you all the time the characteristic sights of the East, and the wonderful variety of peoples and tribes who inhabit this district north of Persia and west of Afghanistan. It is an extraordinary change to pass from the green uplands of the Caucasus to the yellow desert of Transcaspia. You cross the sea, which is a pleasant blue sea without much storm or stress about it. When you come to the other side bare rocks surround you, and a desert with no herbage, save for the few green shoots here and there which come out of the yellow sand, and you have a strange feeling of paradox that sand should produce even these. There are a few scattered Russian houses at Krasnovodsk, and you

find the people living in them are considerably bored with their existence, and long to get back to their homes in European Russia. When you leave the boat gendarmerie have their eyes on the passengers, to check whether they are foreigners or no. If they are French or English their passports have to be taken and verified, because it is impossible to travel in the country without special permission.

From Krasnovodsk I went by train to Bokhara and Tashkent. These are wonderfully effective in preserving from the Middle Ages something of the atmosphere of the old Mahommedan world, something quite untouched by Western civilization, and quite different from the Mahommedan cities which English, American, and French tourists are wont to visit. It struck me that Bokhara was much more wonderful than Jerusalem—that is, by virtue of its Eastern life; for it seemed to me much more untouched, much more remote. There was a peace about it all, and I had the feeling that it could easily go on for another 500 or 1,000 years without being very much touched. There are very few Russian houses within the old walled city. As you know, the Russians have built their city, which they call New Bokhara, a few miles distant, and for officials who are obliged to visit the ancient city there is a Government hotel just outside the walls. It is a really wonderful walled city, with its many gates and the continual flow of traffic in and out—men on camels, and vehicles of the most various kind, muddy proletkas, women on asses, in their charchaffs and high-wheeled carts. There is an extraordinary amount of colour moving within the walls, and an extraordinary number of bazaars—as many as 50,000 they say—in the city, and all varieties of Eastern wares exhibited for sale. The city was teeming with people, and I have never seen so many races as I saw thus meeting along the northern boundaries of Persia—from Samarcand, Askabad, Merv—at Bokhara. The people impressed me as the most playful in the world—drinking their tea and selling their wares. Everything is a game to them. It was the time of roses when I was there, and everybody seemed to take pleasure in wearing the flower.

From Bokhara I went to Tashkent, an extremely interesting city which presents some features of modern Russian life. The old city is melting away, but it nevertheless contains more than three times as many people as those of the Russian city. The latter now has a population of about 60,000, and the former one of about 180,000; and yet you know that it is this rectangular modern Russian city which counts, the city which is going on into the future, and will increase. It is the old city of the Mahommedans which necessarily must decrease, which slides away into more poverty and less prosperity. And yet the old city is still a commercial centre. Traders are there from England, France, and other countries, buying and selling, buying all manner of Eastern stuffs and haggling with the Sarts, who are making

bargains all day long and drinking tea in the wretched little tea-houses of this very insanitary but still beautiful old town. On all the roofs when I was there last spring there were red poppies growing. It was wonderful to see the mosques and other great buildings covered with poppies, and also many of the houses. Many of the mosques had storks' nests on their turrets, and it was very interesting to look up at these great tall nests and to see the storks silhouetted against the sky, and to hear the clattering of the bills of their young ones. Tashkent is a great military centre. There is a large military college where boys are given the ordinary education, but alongside with it a thoroughly military grounding. They consider themselves soldiers right through their scholastic career. The chief society of the town is that of the officers, their wives and families. They all say, however, that Tashkent is horribly dull. When you say, "But it is a splendid city, with fine shops," they answer sarcastically, "Do you think it is a fine city? Do you think there are fine shops?" because their thoughts are ever turned to Moscow or Petrograd.

From Tashkent I took train to Kabul-Sai, a little station to the north, and then set out on my vagabond life along the highroad leading to the Chinese frontier. It was an interesting venture for me, as I did not know what I might expect—whether I should find hospitality or food, and whether I should find the sun too hot for me. As a matter of fact, the heat was rather more than I had expected, or cared for. I have never experienced such heat as I did on this long treeless road. It is a very interesting country nevertheless. On the maps, even on those of a very small scale, you come across a number of places with Eastern names; but in these days you see little of the distinctively Eastern villages and towns for which they once stood. Every few miles there is a Russian village with a Russian name, recalling the names of Russia in Europe. The maps of the future will have to be altered, for there are many places marked on them which are nothing but ruins, and they have been replaced by Russian villages running the whole way from the railway terminus to the frontiers of China. You are never more than twenty-five miles away from a Russian village at any point on that long road, and they are all named after villages in Russia in Europe, just as when you go to Canada or Australia you find that our settlers have called their towns and villages by the old names—London, or Newcastle, or York, or Chepstow. Every twenty miles or so on the average you come on a considerable Russian settlement. But there is this difference between the villages in Central Asia and those in Russia: The latter, especially in North-West Russia, are generally made from clearings in vast forests, and the country between one village and another is wooded. Along the great Central Asian road, on the contrary, there are no trees whatever, and when you come to a village your eye rests with delight on the little oasis of trees by

which it is surrounded. The first thing which the Russians do when they settle on a plot of land designated by the Government is to plant trees along the canals of the irrigation system, chiefly poplar-trees, and after a few years these poplars provide a certain amount of shade. It is somewhat pathetic to see the trees within the first two or three years of the making of the settlement. They are then able to afford no shade; but the children play round them with great delight, and take small branches into the houses for decoration and for amusement at home. But in the older villages (and many of them have been in existence thirty or forty years) you have a fine growth of trees giving shade to man and cattle. This helps to make the Russian village of Central Asia very much what it is at home, except that as a rule the walls of the houses are made of mud rather than of pine logs. The roof inside is much the same, and so are the appointments. These are the plain table, the few seats, the form going along the side of the wall, the ikon corner with an ikon in it, the portrait of the Czar on one wall, the oven for baking bread and for sleeping on occasion; and there is the same large number of children in single cotton garments running all over the place. But there is withal a certain air of prosperity, especially in the larger villages. You do not observe the pinch of poverty which you know to be existent in some of the villages of Central Russia, mostly those which are owned and under large landowners.

One great reason why the peasants go forth to colonize Russian Central Asia lies in the fact that conditions are so bad in Central Russia. There is plenty of land there to support twice the number of people at present maintained by agriculture, but it has not been developed, and the Imperial policy is directed rather to spreading the population over the vast territories brought under the dominion of the Czar, and to give each family an individual grant of land in a distant place, than to directly encourage intensive cultivation of the soil in the parts nearer home. The Government says it does not encourage migration to these parts, and yet it takes a great deal of care of the people on the road, and there are a great number of officials engaged in superintending the colonization. Many engineers are employed all the year round on the work of water storage and irrigation. These irrigation engineers are always at work opening up new neighbourhoods, building new villages, and sending home reports on new places for settlement, and there are a great number of buildings put up by the Government for the settlers. Much information is published in European Russia as regards the state of the land and the areas available for occupation, and the grants which Government will give to those who are thinking of taking them up. Also there are tables of rates for the carrying of all the settlers' goods to those distant places. All the time on the road I saw processions of humanity out of

Central Russia ever travelling eastwards, with the idea that somewhere out there there was a sort of El Dorado, a place where wonderful harvests are produced, where it is scarcely necessary to work at all, and where wealth flows into you while you are asleep.

Wherever they go there is a certain feeling of discontent because their dreams are not realized. Everywhere there is a certain restlessness. On the road I found many pioneers who had come from settlements farther west in Central Asia, and they were going farther east in quest of the Happy Valley. They had not got what they wanted and expected, and they had given up their earlier homesteads in further search of the elusive quest. There was a considerable amount of complaint among the Government officials as to the restlessness of the people; but the Russians have a fondness for wandering in the blood. I don't think the successive migrations should be put down to ordinary restlessness and discontent with their conditions altogether, for allowance must be made for this wandering spirit. Moreover, they are surrounded by a wandering people—the Kirghiz. The probable number of these wandering tribesmen in Russian Central Asia is at least 3,000,000. The Russian Government likes to fix to settled life the people owning its sway. The officials like a man to carry with him a passport indicating his name and station and the village to which he belongs, and to keep him settled there. But the Kirghiz are unfixed. To-day a tribesman is on one side of a mountain, and to-morrow he is on the other, and there is no particular road from the former place to get to him. There is an extraordinary official desire to fix his status, to endeavour to tie him down, to say that he must wander within a certain district only, and to give him a territorial identification. Evidently they hope to bring the Kirghiz in as Cossacks; but at present they are extremely peaceful people, though formerly hardy warriors. I suppose that nowhere in the world would you find more peaceful and simple people. I went this long journey of something like 1,800 miles on foot, and I was never attacked. I never found myself in any unpleasant predicament at the hands of these tribesmen. Mahomedan tribes as a rule are extremely warlike. They are inclined to fall upon people on the roads, especially in the Caucasus and in Turkey in Asia. They are very hospitable to the stranger; but directly your back is turned and you have left their hospitable roof they are ready to steal out and capture you and rob you. But there is nothing of that about the Kirghiz, the principal inhabitants of the country through which I passed, and nothing could be more peaceful than the conditions prevailing on the road to the Chinese frontier. You feel that the people are more Christian than the Christians. I remember at a post-house Chinese travellers came in who had come from Peking, and were on their way to a station of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The Russians do not like the Chinese, but they would

immediately efface themselves for the comfort of the new-comers. They gave up their places in the post-house, saying that they slept with the horses, and were not worthy to sleep indoors. I often saw this done, and the Russians in making way for others would wash up the dishes after them and scrub the floor of the post-house before they went away. They have quite a civic conscience, although many of them come from remote and sparsely populated places.

