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VOLUME III., PART I.

CENTRAL MESOPOTAMIA*

By PERCEVAL LANDON

At a meeting of the Society on January 19, 1916, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand was in the chair. He said that Mr. Perceval Landon had kindly promised them a paper on "Central Mesopotamia," and they all knew his excellent qualifications for the task.

Mr. Landon's paper, illustrated by lantern views, was as follows:

I

It is a curious name, Mesopotamia, though it is simple enough, "The Land between the Rivers." The word is long; and it has been touched by a shaft of ridicule, but there seems no chance now of abandoning the title for something handier and better suited to the traditional cradle of the earth's population. The Arabs divide the district into two parts at about the level of Baghdad. They speak of the upper part as the "Jesireh," of the lower part as "Irak Arabi." But although, of course, the first word means an island, the inhabitants do not limit the district, any more than we do, to the land which is actually bounded on the west by the Euphrates and by the Tigris on the east.

For all practical purposes, the limits of Mesopotamia are clear enough. Not very far beyond the waters of these two great rivers nature has imposed a definite boundary on all sides. To the north-west, the north, the north-east, and the east, mountains of no inconsiderable height hedge round this level seed-plot of humanity. To the south-east and south swamps make an even more effective barrier. To the south-west and west, for hundreds of miles there stretches a waterless desert which remains to this day one of the least-known districts on the world's surface. Except for a practically abandoned dromedary track between Damascus and Hit, and a few rare single-line tracks of adventurous travellers, almost nothing whatever is known of the bitter desert that stretches between Palmyra and Hail except the approaches to the town of Jauf. The visits of Butler and Aylmer and the through-tracks of Carruthers and

* A lecture given before the Central Asian Society on January 19, 1916, by Perceval Landon.

Leachman, have but traced a painful line from water-hole to water-hole. If Captain Shakespeare were alive, or if his notes had been saved, we should know much more. As it is, the Syrian Desert is about as well known to us as the South Polar regions.

II

For all practical purposes there is only one entrance by which civilization and Western peoples can find their way into Mesopotamia, and that is from the south-east by the Persian Gulf and Basra. Mesopotamia essentially looks south-east—a cardinal fact that will not be altered by the construction of the Baghdad Railway or of any other line.

I do not wish to spend time in reminding the Society of the German adventure—which, I believe, has already been discussed at its meetings more than once; but I should like to point out the course of the proposed railway. The line is broken before it enters Mesopotamia by the barrier of the Cilician Gates. Later on its advance is broken more seriously still near a place called Bagtche. Here it is said that seventy tunnels and as many viaducts are required to join up the Adana section with the Aleppo terminus. From Aleppo the track emerges again, and soon turns to the north-east. It crosses the Euphrates at Jerablus and is in nominal running order to Ras-el-Ain, beyond which point there seems to be some small distance of metalled way. From here to Samarra, or a point a little north of it, there is a gap of something like 320 miles. From a military standpoint the railway is already of some use to the Turks in transporting munitions from Aleppo to Jerablus, whence they can be floated down the River Euphrates to Feluja or Khan Makdum, the usual landing-place for Baghdad.

It is a truism that the railway was originally begun as a strategic line. By strategic, I mean politically as well as militarily strategic. Industrially, it never presented any hope of solvency. The possibility of competing commercially by its help with the rivers flowing out of Mesopotamia to the south-east could only have been entertained by the Germans with an intention to juggle with the kilometric guarantee exacted from the unhappy Turks, and to make them pay for the certain annual loss. But this is old ground. The immediate point is that the railway is not finished, and cannot be finished before the end of the war; and then an entirely different chapter in its history will be opened.