The Russian authorities, you will see, have no particular problem in dealing with the natives of those regions. The only problem is that of the nomadic habit of the Kirghiz. For my own part, I think they will probably do better to be at peace with the Kirghiz, and tolerate their wandering habits, instead of trying to fix them down to certain areas. Already some of the Kirghiz have passed over the frontier and have settled in Mongolia. Many Government officials out there are of opinion that the Kirghiz ought all to go into Mongolia; that they are not suited to the Russian Empire. The other half of the officials like the Kirghiz, and think them better than the settlers. These matters are a continual topic of conversation in the post-houses, on the roads, in the market-places, and in drives in carts along the roads.

I had many opportunities of conversation with all kinds of people. My first 300 miles from the railway terminus I walked the whole way; the second 300 miles I travelled in carts, sometimes in those of the settlers, sometimes in those of Government officials, and sometimes in trading carts, while on one occasion I was in a lorry filled with soldiers on their way to Vyernyi. It was a very interesting progress, farther and ever farther away from Europe. But I was struck with the fact that all the time, although there were Asiatic bands, although there were Kirghiz on every hand, there was a feeling throughout that it was Europe and not Asia in which I was travelling. Wherever the Russian goes he imports the feeling that he is claiming something more for Europe. You cannot divide the country up, and say here Europe ends and Asia begins, for wherever the Russian goes he carries his culture, his standard of life, his ideas, and his habits. The Russian lives in these remote places with his back to China, India, and Afghanistan, and with his face toward Moscow, Petrograd, or Kiev. They eagerly receive the well-known Russian newspapers, and though they may be ten days or a fortnight old, they read them as fresh news. In the depth of winter these papers may be even as much as a month old, but I think that now the war is in progress local sheets are receiving telegrams for publication. There must be such extraordinary interest in the doings of the armies that they cannot wait so many days for the latest intelligence. You have to remember that throughout Russian Central Asia the colonists are expected to consider themselves military people. It is impossible to obtain land there if you have qualms of conscience about military service. No Tolstoians or other pacificists

are allowed to settle out there, as they object to military service. It is one of the conditions of receiving land from the Government that you have no conscientious scruples about bearing arms for your Czar and country. These colonies thus help to counterbalance Siberia, which tends to be Radical and Positivist. Siberia has been the sink of the greater quantity of the revolutionary spirit of Russia for many decades, and I believe there is a feeling there of independence, and a stubborn determination to preserve liberty of conscience. It would be impossible to make such a proviso in respect to grants of land in Siberia. The Empire has in Russian Central Asia an extremely loyal and vigorous population. There are a great number of Cossacks settled there, especially in the Seven Rivers Land.

The Seven Rivers Land, I ought to explain to you, is the eastern portion of Russian Central Asia, extending right up to the frontier of China on the east and to the frontier of Siberia on the north. It is named after seven small rivers. The greatest of these is nothing like so fine a stream as the Thames. For the most part it is desert country; but it is capable of irrigation, and in the future probably will hold a great number of peasant Russians, and will produce an extraordinary amount of grain, especially in the northern portions and on the Mongolian frontier. The war will probably have the effect of something of a set-back in Russian Central Asia. Such a territory so undeveloped is necessarily in need of capital and in need of more settlers. But Russia is now necessarily looking westward and southward instead of eastward. The Imperial interest is toward Constantinople, and the ordinary Government interest is toward Poland, German Poland, and Austrian Poland. So Russian Central Asia is likely to have the cold shoulder as a result of the war. The war had the effect of withdrawing from the province on active service and for other purposes the more influential people, together with much of its most vigorous manhood, because it is a population which is predominantly military. Directly the war broke out all the roads were blocked with horses carrying back to Russia officers of all kinds, military doctors, and engineers and others, expecting to find new scope for their energies on the battlefield.

After the war it will take some time for Central Asia to come into prominence again, and its future will largely turn on the nature of the settlement in relation to Russian ideas and sentiments. There will be a centre of gravity for Russian policy. You must remember that Russia has always developed in a certain direction at a given time, always in one direction or another. A few years ago she was developing towards the Far East; before the war she was developing toward Persia, and it was possible to notice a development towards Mongolia, a great movement for the capture of Mongolian trade. Now I suppose there will necessarily be development toward Armenia and the south.

The future of Russia is a subject of profound interest, and I think, from our point of view as an Imperial nation, the Russian Empire in all its parts is worthy of study. It is necessary for us to get a clear view of this vast territory under the dominion of the Czar. There are altogether some 175,000,000 people in the Russian Empire, and I suppose that in about fifty years we may expect to see double that population. The Russians are very prolific, and the death-rate tends steadily to decrease, especially so in respect to infantile mortality. Russia is going to be an enormous white Power. Our own British Empire, of course, includes vastly more people; but in the Russian Empire already there are more white people than there are in the British Empire. That is a fact well worthy of our attention. Russia has enormous cultivable areas awaiting development in Central Asia, and when she has got her railways to them she will be in a position to add greatly to the food-supplies of the world. A most important railway project which was in progress at the beginning of the war was a line extending all the way from Tashkent to Vyernyi and to Kulja on the Chinese frontier, and from thence proceeding north through Semirychensk to Semipalatinsk, and joining the Trans-Siberian Railway at Omsk. This extraordinarily ambitious project was in course of accomplishment. The whole scheme has been passed by the Government, and contracts were being given out when the war began. The people employed on the construction are chiefly Kirghiz, and as they are not available for military service the work may go on to some extent. It is a rule of Russian conquest that a native population should be exempt from the obligation to serve for fifty years after the acquisition of the territory. That time will soon come to a close in the case of the Kirghiz; but they are exempt at present, and the contractors are able to employ them. So it is probable that all the time we are fighting here Russia is going on with a railway which will join Europe with Mongolia, and will bring Russia a great deal of Chinese produce, and give the Empire a new consciousness of power. It will begin to feel that its brain can operate on its distant limbs and move them to its will. These distant parts and the centre will be able to think together, to act together, and feel together. The railway will work out the essential idea toward which the Government have been working for so long, and its fulfilment will be extremely interesting to the world. When the war is over we shall be entering upon a new world in which these considerations will be of great importance; and I hope that in preparation for this we shall have learnt from our study of Russian Central Asia much of the future of the Russian Empire as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN: One of the objects with which this Society was originally founded was to study the progress of Russia in Central Asia.

At that time we and the Russians were rivals, and the Russians were suspected of making it their aim to come down toward India. I was for many years employed on the Indian frontier, and in the countries between India and Russian Central Asia. I frequently came across Russian officers there, and they invariably spoke of a coming day for the invasion of India. There have been great changes since those days. Our lecturer has given us an account of the feelings of the Russians and of their inner motives; and I think that as a Society we are very greatly indebted to him for giving us this information so recent and at first hand. I entirely agree with him as to the great future which lies before the Russian Empire. It is very obvious that people numbering so many millions and inspired by such high ideals as I believe the Russians are inspired by, should in the course of this present century grow to one of the mightiest people that have ever been.

I never had the pleasure of visiting Bokhara, but I have seen many Central Asian cities very much like it, including Kashgar and other towns in Eastern Turkestan, and nothing more peaceful could possibly be imagined. Like Kashgar, those cities seem to be in the same state as they were a thousand years ago, and if the Russians do not get down there we may expect that they will be in exactly the same state a thousand years hence. But one of the most interesting points in the lecture was what Mr. Graham said in regard to the restlessness of the Russians. There seems to be something of the wandering spirit inherent in their blood. I do not think that they are exactly an adventurous people in the sense that we are. I have been very much struck by the comparative absence of Russian explorers. Russians do not seem to have the same anxiety as we do to go and explore outside their own country. But apparently inside the Czar's dominions they have this restless, wandering feeling stimulated by the desire for wealth. I believe that really at the bottom of the Russian desire some years back to get into Tibet was the belief that there at last they would reach an El Dorado. A great Russian explorer always wrote of Tibet as full of gold; indeed, in conversation with the Czar, he used the exact expression of the lecturer, and spoke of Tibet as an El Dorado after returning from one of his journeys there. The Russians got it into their heads that it was a land of such wealth, that if only they could get there their fortunes would be made.

I should like to have heard a little more from Mr. Graham in regard to the Chinese and the Russians. Do the settlers from Central Russia get on well with the Chinese? I believe there is a certain amount of immigration from China into those regions of Asiatic Russia, and we know that the Chinese are more industrious and not less intelligent settlers than the Russians. I think that in future years this contact between the two types of civilization may constitute

a serious problem. The Russians will not be able to stay the influx of Chinese, which is almost certain to come upon them in their Asiatic possessions.

I have known the Kirghiz personally, having dwelt amongst them and lived in their tents like Mr. Graham. I quite agree with him as to their peaceful nature. They have not got the warlike spirit which is generally associated with Mahommedans. They are, for instance, very different from the ordinary tribes of the Indian frontier. But they are an agreeable people, and certainly a very pleasant people amongst whom to live. They wander about unceasingly, and many of them cross the frontier from Russia to China and from China into Russia. One of the problems I had to deal with when I was on a mission to the Pamirs about twenty years ago was to find out what allegiance the Kirghiz owned there. I ascertained that, as a matter of fact, they owned all kinds of allegiance. They owned it to the Chinese, the Russians, and the Afghans, and they also paid a kind of blackmail to some of our frontier tribes. So it was quite impossible to say to what country they really belonged.

Mr. E. R. P. Moon said that many years ago he crossed the Caucasus and the Caspian to travel in the regions the lecturer had described, but was forbidden to proceed beyond Vsun Ada, and had to proceed home by way of Astrakhan and the Volga; but subsequently, in 1898, he went through Siberia. He never succeeded in going between those points and finding what kind of country Russian Central Asia was. He gathered from Mr. Graham that it was mostly sand, but being transformed by colonization at widely separated village settlements into agricultural country. He presumed, however, that there had always been some kind of grass, for otherwise the three million Kirghiz of whom they had heard could not have kept their sheep and goats. No doubt their wanderings were largely dictated by the necessity for finding fresh herbage. He wished to know whether the country was of the kind they had in Queensland, so far as concerned a large supply of underground water, and whether the irrigation, which he believed Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff was employed by a former Czar to set on foot, included not only canals but also artesian wells. He believed that in Queensland the wells had to be bored to a depth of 2,500 feet or more.