It is strange that the modern civilized world has fought out its destinies in places and by methods so remote from those of the district in which civilization had its origin. Yet, indeed, the latter has little to attract modern attention. The normal aspect of the country is

a monotonous level waste of sand and gravel, unrelieved by shrub or tree. The picture on the screen so far flatters the average landscape of Mesopotamia that it contains three or four mounds in the foreground. These represent the latest stages of some ancient city, which neither the chance hint of history nor the curiosity of the archæologist has been strong enough to induce anyone to explore. I assure you that such—the mounds being taken away—is the normal appearance of Central Mesopotamia for nine-tenths of its surface. Of course, actually beside the two great rivers—that is to say, within a few yards in most cases—there are date-palms, reeds, and willows; and a small amount of watered and cultivated land may be found, but at present such land is confined to only a tenth of what might be so developed. It is because of the possibility of making this country—which was able in Babylonian times to support a population of at least ten million souls—once again a prosperous and fertile granary, not merely for itself but for the rest of the world, that European interest has chiefly been directed towards Mesopotamia in the course of the last fifteen years.

III

Before, however, I refer either to the possibilities of the country or its present life and customs, it may be interesting to take a typical case of an ancient centre of civilization. In order that you may see a little of what remains of the splendour of Babylon, I will ask you briefly to follow me in a journey through some of the ruins of the most famous of all cities. Thirty years ago there was nothing to mark the site of Babylon beyond an undulating height of land on the eastern banks of the Hilleh branch of the Euphrates, a little north of the shabby Arab village of Hilleh. Those sand humps were not certainly recognized as Babylon. Therefore there seemed no reason to embark upon an excavation which was obviously to be of a most costly description at a time when other sites appeared more certain and more lucrative. In the end, I regret to say, we owed the clearing and mapping of Babylon to the Germans. It was entrusted to the ablest man they had, Professor Koldewey, and he has done his work with a sagacity, ripe knowledge, and success with which one would like to be able to credit this country. He swept aside at once the early Victorian identification of the Tower of Babel—Babel is, of course, the same as Babylon—with Birs Nimrud some eighteen miles to the south; but it required the industry of years to lay bare the floors of the gigantic palaces of Nebuchadnezzar, and more still before the final discovery was certain of E-sag-il-a. E-sag-il-a was the central temple of Marduk—or, as we know him better in the Bible, Merodach. And then were discovered in their inevitable

place the last remnants of the most famous of all Towers. But I am over-running my story.

The Palace of Nebuchadnezzar was about seven times the size of Buckingham Palace, and, where it was not founded upon the natural rise in the ground to the south, was supported upon gigantic foundations. These huge works gave rise to the well-known but mistaken phrase, "The Hanging Gardens of Babylon." It is clear that these were jutting-out or under-vaulted terraces terminating the royal palace to the north, and were only κρεμάστοι (or hanging) in the sense in which a kindred Greek word is used of flowers which are supported by their stalks. In a most effective way low reliefs of strange beasts were built, brick by brick, upon these huge red piers, even, it is curious to note, upon the subterranean arches of the grand entrance, where there was no chance of the sun reaching them. Babylon was built of brick. (The only stone course in it was composed of limestone brought down from Hit by Nebuchadnezzar, who was so proud of it that he took the trouble to inscribe on each stone: "This wall was built of stone by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon.") These palace bricks are kiln-burnt. The rest of Babylon was made of sun-baked clay, and the one lamentable fact in connection with the disinterment of Babylon is that though many of the temples have been located and named with certainty, their discovery has in every case meant their ruin. On my arrival in Babylon I asked Dr. Koldewey to show me the Temple of Ishtar, which had been discovered a few years before. He could only express his regret that the Temple was already a scarcely recognizable heap of sand and mud. It had been photographed from every possible angle, it had been measured with a minuteness which no modern building knows, and every particular and characteristic of it had been noticed, but the laying bare of the long-buried brick to the sun and wind had proved its ruin; and such a fate awaits every one of the other buildings in Babylon soon after their discovery. As I could see myself, when discovered, these temples are in a remarkably fine state of preservation. Many of them were ornamented with wide perpendicular stripes of black and white, and thin, flat buttresses, similar to the outer decoration of the lamasserais of Tibet.