In travelling along the Grand Trunk Siberian road, before the railway was completed, he was very much interested to notice the way in which the lower-class Russians walked arm-in-arm in the most friendly way with Chinese, not Buriats but pure Chinese. He remembered that his ship steward on the shilka was a Chinese, and they were used for all sorts of work. He would like to know whether similar conditions were likely to develop in Russian Central Asia. He also wished to put a question as to the Mahommedans. They all

knew Mr. Graham had interested himself in the religious aspirations of the Russian peasants. It had been recently stated that the Orthodox Church had established a very active Christian propaganda amongst the Mahomedan subjects of the Czar. He gathered that the relations between the different races in Russian Central Asia were quite friendly, and he supposed that this would lead to a mixture of races. Perhaps Mr. Graham could tell them whether, so far as that mixture had taken place, the results were favourable, or whether they were those which applied to most hybrid races, that the offspring combined the worst qualities of both races.

Dr. GASTER asked whether there was any fusion of race as between the original Russian settlers and the Chinese; and also whether the Kirghiz were not largely influenced by Buddhist thought, and thus moulded into a peaceful disposition.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said that what interested him chiefly in the lecture was the material it provided for a comparison of the present Mahomedan population of those parts *vis-à-vis* of the Moslems of British India. His own acquaintance with Central Asia was purely literary. He had read a good deal of medieval Moslem literature, and it was well known that some of the greatest classics of Mahomedan times were written by men who belonged to Central Asia. Bokhara and Samarcand were proverbial not only as seats of Mahomedan learning, but also of social and cultural systems which were somewhat different from those of other parts of the Islamic world. It would be interesting to know what the Mahomedans of Central Asia exactly thought of modern problems. In India and in Egypt Mahomedans were frequently giving their ideas to the world as to the position of their Faith, and on the various theological problems which had from time to time sharply divided its followers. There were many books published on such questions, mainly in Arabic in Egypt, and in Urdu or English in India; they heard about similar movements of thought in Persia, and also in other parts of Africa. But it seemed to him rather curious that these people of Central Asia, who at one time were famous for theological argument and for Islamic literature, were now almost entirely silent; that Mahomedan literature should get no clue to their sentiments; that the problems of the Mahomedan world at the present day should have no contributions made to them from these ancient centres of learning. In that connection he would also like to ask about the state of the great libraries which were known to exist in the old days in connection with the great Universities in Bokhara and Samarcand. Although those centres of learning seemed to have fallen on evil times, it was possible that some of those libraries, or at any rate portions of them, still existed, and the question of their condition was one of intense interest to students of Mahomedan literature. Did the Russian Government give any grants to those libraries, or take

any steps to preserve and guard ancient manuscripts there? In short, were there any records in those ancient cities which would throw light on the evolution of Islamic culture in those parts? Also, what was the position as regards modern education in these Central Asian Mahomedan communities?

Mr. GRAHAM, replying to the various questions put, said that as to pasturage it must be remembered that there was a great quantity of mountain land and moorland, as well as wide stretches of desert, in Russian Central Asia. He believed that in the desert itself there were patches of grass in the winter. But with the progress of the summer they dried up, and then the Kirghiz moved higher up to find pasturage for his flocks on the mountains. All along the road he travelled there were heights in the distance, first the Alexander Mountains, and then the great ranges of the Tian Shan. Along the desert track one had to travel far to find forest or shrub. But the lower slopes of the mountains were wonderful for their flora. The Kirghiz knew the mountains thoroughly, and moved from place to place in them in the search for pasture-land.

As regards irrigation, the soil was particularly suited for it. The sand of the desert was a sort of volcanic dust which had settled out of the atmosphere for thousands and thousands of years, and when water went through it it became extraordinarily fertile. He scarcely came across a well in the whole of Russian Central Asia. The settlers did not seem to understand the sinking of wells, and they used the water of the irrigation canals for most of their domestic purposes. They grew a considerable amount of corn on the irrigated tracts and wherever there was a stream of water. After the main canal had been dug, many small waterways were constructed, and from them the water was skilfully supplied to the field irrigation channels. The unfortunate thing about Russian Central Asia was that there were very few rivers, and hence the main supply for the canals was rather a small supply.

As regards the Chinese going into Russian Central Asia, he did not himself remark many Chinese as settlers, or even as labourers there. Nor did the Russians go much into China, and even Mongolia was extremely empty. It was said that in the Southern Siberian and Northern Mongolian territory there were vast areas of virgin soil, of black earth, sufficient to feed the whole population of the world if it were properly cultivated. It had not yet been touched, and it remained as something in reserve for meeting the future needs of the whole human race. The Chinese he met on his travels were almost exclusively men from distant places on the road to Peking, or travelling showmen or jugglers going from village to village, having their little circus, and collecting as much as £5 or £6 as the profits of an evening show.

As to efforts on the part of the Orthodox Church to proselytize the Mahommedans, he did not think there was very much going on in this way. The Russian authorities were not inclined to encourage proselytism, especially among the Mahommedan tribesmen. He thought that such a thing as a Christian Kirghiz was not to be found. On the other hand, they were not strict followers of the Prophet, for they were a very illiterate people. They were extremely incorrect in their observances of many Islamic practices, and some they did not observe at all. Very few of them could read the Koran or anything else. They must have lived their nomadic life in exactly the same way for a thousand years past, and their ideas were very limited. If anything beyond the simplest remark was made to a Kirghiz, he smiled in a blank, vacant way which made you know that the observation had not reached him. It was just as if you went out to speak to the moon, and the moon smiled at you; you would know that the moon had not cognizance of the interesting fact you tried to communicate.

Bokhara was a great place of Mahommedan culture. Its pride and preoccupation was scholarship. There were in it an enormous number of what the Russians called "bookmen"—scribes, people whose entire occupation it was to read the Koran and interpret it. There were many printing-presses in the city, and the Koran was largely printed in Sartish for the use of the Tartar tribesmen. He remembered that in the train to Bokhara there were two young Mahommedans, and for hours on end one read to the other from the Koran. The most extraordinary thing was the excitement evoked by some passages in the reading, giving one an idea it was something like Homer's "Iliad" heard for the first time. To his remarks they paid no attention whatever. They went through all the observances of their religion in the railway carriage, saying their prayers with great solemnity and seriousness. He thought there was a real and growing and unspoilt Mahommedan life in Bokhara. Tashkent, on the other hand, was a commercial city where the Mahommedans did not, as a rule, live a very religious life, where they lived like Tartars. But in Bokhara religion transcended all. Everything else was a game, something to be regarded as festive. They were settling their business and drinking their tea, and taking serious note of nothing. And as the slow, lumbering vehicles passed by, a handsome young Russian came on his bicycle over the cobbles and quickly passed them. The tea-drinking groups looked at him as an object of idle amusement. There was not any tendency to think, even on the part of the young men, "That man can ride quickly along on a pair of wheels. Why should not I do the same?" He thought that sort of feeling would never be evoked in Bokhara until some great psychological revolution took place amongst its people. The Kirghiz were similarly impervious to modern ideas; but in their stories and folk-lore they had a literature

which was oral. At Tashkent he was at a Staff College performance, but he found more interest in the words than in the music, for they were full of allusions to the old stories of the Kirghiz. He thought that if some Oriental scholars would collect the lore of the Kirghiz they would find a great many philosophic arguments of much interest, and many proverbial sayings and stories which deserved to be known to the world. It was the mould of a pastoral sort of culture worthy of attention. Their language was simple and easy, and the Russians learnt it very quickly. Many of the colonists, after only a few years' residence in Russian Central Asia, could speak it with great fluency, and, indeed, enjoyed doing so when they could get the Kirghiz to talk. But there was always a feeling amongst the colonists that the Kirghiz were no more than serfs and slaves. It was astonishing to see the Russian peasant, who had taken with him to those regions a long tradition of serfdom, sitting still and watching the Kirghiz build for him his house, paying for the labour at a very low rate, and watching them doing all sorts of heavy and menial work. The colonist already reckoned himself a baron and no longer a peasant, being subject to no authority except military authority, and he employed the Kirghiz to do the hard work of the farm.

The racial intermixture to which reference had been made was not at present a problem of serious importance in Russian Central Asia. The Russian kept extremely pure in the maintenance of race, and his determination to do so in Central Asia was very remarkable. You did not find Kirghiz or Russians intermarrying; nor was there much fusion of the sort between Kirghiz and Tartars. There were very few marital unions between Russians and Chinese. Indeed, resident Chinese were scarcely to be found. There were only travelling Chinese—the jugglers and performers to whom he had referred, and Chinese travelling back to China from other lands. They found it easier to go that way, through Russian Central Asia and Siberia, than to go through the heart of China itself, and it was probably safer and much cheaper.

SIR AUREL STEIN'S PRESENT EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL ASIA

SIR AUREL STEIN set out from Kashmir on his present expedition to Chinese Turkestan on August 2, 1913. Kashgar was successfully reached on September 21 after a toilsome journey over the Pamirs, in which fifteen passes had been crossed, varying in height from 10,000 to 17,400 feet, and a considerable area of entirely new mountain ground had been surveyed. At Kashgar the archæological journey proper began. Sir Aurel had planned to follow in the main the direction of his travels during 1906-1908—to Khotan (but this time by Maralbashi and Mazar Tagh), along the southern edge of the Taklamakan into Kansu, thence northwards to Turfan, and back to Kashgar by the south of the Tien Shan. It is possible here only to refer in the briefest way to one or two of the chief sites explored and a few of the chief archæological results attained. Geographical work of the greatest value and interest was carried on simultaneously almost all along the route, largely through the help of the experienced Indian surveyor, Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, who had accompanied him on the earlier expedition.