In a general eastward view of Babylon you will see in the middle distance a curious long hill with a cut in it. This has a curious history. When I was leaving the Temple of Marduk, the Professor and I walked two hundred yards or so till we reached a gigantic square mound surrounded by the remains of a moat. He said: "If it interests you at all to know it, *that* is all that remains of the Tower of Babel." He continued quickly: "Do not mistake me: I do not mean to say that these are the remains of the first tower that was ever built on this spot. For centuries before any historical record, this was venerated as the holiest

place in Mesopotamia. I will go further," he said. "Were I to sink a shaft into this mound I would undertake to find record below record of other towers which had been built on the same spot, until the water stopped me. But I can assure you that this is all that remains of the Tower of Babel which the writer of Genesis had in his mind when he wrote the famous account of the Dispersion." He went on to explain how it had become, in a way, the *omphalos* of Western Asia, and how conqueror after conqueror had added to the existing tower that he found on his arrival. Nebuchadnezzar refused to be outdone, dug new foundations—in the moat—and raised upon this site a more gigantic edifice than any that had existed before. The tower was the "ziggurat," or tower of the Temple of Marduk, and as that Temple increased in fame and wealth and splendour, the Tower within its precincts became more and more magnificent. Nebuchadnezzar's Tower lasted until the famous and fatal visit to Babylon of Alexander the Great. He, with that touch of childishness which is one of his most marked and not the least lovable of his characteristics, determined at once to build something bigger still. He pulled down the Tower of Nebuchadnezzar and carted it a mile or two away into the plain to the east, where the remains now form the long hill with a cut in it, to which I have drawn your attention. His men worked down to, and cleared out, the foundations of the earlier tower, and there stopped—for the good and sufficient reason that Alexander was dead. So the foundations of the Biblical tower have remained exposed for 2,200 years.

The Temple of Marduk itself is an exception to the rule of universal decay that I mentioned just now, because, owing to its extraordinary interest, Professor Koldewey had it excavated inside its mound without exposing it to the air more than was necessary. The effect is very curious; with a lantern one can penetrate corridor after corridor, making one's way in the dark between the recently exposed walls of the temple on the one side and on the other the hard, sandy mass which had filled them and hidden them from sight for so many centuries. What is more interesting still, is to stand within the chapel of that oldest of earth's divinities, Ea, somewhat to the left of the Holy of Holies as one approaches it from the Tower, in which the field-marshals of Alexander the Great gathered on the night of his decease, to pray from the Gods of Mesopotamia for the boon that the Gods of Macedonia seemed powerless to give.

IV

But Mesopotamia does not contain dead cities only. Of Baghdad itself it is not necessary to speak now at any length. It is a city wholly different from and, indeed, placed on a different spot from that which has been made famous to us by the Arabian Nights. It has within it one or two mosques of some slight interest, and the remains of the walls testify to its one-time military strength. But Baghdad was born to trade, not to fight. Across the river to the west, there are one or two important ruins. The gilded dome of the Mosque of Kazimain, rises from a dense raffle of close, ill-smelling streets, inhabited by Moslems who show no liking for the Christian dog of a visitor.

But at Kerbela, two days' journey to the west, a smaller but a far more important and far more interesting centre is to be found. Kerbela marks the field of blood of the Moslem race. Here Hussein, the son of Ali and the grandson of Mahomet himself, was rounded up and slaughtered with his followers. I need not remind the Society that from this disaster is to be traced the division of the Mahommedan faith into its two great branches to-day. This strange and fanatic town occupies a curious position from a religious and therefore from a political point of view. It is an enclave of Persia in Turkish territory, and from its vast religious importance invites special treatment when, after this war is over, not merely the rights and wrongs of the Persians but our duties towards them, will bring its future position into our close consideration.