The first winter Sir Aurel had planned to spend in the waterless desert north and north-east of Lop-Nor, where work is only possible as long as a water-supply can be secured from the ice of the Tarim lagoons. Of his work on the way there there is only space to mention fresh finds at the Tibetan fort of Mazar Tagh, the recovery of interesting temple frescoes at Hsuen Tsang's Pi-Mo (Marco Polo's *Pein*), and the collection of a further large store of Kharoshthi wooden documents, household implements and carved wood, by extended digging at the third-century settlement of Niya. Here, too, a wonderful example of an ancient orchard was discovered—the vine trellises and rows of fruit-trees standing still intact, though dead since many centuries.

At Charklik, in January, a halt was made to gather together food and ice supplies, labour, and extra camel transport for the two and a half months' work in the Lop Desert. These preparations were made much more difficult by an outbreak of Chinese revolutionaries, who within three weeks had put to death two successive district magistrates. The outbreak was suppressed, and the chief rebels executed by Tungan troops from Karashahr; but the troops had drained to a great extent the food supplies of the neighbourhood, and in the absence of any resident civil authority to use its persuasive powers on his behalf, Sir Aurel found the task of collecting labourers no easy one.

When caravan arrangements, however, had been completed, he moved first to Miran, the "site of the earliest capital of the Kingdom of Loulan." Here, in bitterly cold winds, he succeeded in removing the temple frescoes, which he had been obliged to leave behind in 1907. These included the remaining arcs of the "angel" dado, a portion of which from the earlier expedition was exhibited last year in the new galleries of the British Museum, and all of the legendary Buddhist scenes on the wall above that were fit for transport. The whole series of these curiously interesting frescoes is therefore now in the possession of the British or the Indian Government.

But the next two months' work in the Lop Desert gave even newer and more instructive results. A considerable delta had watered the whole region in Han times, and many remains of ancient settlements were found. Among

these were two large forts, evidently occupied down to the fourth century, and rich in coins, wood carvings, household implements, personal ornaments, and records on wood and paper in Chinese, early Indian scripts, and early Sogdian; while trial excursions from the base camp of the earlier expedition revealed quite a series of small ruined sites to the north and north-east. Their position confirmed Sir Aurel's theories as to the probable line of the earliest Chinese route from westernmost Kansu to the Tarim basin; and the remains unearthed threw a flood of light not only on the life of the local population, but on the character and importance of the Chinese trade with Central Asia in the early centuries B.C. and A.D. The silk trade was illustrated by very beautiful and unique specimens of stuffs. Another link with China proper was discovered in a large fort, which from the similarity of its material and construction and the evidence of the Chinese records dug up in it, evidently belonged to the same date as the western stations of the Tunhuang frontier wall excavated in 1907.

From this point Sir Aurel continued his march east, tracing the line of the ancient route through the desert north of the dried-up lake bed of Lop to Kum-Kuduk. This ground was, even at the time of the Chinese expansion westwards in 120 B.C., an utterly lifeless wilderness, and no ruins existed to guide him on the way. The correctness of his conclusions as to its probable course was, however, proved by the coins and small metal objects picked up on each day's march along the way, and at one point even by some hundreds of early Chinese coins and unused bronze arrowheads which had evidently dropped unnoticed from some Han caravan. Beyond Kun-Kuduk the route was traced along the southern foot of the Kuruk Tagh to the western end of the Tunhuang frontier wall explored in 1907. Eastwards of this Sir Aurel was able to link up all gaps in his 1907 survey of the *Limes* as far as Tunhuang town, and to extend it beyond Anhsi and the southern bend of the Su-Lo-Ho River to Suchou, a distance of 250 miles in all. A profitable visit was also paid to the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas.

In May he set out again on a fresh line of investigation, following down the course of the rivers of Su-chou and Kanchou to the terminal delta of Etsingol in South Mongolia. This proved one of the most fascinating and successful enterprises of the whole expedition; for the living delta recalled to an extraordinary degree in its physical features the dead delta of Lop-Nor, suggesting an actual picture of the latter in its days of vegetation 1,700 years ago; and in the ruined town of Karakhoto Sir Aurel found proof that he was excavating Marco Polo's famed "City of Etzina."

After a hasty return to Kanchou in the beginning of July, Sir Aurel crossed the desert ranges of the Pei-Shan northwards by unexplored routes, accomplishing much important geographical work in spite of useless Chinese "guides" and an unfortunate accident which caused him serious inconvenience for some time, though it left no permanent injury. Thence by the north of the Tien Shan and Barkul he made his way by the end of October to the depression of Turfan. This site, though well known and comparatively easy of excavation, has not been exhausted by German, Russian, or Japanese expeditions, and after several months' hard work Sir Aurel succeeded in removing and packing many camel-loads of important frescoes. Supplementary excavations of a unique nature were carried out at Karakhoja and also yielded most interesting results.

Sir Aurel planned to reach Kashgar once more this last month of June, and hopes to return to England, after some months' continued exploration in the West, in the beginning of next year.

F. M. G. LORIMER.

NOTES AND NEWS

Exploration in Central Asia.—Mr. S. E. Maloff reached Kashgar on April 20 upon the completion of his third journey in High Asia. This last voyage was organized by the Comité des Études de l'Asie Centrale, which is a branch of the Russian Foreign Office.

M. Maloff is a specialist for Turki dialects, and studies their origins. He has visited almost the entire province, but has studied more especially in the Lob Nor and in Kansu. He has found a few fragments of ancient documents. In addition, he has studied the ethnography of the tribes, especially of the Uighurs, and has recorded more than a hundred songs on a phonograph. He has also collected clothes, implements, etc. M. Maloff is leaving for Russia, where he will write a work describing his labours. He has already published the results of his former journeys.

M. Nicholas Romanoff, the distinguished Russian archæologist, has also reached Kashgar after an extended journey, which has included Northern Persia, Russian Turkestan, and part of the New Province. He especially studies Moslem architecture and art in these countries, and has made many interesting discoveries. He has also collected specimens of the pottery, textiles, and wood-work.

Foreign-trained Students in China.—An important and interesting development has taken place in China under the special direction of the President. Those students who have been educated abroad, instead of being left to find their own way on their return, are now, after examination, to be drafted, with due regard to their learning, to the various services—school, railways, banks, hospitals, etc.—as well as to industrial, commercial, and agricultural employments.

Railways in China.—A railway is about to be constructed from Chinghsien to Dolonor.

It is expected that traffic will shortly be running on the Haichow-Lanchow railway on the new section from Kaifeng-fu to Hsuchow.

Mongolia.—A development in trade and commerce should accrue to Mongolia through the construction of several new railways from one of its chief towns, Taonanfu, which lies on the border of Eastern Mongolia and Western Manchuria. The city is also to have a foreign settlement, to be laid out to the south of the town.

The status of Outer Mongolia has been finally settled by a treaty, signed on June 7, between Russia, China, and Mongolia. China retains the nominal suzerainty, while both Russia and China agree not to interfere in the internal administration of the country.

NEW MEMBER.

Miss Nina Mylne has been elected a member of the Society.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE anniversary meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on July 7, Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband presiding.

The CHAIRMAN : Since our last annual meeting we have lost the original founder of this Society, Dr. Cotterell Tupp, and I am sure that on this occasion you would wish me to express our condolence with Mrs. Tupp for the loss which she and the Society have sustained. In the year 1900 Dr. Tupp, who had been for some time collecting a library of books on the study of Central Asian subjects, asked me to go and see him one afternoon. He said that since the year 1866, when he travelled in the Himalayas, he had been specially interested in Central Asian subjects. We talked over the question of forming a Society, and we secured the co-operation of General Sir Thomas Gordon and Colonel Algernon Durand, and eventually established the Society. I should like to say how much the Society is indebted to Dr. Tupp for the very great energy he showed on the inception of the Society and in its subsequent development.

During the present year we have had an unusually interesting series of papers bearing on the war, and they have attracted much attention. We have had good meetings and valuable papers, which is satisfactory when we consider the difficulties under which we have been working.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1914-15.

The Session of 1914-15 has seen no diminution in the interest taken in the papers read to the Society, and a very full attendance has been recorded. Nearly all the papers dealt with the influence, direct or indirect, of the war on different countries of the East.

The Autumn Session opened on November 11 with a paper by Colonel A. C. Yate on "The Great War and the Middle East." Colonel P. M. Sykes on December 9 gave an historical paper on "Tamerlane."

On January 20, 1915, Mr. Duncan Mackintosh spoke on "Some Past and Passing Features of the Situation in China." Mr. Charles Woods followed on February 17 with "The Near East and the War," and Sir Edwin Pears on March 17 on "Turkey, the War, and (Climatic) Influence in Asia Minor." On April 13 Mr. Stephen Graham gave the Society his "Impressions of Seven Rivers Land and Russian Central Asia." All these papers have already appeared, or are about to appear, in the JOURNAL, which has contained during the year, besides the lectures that have been delivered with the discussions that followed, several shorter but interesting miscellaneous articles dealing with politics, exploration, travel, finance, etc., in the Near and Far East.

The membership of the Society remains practically the same as last year. We have lost by death Mr. Henry Sandbach and Dr. Cotterell Tupp, one of the founders of the Society and one of its most interested supporters. He acted as Hon. Treasurer up to the time of his death. A full obituary appeared in the JOURNAL for 1915, p. 47.

The Society has also lost by resignation eight members—Mr. H. F. Amedroz, Mr. Lovat Fraser, Mr. G. R. Kennedy, Mr. W. H. Merk, Mr. J. T. Preece Captain A. M. Scovell, Lieutenant G. T. Scovell, Colonel Swayne.

During the year eleven members have been elected—Mr. J. R. Baillie, Lieutenant G. C. Binstead, Mr. W. Crewdson, Lieutenant W. T. O. Crewdson, Mr. M. Ingram, Mr. W. J. C. Laurie, Colonel Maunsell, Mrs. McCoy, Mr. Alwyn Parker, Mr. A. Rose, Captain H. Tryon.

It is with regret we have to add the further loss during the last few months of Captain Binstead and Captain the Hon. G. W. Douglas-Pennant, both of whom have been killed in action.

The statement of accounts is appended.

The recommendation of the Council to fill vacancies on the Council for 1915-16 are as follows : Under Rule 12, the Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, retires. The Council recommend his re-election. Under Rule 23, Colonel Pemberton, Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, and Sir Walter Lawrence, retire from the Council. The Council recommend the election of Sir Hugh Barnes, Mr. T. J. Bennett, and Sir Henry Trotter.

The vacancy in the office of Hon. Treasurer, caused by the death of Dr. Cotterell Tupp, was filled up by the Council by the interim appointment of Sir Evan James. The Council now recommend his election as Hon. Treasurer.

Sir EVAN JAMES, in presenting the accounts, said they had been kindly audited by Sir Henry Trotter and Mr. Moon. They had drawn a little on their previous savings, owing to the extra charges for the Journal. Members had no doubt noticed the great improvement in the form of the Journal, but this meant more expense, and the Council had only that day been considering what could be done to bring the normal expenditure within the scale of the normal receipts. There were perhaps little items of expenditure which might be curtailed, and improvements ought to be made in the receipts by obtaining more members and more subscribers to the Journal. It was to be hoped that every member who could would try to induce friends to join. The papers next session would be very interesting, no doubt, in connection with the many problems raised by the war. They were all very much indebted to the Secretary, Miss Hughes, who had very carefully looked after their interests on both sides of the account.

The CHAIRMAN moved the re-election of the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand as Chairman for the ensuing year, remarking that they were very fortunate to retain him in that position. The motion having been carried, he said that under Rule 23 Sir Walter Lawrence, Colonel Pemberton, and Sir Henry Trotter retired from the Council. Colonel Pemberton had informed them that as he was strenuously engaged in military duties he would be quite unable to come again to the Council. The Council recommended the re-election of Sir Henry Trotter and the appointment of Sir Hugh Barnes and Mr. T. J. Bennett, C.I.E., to fill the other vacancies.

The motion was carried, and on the proposition of the Chairman Sir Evan James was elected Hon. Treasurer.

Colonel Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, in moving the adoption of the report, said : It is a subject for congratulation that the Society has retained its membership in spite of the war, having as many on the rolls as last year. As this is not a large Society, we may fairly hope to keep the membership we have got. So far as the future of the Society is concerned, there is no means of saying what

its prospects may be ; they must be more or less on the knees of the gods. This is not the time when we can expect men who have been exploiting the remote regions we professionally deal with to leave more strenuous duties to give us their assistance. The war is having a great effect upon Central Asia as upon other parts of the world. The matter which perhaps concerns us most, and which we think most about in this connection, is the spread of the influence of Russia through regions which lie southward of her present borderland. Now I hope one result of the present war will be that the British public generally, and our politicians in particular, will acquire new views as to the policy and aspirations of Russia in Central Asia. For my own part I have never thought that the spread of Russian influence in those remote regions could ever in any way be a menace to us, nor could I ever see that it would do anything more than develop to the benefit of the countries concerned. Although we may not in the coming session get much light thrown on the Further East, we may be pretty certain that we shall get very interesting information about the Nearer East—Persia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor—and we may hope that the information we shall get will be helpful in educating public opinion in England in the great problems which affect those regions and which have been raised by the war.

Sir FREDERIC FRYER seconded the report, and its adoption closed the proceedings.

T. H. H.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1914

| RECEIPTS. | | | | | | EXPENDITURE. | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|---|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|
| | | | | | | £ s. d. | | | | | |
| By subscriptions— | | | | £ | s. d. | | | | | £ | s. d. |
| 121 at £1 ... | ... | ... | ... | 121 | 0 0 | By rent ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 | 0 0 |
| 4 at 16s. ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 4 0 | By salary ... | ... | ... | ... | 50 | 0 0 |
| 1 in advance ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 0 | Outstanding cheque from 1913 for one | | | | | |
| 1 in arrears ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 0 | quarter extra salary ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | 5 0 |
| | | | | 126 | 4 0 | <i>Journal—</i> | | | | | |
| By sales ... | ... | ... | ... | | 3 14 0 | Printing ... | ... | ... | ... | 44 | 17 1 |
| Miscellaneous ... | ... | ... | ... | | 0 4 4 | Reporting ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 12 9 |
| Dinner ... | ... | ... | ... | | 33 3 0 | | | | | 54 | 9 10 |
| | | | | | 163 5 4 | Miscellaneous printing, stationery, etc. ... | | | | 6 | 19 9 |
| Balance at bank, January 1, 1914 ... | ... | ... | ... | 125 | 2 0 | Postage ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | 16 3 |
| Balance, petty cash ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 10 7 | Petty cash, including teas, lantern, etc. ... | | | | 9 | 5 7 |
| | | | | 127 | 12 7 | Bank charges ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 2 4 |
| | | | | | | Dinner ... | ... | ... | ... | 39 | 16 6 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 196 | 15 3 |
| | | | | | | Balance at bank, December 31, 1914 ... | ... | ... | ... | 92 | 12 5 |
| | | | | | | Balance, petty cash ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 10 3 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 94 | 2 8 |
| | | | | | | | | | | £290 | 17 11 |

We have examined, with the books and vouchers, the accounts of the Central Asian Society for the year ending December 31, 1914, and find them correct.

HENRY TROTTER (Lieut.-Colonel).
EDWD. R. P. MOON.

RECENT BOOKS ON THE EAST

Far East.

- THE SPIRIT OF JAPANESE ART. By Yone Noguchi. Small 8vo. 1915. 2s. net. (Murray).
- THE SECRET MEMOIRS OF COUNT HAYASHI. Edited by A. M. Pooley. 10s. 6d. net. (Nash.)
- JAPAN OUR ALLY. By W. Crewdson. Pamphlet, 8vo. 2d. (Macmillan.)
- JAPAN TO AMERICA. Edited by Naoichi Masaoka; issued under the auspices of the Japan Society of America. 5s. net. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.)
- AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA. By H. G. Gowen. Two vols. (Werner Laurie.)
- THE JUBILEE STORY OF THE CHINA INLAND MISSION. With portraits, illustrations, and map. By Marshall Broomhall, M.A., Editorial Secretary. 3s. 6d. net.; cheap edition, 2s. net. (London: Morgan and Scott, Ltd.)
- FUR AND FEATHER IN NORTH CHINA. By Arthur de Clare Sowerby. (Tientsin Press.)

Near East.

- THE WAR AND THE BALKANS. By Noel Buxton and Charles R. Buxton. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net. (Allen and Unwin.)

Central Asia.

- IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN. By Annette M. B. Meakin. 8vo., illustrated. 3s. 6d. net. (Allen and Unwin.)

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- OUR COMMERCIAL POLICY IN THE EAST. By General E. F. Chapman. 1904.
RAILWAYS IN WESTERN ASIA. By Lieut.-Colonel H. Picot. 1904.
A JOURNEY ACROSS ASIA. By the Earl of Ronaldshay. 1904.
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THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN. *By H. Charles Woods.*

THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN

[By H. CHARLES WOODS.

AT the first meeting of the Society for the 1915-16 session, on October 20, with Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich in the chair, Mr. H. Charles Woods read a paper, illustrated by photographic lantern views, on "The Dardanelles Campaign." In introducing him, the CHAIRMAN observed that he had travelled a good deal in the Balkans, and was a recognized authority thereon, and especially on the part of the country with which he was going to deal.

For centuries Constantinople, covering as it does the great land route from Europe to Asia, as well as the water highway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, has been the object of many aspirations. From earliest times the reigning monarch in this city has been able to control these two great thoroughfares as a result of the fortifications constructed to protect his capital from attack by land and sea. In the past the defences of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus have not only safeguarded the position of the Turkish capital, but they have also protected the Sea of Marmora. Thus, so long as these two channels remain impregnable, the Ottoman Government can not only bring troops from Asia Minor and land them in Europe, but the Sultan or his allies can pour armies into Asia Minor, thence to send them by railway and by road to areas from which they can threaten the Egyptian frontier. Thus, for the last few decades, as also at the present time, the strength of the defences of Constantinople have been and are one of the most material factors in the whole Near Eastern question—a factor the influence of which has been enormously increased by the most recent and unfortunate developments in the Balkan Peninsula.

Before approaching a description of the Dardanelles, and before entering into a discussion of the nature of the campaign in progress there, I will briefly describe the land defences of the Turkish capital, and also the fortifications which defend it and the Bosphorus from an attack from the direction of the Black Sea.

Owing to its geographical position, Constantinople is easy to defend

by land and sea. By land this is the case because the city is situated at the south-eastern extremity of a sort of peninsula, which is bounded on the north by the Black Sea, on the east by the Bosphorus, and on the south by the Sea of Marmora. Thus the capital has only to be protected on one—its western—front. On the sea side Constantinople is also extremely strong, because the Marmora can only be approached by way of the Bosphorus on the north-east, and through the Dardanelles on the south-west.

The land defences of Constantinople may be divided into two sections—the Constantinople and the Chatalja Lines. The Constantinople Lines are made up of an outer and an inner ring of forts, which extend from the Sea of Marmora to Buyukdere on the European side of the Bosphorus. The strength of these forts cannot be estimated, because it is certain that their power of resistance has been greatly increased under the supervision of the Germans.

The Chatalja Lines, which constitute the real land defences of the capital, extend across the Isthmus of Constantinople at a distance of about twenty-five miles to the west of the city. They cover a front of about sixteen miles, a front which is flanked on the south by an inlet of the Sea of Marmora, and on the north by Derkos Göl. The forts, which number about thirty, are constructed on a ridge of hills about 500 feet above the level of the sea. A small stream runs across practically their entire front. These forts have always been maintained in an effective state, but during and since the Balkan Wars no stone has been left unturned to render up-to-date these land defences, which rank only second in importance to the forts situated on the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles.