It is not the antiquities or the curiosities of Mesopotamia that especially claim our attention this afternoon. I would like to show you, so far as I can, some of the occupations of the modern Mesopotamian, such as a street scene in one of the smaller Mesopotamian towns, Mahmudie, on the high road between Baghdad and Babylon. The place is interesting because it was from here that the famous Stele of Khammurabi was transported to Susa and there discovered after the lapse of many centuries. Or, again, the interior of an ordinary Arab house. It is, of course, an accident that the palms are growing through the roof, but it is not an accident that there are no windows looking out, and that the wall which surrounds the roof is six feet high. Or, again, some views of the great rivers. One of them shows you the ancient but still almost universal method of irrigation practised by the Arab. As you see, a wheel, some thirty feet in diameter, is hung with pots, and is then driven by the force of the current in a continuous circle, some at least of the water in the revolving pots reaching the trough which you see at the end of the masonry. It is the most wasteful method of collecting water that exists, but it

must not be forgotten that, except for the original cost, it is entirely inexpensive.

It is worth while to notice the extraordinary primitive craft in which the traffic and transport of the two great rivers is carried on. Besides the few paddle steamers owned by Messrs. Lynch and the Turkish Government, which ply between Basra and Baghdad, the only steam-propelled craft is a small steamer the size of a motor-boat. which runs irregularly between Feluja and Meskeneh on the Euphrates, At this moment the lower reaches of the Euphrates, that is to say, anywhere south of Hindieh, are not navigable. An attempt was made in 1908 by one of Messrs. Lynch's most capable captains to work his way through, but the venture was only just not a complete disaster. Besides these steam-boats—which draw very little water, and in consequence steer like busses on greasy asphalte, there are baggalas, larger boats with high-peaked bows and picturesque tattered lateen sails. Also ballams, which are light canoe-shaped boats, admirably adapted for going with wind and tide.

The two most characteristic native craft are the kelek and the kufa. The kelek is simply a framework of boards laid on the top of distended skins. These boats are generally watertight enough to stand the journey from Mosul to Baghdad. No attempt is made to return, and the skins and boards fetch fair prices in the Baghdad markets. The kufa is best explained by a picture. It is a tarred coracle, which is a much more scientific vehicle than it seems to be, as it draws but two or three inches of water, and can therefore be navigated without great difficulty across the fastest currents of the Tigris or the Euphrates.

V

One of the oldest trades of the world is that of the pitch-workers of Hit. Hit is the place from which Noah obtained the pitch with which he tarred the Ark. There is a very old Mahommedan tradition to this effect, and as Hit is the chief bituminous centre of Mesopotamia, it may have interest to those who like to follow in the place of their birth the legends and stories that crowd so picturesquely the pages of Genesis.* From a more modern point of view it has possibly valuable oil springs at a little distance to the south-east. Many people believe Hit to be the site of the Garden of Eden. All I can say is that at present the stench of rotten eggs can be smelled for five miles round it.

* That the pitch for the Ark—whatever the exact story of the Ark and the Deluge may be—was taken from Hit seems probable because the nearest alternative place is the Maidan-i-Naftun, on the site of the Anglo-Persian Oil-fields, 400 miles away.

No word has become more suddenly familiar within the last few weeks than Ctesiphon, and it may be of interest to show you the famous ruin round which the gallant but unsuccessful battle was fought by General Townshend on his road towards Baghdad. The view is taken from the Tigris a little above the ruin, and shows—on a plain characteristic of Mesopotamia—the famous arch which, if it has survived recent artillery fire, remains the most extraordinary vault in Roman architecture. It measures seventy-five feet from side to side, and is a perfect semi-circle. The interest of this part of the Tigris lies painfully in the fact that one never knows from day to day what it is going to do. South-west of this arch and only two miles away, the Tigris makes a sudden bend to the south-west as if it were off to Babylon, and then, repenting of its effort, returns again in a loop seven miles long, to within seventy yards of its previous track. That is, there is a frail skin of sand (which falls into the river day by day), separating the upper and the lower reaches of the great river, and within a very short time the day will come when the partition will break down, and the Tigris will hurl itself with redoubled force and double volume into its old channel by a new and sudden door. The descent during those seven miles may be no more than two or three feet, but the most up-to-date engineering scientist in Baghdad declined to prophesy to me what would happen in the lower reaches of the Tigris when that inevitable day occurred.