The length of the Bosphorus is about nineteen miles. Its breadth varies from about 800 yards (just above Rumeli Hissar) to a little over two miles in Buyukdere Bay. Almost throughout its length both shores rise immediately from the water's edge, in some places attaining a height of little more than low hills, whilst in others the elevation reaches that of hundreds of feet. Unlike the Dardanelles, it is bordered by a series of villages, which run practically all the way from Galata to Buyukdere on the European side, and Scutari to Beikos on the Asiatic coast.

The permanent defences of the Bosphorus are nearly all situated at or near its northern end. On the European coast they lie between Therapia, and on the Asiatic side they are situated between Beikos and the Black Sea entrance to the channel. Well hidden in almost every case, some of the redoubts are placed close to the water's edge, whilst others have been constructed on the slopes and summits of the hills, which here attain a height greater than that in any other part of the Bosphorus. Since the Russo-Japanese War a great deal has been done to improve these defences, but even so it is supposed that they

are not only less numerous, but also less strong, than those which protect the Dardanelles.

The north-eastern end of the Dardanelles is distant from Constantinople about 130 miles. The length of the Straits, which are winding and extremely difficult to navigate, is some thirty-three miles. The breadth varies from about 1,300 yards (that is, approximately, the distance from Trafalgar Square to the Law Courts) between Chanak on the Asiatic coast and Kilid Bahr on the European shore, to four or five miles shortly after the entrance to the Straits from the Ægean. The average width of the Straits is two or three miles. A strong current runs from the Sea of Marmora towards the Mediterranean.

The Peninsula of Gallipoli, which bounds the Dardanelles on the north-west, is a long, narrow tongue of land some thirty-five miles in length. Its width is only three miles when measured across the Isthmus of Bulair, lying as it does to the north-east of the town of Gallipoli. More to the south-west it widens out, only to narrow again to a breadth of about four miles in rear of the town of Maidos. The coast rises in many places precipitately from the water's edge. Nearly the whole of the country in rear of Maidos consists of hills, which in many places attain a height of 600 or 700 feet above the level of the sea. These hills are intersected by small rocky valleys, with steep, almost precipitous sides, up which I have had to climb on my hands and knees. Much of the country, and especially these valleys, which run for the most part across, and not up and down, the Peninsula, are covered with scrubby bushes two or three feet high. These bushes tear one's boots and clothes and person, and thus, even in peace time, make walking through them a highly difficult and disagreeable experience. The hills immediately to the west and south-west of Kilid Bahr are prettily wooded, the trees extending almost to the seashore. Unless the Turks and the Germans have recently improved them, the roads along and across the Peninsula are very bad, for in the past communication has usually been maintained by sea. As a matter of fact one of the most unpleasant tasks imposed upon our gallant troops upon the Peninsula has been that of making and improving roads, a task of necessity performed under the shell if not the rifle-fire of the enemy.

The most important town on the Peninsula is Gallipoli, at the north-eastern entrance to the Dardanelles. The place is essentially Turkish, and was the first to fall into the hands of the Osmanlis, soon after Sulieman Pasha crossed the Dardanelles and planted the Standard of the Crescent in Europe in the year 1356. The only other places of any importance are Maidos and Kilid Bahr, lying much lower down the Peninsula. Like the remainder of the Peninsula, which is but very sparsely populated, both these towns would be practically unknown and neglected were it not for the strategic value of the country which surrounds them.

There is a great contrast between the two shores of the Dardanelles. The Asiatic coast is for the most part lower, and the appearance of the country is greener and more fertile than that of the Peninsula of Gallipoli. Communication by land is also bad, but a passable road connects Lamsaki (just opposite Gallipoli) with Chanak, and thence runs on down the coast towards the entrance of the Straits. The only centre of any importance is Chanak or Dardanelles, situated opposite Kilid Bahr, and formerly united with that place by a submarine cable. The town, which possesses a population of some 10,000 people, is prettily located on the water's edge. There is an anchorage for ships, both above and below it, and in the past the little bay immediately to the north of the village has usually been occupied by some of the ships which go to make up the Turkish Fleet. As a matter of fact, it was here that the *Messudiyeh* was torpedoed by the British submarine B 11 on December 14th last.

The modern defences of the Dardanelles may be divided into three groups :

1. The forts which defend both sides of the entrance and the outer stretch of the Dardanelles. Of these there are four in Europe and five in Asia. Their importance is as nothing when compared with that of the forts situated upon the Narrows.

2. The forts which defend the Narrows. Of these there are eleven in Europe and four in Asia. Those in Europe are situated near Kilid Bahr, and those in Asia near Chanak.

3. The forts above the Narrows. Of these there are four in Europe and three in Asia.

In addition to these three more or less distinct groups of forts, there are also the Bulair Lines. They run across the isthmus of that name, and thus protect the Peninsula of Gallipoli from attack by a force advancing from the land side. These lines are made up of three or four redoubts connected by trenches, and they cover the only road running into the Peninsula of Gallipoli from the remainder of European Turkey.

The above details are sufficient to prove the greatness of the task undertaken by the Allies when they decided to endeavour to force the Straits. Throughout the last few years, and especially since the Turco-Italian and the Balkan Wars, and particularly since the entry of Turkey into the present war, it must have been obvious and clear that the Turks and the Germans would have made preparations to defend an area which is of the most vital importance to them. Moreover, the whole situation is such that it reacts almost entirely against the belligerents, who are compelled to depend upon the fire of ships and in favour of those in occupation of the shores. The Dardanelles are so narrow that throughout their greater part the power of real manœuvring is denied to all ships except those of a very small size. For

the same reasons—that is, owing to the narrowness and to the winding nature of the channel—the great guns on ships, the range of which is many miles, cannot be utilised to the fullest advantage. Again, the Turks can make use of all kinds of weapons which would be valueless were the range greater. Mobile batteries of guns and howitzers have been placed in countless and secluded valleys in which it is difficult to discover their positions and to rain lead upon them from the sea. Under existing circumstances, therefore, it is almost impossible to discover the actual whereabouts of these guns, which, having made their presence unpleasantly felt, are moved by road and on railway lines to places of safety even before our fire can be brought to bear upon them. The existence of these conditions has extremely detrimental and dangerous consequences, not only for the smaller vessels endeavouring to penetrate the Dardanelles, but also for the allied troops on the Peninsula of Gallipoli, whose lines and positions can be raked and enfladed by fire from Asia Minor.

The whole position is rendered infinitely more complicated by the fact that the enemy can make the fullest use of mines, and that he can fire land torpedoes in the Dardanelles. Moreover, since the arrival of enemy submarines in the Ægean the difficulties have been enormously increased; for the ships, which might otherwise have protected the flanks of our armies, would now be open to the continuous danger of being torpedoed. Again, the presence of these under-water craft makes it now impracticable to utilize transports and larger ships for the purpose of the conveyance of troops to the Peninsula. This means that all manner of smaller craft have to be relied upon for this purpose, and that therefore the position of each and every new landing must be partly influenced by the difficulties and the dangers of utilizing small vessels for a passage of more than but a few brief hours in length.

The extremely unfavourable position of a fleet desirous of entering the Sea of Marmora thus rendered it absolutely necessary that a land attack upon the forts should be inaugurated on the very first day of the operations. That this was not done means that, instead of subsidiary land operations, and instead of landing parties threatening the rear of the forts whilst the Fleet was endeavouring to force a passage, a land campaign of enormous magnitude has had to be undertaken. In other words, since the end of the month of April the all-engrossing interest in the Dardanelles operations has been transferred from events on the sea to those on the land. Here the Allied armies have been and are fighting a series of great battles, with the object of taking the forts by means of what amount to siege operations, and of thus enabling the Fleet to glide rather than to fight its way through into the Sea of Marmora.

Many of these forts, and especially those facing the Narrows from

the European side, are commanded from the hills situated to the north and west of Kilid Bahr. Indeed, from various points on these hills it is possible, as I have done, to look down upon, and actually into, some of the European redoubts of which we have heard so much during the last few months. These hills lie about twelve miles from the extreme south-western end of the Peninsula, and at most six miles from Gaba Tepe.

Turning to a discussion of the actual operations, there is no time or necessity here to allude to details which have already been published, and I will therefore only point out that there have been three distinct stages in the campaign.

First, the original naval attack upon the Straits which began on February 19. From that time until the sinking of the *Bouvet*, *Irresistible*, and *Ocean*, and the damaging of the *Inflexible* and *Gaulois* on March 18, a series of attacks were made upon the forts by ships which entered the Dardanelles, and by others stationed in the Gulf of Xeros. Those latter made use of indirect fire, and threw shells right over the Peninsula of Gallipoli. Mine-sweeping operations were carried out, and certain of the forts which defended the extreme south-western end of the Straits were practically, if not absolutely, destroyed. The net results of these operations were that indirect fire proved, as it has always been held that it would prove, to be little more than a waste of ammunition, that the Dardanelles forts were much stronger than seems to have been supposed by some, and that by the use of mines the Turks possessed a deadly advantage, the magnitude of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

The second stage is that connected with the landing operations which began on Sunday, April 25, and with the terrible fighting of the three months which followed them. On that day landings were made at numerous points at and near the extreme south-western end of the Peninsula, and on the beach immediately to the north of Gaba Tepe, and now known as the Anzac Beach. The general plan was that these two more or less distinct forces, the one composed of the Twenty-ninth Division, and the other made up of the Australian and New Zealand contingents, were respectively to work up and across the Peninsula, with the object of joining hands on their inner flanks and with the purpose of occupying the hills to which I have already referred. They have never been able to accomplish either of these tasks. A third and French force was disembarked at Kum Kaleh, on the Asiatic coast. The operations in the last-named area were subsequently abandoned, and the troops engaged were landed on the Peninsula of Gallipoli, where, so far as we know, they are still holding the right of the Allied positions.

Subsequent to and within a few hours after the landing at the south-western end of the Peninsula, the remains of the Twenty-ninth

Division, supported by units of the Naval Division, swept forward across the whole width of the Peninsula. Later, but during the very early days of the operations, this division, unable without reinforcements to hold its position, was compelled to retire. From that time until the present the whole of the fighting has been directed with the object of endeavouring to secure possession of Atchi Baba—a height which attains an elevation of 750 feet above the sea-level. This all-important position, which extends practically from sea to sea, not only dominates the whole area of country lying to the south-west of it, but it also forms the south-western extremity of the line of hills which traverse practically the whole length of the Peninsula.

The second and what was or should have been the area chosen for the most important disembarkation was that lying in the immediate neighbourhood of Gaba Tepe—that little knoll-like hill which sticks out from the lower part of the western side of the Peninsula of Gallipoli into the Ægean Sea. On both sides of this promontory, and particularly on the north, the coast is comparatively low, and there are narrow stretches of beach upon which it has always been anticipated that a landing could be made. In this area our gallant Australasian troops immediately seized positions on the cliffs—positions in or from which the Turks had either been bayoneted or driven in full flight. The fighting which took place in this district was practically all undertaken with the object of endeavouring to capture the crests of Saribair and of Khoja Che-men Dagh, both of which command this part of the Peninsula, and the latter of which attains an elevation of 950 feet above the level of the sea.

The third stage in the operations is that connected with the all-important Suvla Bay operations which began in August. On the 6th of that month a large force was disembarked at Suvla Bay, situated as it is at a distance of about five miles to the north of the Anzac Beach. The plan of operations was that this force should advance in an easterly and south-easterly, while the Australasians pushed forward in a north-easterly, direction, towards Saribair and Chunuk Bair Ridges. The Colonials actually seized the summits of these ridges, but the new attack from the north did not make the progress which was counted upon, and it was not developed quickly enough. The result was that it came to a standstill after an advance of some two and a half miles, and that the Australasians were compelled to withdraw from the positions which they had actually captured. These positions were consolidated, and we secured possession of a connected line extending along a front of more than twelve miles.

This brings us to the second stage of these latest operations—a stage begun after the arrival of fresh reinforcements on August 21. Further attempts were then made from the direction of Suvla Bay, and from the Anzac area, to push forward in an easterly direction

towards Saribair and the hills which command the Narrows. Certain tactical features, commanding the Buyuh Anafarta Valley, were captured, but, in spite of very severe fighting, it seems pretty clear that no appreciable progress was made, and that things were left much as they were before August 21.

Before making a few general remarks upon the manner in which the Dardanelles Campaign has been conducted, there are two factors in the situation concerning which some explanation is required. I refer to the means of communication between the Peninsula of Gallipoli and certain other parts of the dominion of the Sultan, and to the constant suggestion that an Allied landing at or near Bulair would have influenced the Dardanelles operations to our enormous advantage.

In ordinary times communication with the Peninsula of Gallipoli is maintained to some extent by land, but principally by sea. A good road runs from Uzun Kupru on the Constantinople-Adrianople Railway to Gallipoli by way of Keshan, Kavak, and Bulair. This road passes through the Isthmus of Bulair, following a line which runs on the eastern or Dardanelles side of that isthmus. The road is well within the range of the guns of ships lying in the Gulf of Xeros, but even so it can be utilized with comparative safety at night, and, as only a very short section of it is open to view from the sea, that section has probably been protected with earthworks. An Allied landing might have resulted in the occupation of this road, but if so it would have had to be undertaken by a very large force. Not only would the initial operations of such a force have had to be undertaken under the fire of big guns in the Bulair Lines, but, once even in occupation of the Isthmus, such a force would have been compelled to be prepared to meet an attack delivered either or both by the Turkish army on the Peninsula, or by troops endeavouring to come to its assistance from the remainder of Turkey in Europe. By sea, although British submarines have established a reign of terror in the Sea of Marmora, there is no doubt that reinforcements and supplies can still reach the Peninsula by water. In this connection it must always be remembered that the distance from Chanak in Asia to Kilid Bahr in Europe is only some 1,300 or 1,400 yards, and that this distance can easily be covered in small vessels which would form a most difficult target for indirect fire, for bombardment from the air, or for torpedoes fired by submarines.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to give an outline of various factors which affect the operations at the Dardanelles, rather than to criticize the policy responsible for the inauguration of those operations. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the real question is, Are we to pursue the war in a manner as rapidly as possible to defeat the enemy, or are we only to undertake the smallest amount of responsibility in order to make the war temporarily as cheap as possible to

ourselves? As there can be no doubt as to the answer to this question, it is clear that, provided the necessary forces were available, we may well have been fully justified in undertaking a campaign which, had it been inaugurated and carried out in the right way, would probably have constituted an overwhelming defeat for the Turco-Germanic enemy.

But in dealing with the situation and with events in the Near East we appear to have acted as if we were in ignorance of the fundamental principles which dominate the Oriental mind. Thus, it should have been apparent from the beginning of the European War that the ruling Young Turks were determined to try to throw in their lot with the enemy, and that the people of Turkey as a whole were in no way adversely disposed towards the Triple Entente, and especially towards England and France. Consequently I think that an original error made was that, directly after the entry of the *Goeben* and of the *Breslau* into the Dardanelles in August of last year, the Allies should have demanded the immediate expulsion of these ships or else have forced or occupied the Straits. This might well have been done, not as an act of war against Turkey, but with the object of saving that unhappy country from her Germanic enemies, and of keeping open an international highway which the Germans were not then in a position to close. Had an internal revolution in Turkey resulted therefrom, it would have been all to the good of the Allied cause. Had war ensued, as it might have done, the Allied naval position would have been such as absolutely to paralyze the Ottoman power of resistance—a power which in the beginning would have collapsed had Constantinople fallen into our hands.

Even now we do not know officially whether it was originally intended to endeavour to make a dash through the Straits, or whether it was planned that such a dash should be supported by Allied contingents or by military forces of then expected Allies landed somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. In the former case it is clear that those responsible for the hasty inauguration of the campaign must have laboured in ignorance as to the strength of the defences. In the latter alternative it was a grievous mistake that a naval attack was ordered before an adequate landing force was actually upon the spot with which to make a land attack upon the rear of the forts. The net result of this mistake was that the original attack upon the Dardanelles—an attack lasting on and off from February 19 to March 18—was an utter failure. Moreover, this original attack so put the enemy upon his guard and showed him the weak spots in his own defence that, during a further delay of approximately five weeks—that is, until April 25—he had ample opportunity and time to turn the whole Peninsula of Gallipoli into a veritable entrenched camp.

Again, without seeking unduly to criticize a system adopted under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, it is apparent that, at the time of and ever since the landing on April 25, the magnitude and importance of the Dardanelles operations have always been underestimated. Instead of waiting to begin a land attack until sufficient men were available, that attack was inaugurated with contingents the strength of which was ridiculous. For example, the Twenty-ninth Division, depleted by casualties suffered during the original landing at the southwestern end of the Peninsula on April 25, was entirely unable to maintain the successes which it originally achieved. The result was that the Turks, who even then were not adequately prepared, and who probably did not number more than 30,000 men on the Peninsula itself, brought up their reinforcements, large numbers of whom arrived about a week later; and the Germans, who were not then present in great strength, had plenty of time to put in an appearance and to take over the complete direction of affairs in Gallipoli. Subsequently, although very large numbers of men have been despatched to the Mediterranean, with the exception of the August landings, the contingents have, for the most part, consisted of dribblets rather than of an adequate number of divisions all made available at the same time.

At the present moment it is impossible to attempt to forecast what may be the future of the Dardanelles Campaign. It is certain that the entry of Bulgaria into the war upon the side of the enemy, and the continued neutrality of Greece and Rumania, have created a new situation, the unpleasantness and the importance of which it is quite impossible to over-estimate. Had the Allied diplomacy been more successful, and had Bulgaria, therefore, been won over to our side, there is no doubt that the Ottoman resistance at the Dardanelles would have collapsed, and that Constantinople would have been in our hands within the space of a few short weeks. As things stand at present, we do not know how far this campaign will be influenced by the sending or not sending of an expedition to some other part of the Balkan Peninsula. In any case, it is clear that a withdrawal from the Dardanelles would be possessed of dangers and accompanied by casualties the magnitude of which have never been equalled during the operations. Thus, before we are definitely committed to some other Balkan campaign, and before it is too late for us to withdraw from it, it is to be hoped that the events which have taken place at the Dardanelles will constitute a warning that any new Balkan operations may prove a far larger undertaking than anything which is justified under present circumstances.

The CHAIRMAN: We have listened to a paper which certainly has not been dull. The Society is not a military institution, and consequently I think that anything in the shape of direct criticism of the

acts of our military and naval authorities in the past is to be deprecated. Still, there are some general points to which the lecturer has alluded that I think may be fairly open to discussion. For my own part, I think there was one omission from the paper. It would have interested me greatly to know what the lecturer's opinion was of the military movements in the Near East which have taken place in its different parts, and their co-ordination with each other. It is obvious that, whatever the course of events may be in the Dardanelles, it will be reflected elsewhere. I think it is a rather extraordinary fact that, so far as I have seen, neither in our daily papers nor in any other avenues of discussion has there been reference to the connection between our operations in the Dardanelles and our occupation of Mesopotamia as affecting, for instance, the defence of Egypt. I fully agree with the lecturer as to the far-reaching importance of the Dardanelles operations, and I think one is entitled to say this much, that withdrawal therefrom would be a fatal mistake for this reason, if for no other, that as long as we are fighting there we are containing a very large Turkish force. We are thus crippling Turkish ability to send reinforcements to Mesopotamia or to undertake anything like a formidable invasion of Egypt. Now, that is by no means unimportant. From my past acquaintance with Turkish residents in Mesopotamia, I fully believe that our occupation of that country, and the brilliant success of our campaign which may culminate in the occupation of Baghdad, will maintain our prestige in the East quite sufficiently well, no matter what may happen in the direction of Constantinople. I therefore think it is highly necessary we should keep occupied in the Dardanelles as large a part of the Turkish forces as we possibly can.

Sir EDWIN PEARS, after describing the paper as clear and valuable, said he quite agreed with the Chairman that we must not dream of abandoning the expedition to the Dardanelles. We had passed our word, and they all knew how much that meant for us in the East. We had a reputation for keeping our word, and we were going to keep it (cheers). The lecturer had given a perfectly lucid explanation of the facts. He was not speaking of his conclusions, for he did not altogether share them; but Mr. Woods, like anyone else, was entitled to his opinions. If anyone had gone there with doubts in his mind as to the geographical position, they must have been put at rest by the clear explanations by the lecturer. In connection with references to the River Riva, he referred in some detail to the double defeat inflicted on Licinius by Constantine in 324, first at Adrianople and afterwards at Chrysopolis. As to questions of strategy, he was neither a soldier nor a sailor—he was a lawyer; and when people got into a mess over legal affairs they went to their lawyers, just as they went to their doctors when in physical disorder. Similarly, we should trust the naval and military experts, unless they went seriously wrong, when

we should change them or hang them. But it was not for the man who had no technical knowledge of warfare to criticize what they were doing. The outsider might have general ideas, but he was not in possession of all the facts on which the decisions of those in authority were based. They should always bear that consideration in mind when they were tempted to arrive at a dogmatic opinion as to what should be done or should not be done. Let them keep the military experts up to the mark as far as possible, but they should not dictate to them unless they were quite sure they were in possession of all the facts (hear, hear).

Colonel PEMBERTON said he could not altogether share the opinion of the Chairman, though he might be considered a bold man to say so. If we could hold up the Turkish army in Gallipoli, and thus prevent an attack upon Egypt, we should be wise to do so. Constantinople was the storm centre, and if we could once get in there questions of the defence of Egypt and Mesopotamia would settle themselves. Wherever our seat of power was we must defend it, and similarly we must strike unhesitatingly at the vital points of the enemy, leaving side-issues out for the time being. In the hour of victory the lesser would go with the greater. If, while retaining our naval supremacy, we lost any of our colonies, we should regain them at the end of the war. These were the paramount considerations, and no question of *national amour propre*, no bungling, and no misfortune, should deter us from utilizing our forces purely from the military point of view. We should be guided by considerations of military strategy, and not by political considerations. Of course politics must have their influence, but the leading consideration must be the necessity for taking such action as would insure ultimate victory. The great point was to bring decisive weight to bear in numbers at given points. In these long times of peace we had forgotten Napoleon's maxim, written largely over the whole of his military correspondence, that the essential of success in warfare was numbers, numbers, numbers. That lesson was being brought home by the present war. In Gallipoli we had sent troops in dribblets month after month. He had no wish to criticize the operations there, having regard to the inadequacy of the forces we first landed. The lecturer had shown very clearly how unwise it was to make a naval attack unaccompanied by any landing force in February, and then to give the enemy six weeks in which to prepare for the small force, the Twenty-ninth Division, we first landed. After six months we had still little progress to report. Turning to the map, it was interesting to note that there were some close analogies between Port Arthur and the Kwang-tung Peninsula and the Gallipoli Peninsula. Each was thirty-five miles long, each was closed on the land side by a small neck of land three or four miles across. The character of the country was very much the same,

though the sudden rise of the hills was worse in Kwang-tung than in Gallipoli. We might carry the analogy farther by saying that the Russians in occupation of Port Arthur corresponded to the Turks, and the English to the Japanese assailants. The great point of difference was that in the Japanese attack sea and land forces were combined, and the Japanese landing parties were ten times stronger than the defending forces. History had recorded the great and speedy success of such an attack. In the same way, given an adequate force, we might have fought our way down the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Colonel C. E. YATE, M.P., said he heartily agreed with the Chairman and Sir Edwin Pears as to the adverse political effects if we were compelled to evacuate our position in Gallipoli. The Chairman had referred to our brilliant successes in Mesopotamia. In this connection he would like to say that he thought very few people in this country realized, or in fact had the remotest idea, what tremendous sufferings and hardships our soldiers in Mesopotamia had gone through, and the terrible climatic and transport difficulties they had had to contend with and overcome. However, success had crowned their efforts, and we were within measurable distance of Baghdad. We could not exaggerate the importance of these achievements, seeing that the name of Turkey stood very high, not only in Mesopotamia, but throughout Afghanistan and among the tribes of the Indian Frontier. Old Indians like himself could recall the great wave of excitement which passed over those portions of the Mohammedan world when the Turks defeated the Greeks some years ago. If it should now be said that the Turks had driven the English out of Gallipoli, we should probably have a similar, and indeed much greater, wave of excitement throughout the whole of Asia. It was true that in a military sense we did not know the facts, and could therefore give no opinion as to the strategic question. But it was to be hoped that political considerations would also be borne in mind by His Majesty's Government when they were coming to a final consideration on this grave question, and he could not help expressing the hope that our military commanders would find it possible to maintain their position in Gallipoli, and carry through their difficult work to a victorious end.

Colonel A. C. YATE said that he ventured to differ from Sir Edwin Pears and Colonel C. E. Yate, and to suggest that strategy and tactics might outweigh politics and recommend withdrawal from Gallipoli, where we were holding our position by the skin of our teeth. He recognized that withdrawal would be a difficult procedure by no means free from danger, but it might be possible to safely surmount those difficulties. He had no very intimate acquaintance with the geography of the Gallipoli Peninsula, though he had on several occasions visited Constantinople, and in July, 1885, had swum across the Bosphorus from Beikos to Therapia. He had suggested to the War Office, when

the Turkish trouble arose, that this achievement might be a recommendation for employment, but to his sorrow they did not accept that view.

In relation to the remarks of Sir Edwin Pears as to the operations which led up to the battle (A.D. 323) between Constantine and Licinius at Scutari, he could not help expressing regret that the Russians had never succeeded in effecting a diversion by way of the Black Sea, at a time when we were so hard pressed in Gallipoli. It is true that the Russians had had immense difficulties in defending their vast frontier and saving their army from defeat; but, now that we had come to the present stage of the war, it was very important to know whether Russia could or could not do something to attack Turkey and Bulgaria by way of the Black Sea. He presumed that, if we concentrated a force at Enos, we should be able to get possession of and dominate the main line of railway connecting Salonika with the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. We might thus interpose effectively to prevent a junction between the Turkish and Bulgarian troops. Looking to the future, we might hope for a new factor—that of Italy—coming into the Balkan conflict, and creating a diversion by landing strong forces on the coast of Montenegro, and moving them through that country into Serbia. This would probably be welcome to the Montenegrins, who were fearing an Austro-German attack.

Sir EDWIN PEARS, in answer to a question, gave details as to the prevailing winds and currents in the Dardanelles. He said that for ten months in the year the winds were from north-east to south-west; but there were rapid changes, and for a total aggregate period of two months the winds were in the opposite direction.

Mr. WOODS, replying to these comments, said he was in agreement with the Chairman and Sir Edwin Pears, that it was most undesirable that at the present time they should attempt to tear in pieces the policy of the political and military authorities. But he thought the audience would agree with him that his criticisms had not been severe, and had been based upon a general consensus of opinion on well-known facts. Had he been inclined to very severe criticism, he would have said a great many things he had refrained from saying. He had purposely avoided touching on the general question of evacuating Gallipoli, except in the course of a few words at the end of his lecture. He thought that the question of evacuation or pushing on with the task before us at the Dardanelles depended entirely upon the troops we were able to send there, and upon the claims of other areas to which we were obliged to send our armies. But what he did say and held was that it was quite useless to press our attack on the Dardanelles, or to send an expedition to any other part of the Balkan Peninsula, unless it was to be an adequate expedition. He did think that he was justified in saying that either the expedition to the Dardanelles was not adequate,

or else that the operations were not conducted in the way one might have hoped. Personally he contended that the expedition was not adequate. Of course the men might not have been available, and it was not easy to make bricks without straw. The whole question depended upon facts of which the public had not full knowledge. There might be decided political or military reasons for pushing on, or there might be strong reasons for our sending an expedition elsewhere instead; but he had deemed it prudent not to go deeply into that question.

With regard to the Chairman's remark as to the influence of events in Gallipoli on other parts of the Near East, one of his reasons for not touching thereon was the shortness of time, and the other was that had he touched upon it it would have been necessary to cover very wide ground. There was no doubt that in respect to Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, and Egypt, the Dardanelles operations had had a very beneficial effect. At the same time, he would have been obliged to refer to the fact that elsewhere in the Balkans the operations had contributed to an attitude towards us which was far from satisfactory.

He wished to thank Colonel Pemberton for his exceedingly interesting remarks. He recollected that there were resemblances between the military situation in Gallipoli and that which faced the Japanese before they wrested Port Arthur from the Russians, and he was in full agreement with Colonel Pemberton as to the great importance of adequate numbers.

With regard to the remarks of Colonel Arthur Yate on the possibility of a Russian diversion from the north, while recognizing how heavy were the tasks Russia was discharging, he agreed that we decidedly required whatever support we could get in order to draw off the enemy troops from the Dardanelles, and thus to ease our task there. But he had been particularly desirous, in preparing his paper, to say nothing which could, if reported, be in any way offensive to any of the countries which were now our Allies; and he felt that any detailed discussion of the question of a Russian diversion might be thought decidedly offensive in that country. They all shared the hope of Colonel Yate that the assistance of Italy might be forthcoming. But all these questions, unfortunately, were influenced by political as well as by military considerations. It had to be recognized that the landing of Italian forces in Montenegro for the defence of Serbia would be difficult from a military point of view, because of the bad state of the roads which would have to be traversed for access into Serbia. The step would further raise questions of a political kind with which it was not desirable to deal on that occasion. They must be left to the judgment of the Allied Governments.

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