VI

The closely screened Bazars in Mesopotamia will give you some idea of the precautions that have to be taken against the sun, even by these hardened sons of Ishmael and in these tumbledown villages. The Bazar at Mayadin affords a good example of the way in which the Arab, at least, takes no risks. Nor is this his only precaution. In many places the "serdab" is as necessary a part of the house as any other room in it. This room is simply a cellar below the centre of the house, to which, when the heat becomes excessive, the family retires. They are sometimes doubled, like the Mamertine prison in Rome. I remember finding refuge on a particularly hot day, at Shustar, in a second cellar some ten feet below the upper serdab. Here the air was pleasantly cool, and though, of course, there was no light except what a few oil lamps gave, the place was furnished with rugs and cushions in by no means an uncomfortable manner.

It is absurd to pretend that travelling is anything but a wearisome occupation in Mesopotamia. In a spider-like conveyance on four wheels, or arabana, set about with curtains which attract every fly within sight, sound, or smell, one bumps dolefully and eternally over

the surface of the desert in a haze of dust. The pole probably breaks and is patched up again as best may be with pieces of string or a few lengths of soft iron—until the next break occurs. The arabanji is always in his most optimistic mood when mending a break. There is nothing to see except the dull level stretch of ochreous horizon, or now and again the dun and pewter lights of the muddy river surface. One halts at midday for a meal beside the bank. There is no shade to sit in; there is nothing to see in the way of flowers; and the fish one has neither time to catch nor palate to eat. Travelling is simply a question of putting stage after stage behind one, and sometimes one receives an unpleasant reminder that everyone has not been so lucky in escaping damage as oneself. For example, the bridge which leads the main track across a small wadi into Ana was the scene of a sudden fatality. A Turk had been travelling over the route two days before, and his horses had taken fright at the sight of a stone bridge and had jumped the parapet. You may see the two dead horses at the bottom still. Of course both the Turk and his servant were killed outright.

Then there is always the possibility of the sand-storm. I suppose that all of us have listened with bated breath, in our early days, to the story of the storm in the desert, during which, according to the lurid pictures of our childhood, there was nothing to be done but bury one's nose against the sides of one's long-suffering camel. But, as the story was careful to continue, even that expedient did not, as a rule, save the unfortunate travellers and animals from becoming and remaining mere hummocks of sand on the site of the tragedy. I suppose that in later life we have all come to deride the traditional sandstorm much as one pooh-poohs things like the maelstrom and the upas tree; but I was fortunate enough to take a photograph which will, I think, convince this Society that there is something to be said for the old story. When this photograph was developed it was returned to me by the sympathetic Kodak Company, with a note to the effect that the film had been spoiled. This, however, was by no means the case. A sandstorm which, as you will easily understand, always travels faster overhead, with its two miles of lighter grit, than on the surface of the ground with its substantial pebbles, was blowing over me. I took this photograph just before the lower, dense mass of driving stones and debris caught me. You will see the black curtain of the sand driving over my head and over the river for a clear mile, leaving the lower horizon still bright for the moment. Then the storm caught me, and I made my way indoors, clinging to the wall.

VII

What does Mesopotamia export at this moment ? Except dates, practically nothing of any international importance. But what could it export ? The answer to this question is to be found in the work done by Sir William Willcocks, of which a small part has already been carried into effect. I do not think that Englishmen always realize the enormous debt that not Mesopotamia merely nor only the British Empire, but the civilized world, owes to this man. I can only glance in the briefest possible manner at the irrigation proposals by which he suggests turning Mesopotamia into a second and a greater Egypt. Roughly speaking, his plan is to revive with newer and better methods the old system of irrigation, which provided Mesopotamia with its ancient teeming population and wealth. I may just say that the scheme is divided into five main portions, of which one is already completed—the Hindieh Barrage. The magnitude of the works necessitated by this great scheme is not always appreciated at home. The immediate result of this Barrage—which, by the way, takes the place of a broken dam, constructed by the French from large burnt bricks each stamped with the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar—will be the raising of the water level in the old Hilleh Canal, and eventually the restoration of the old Babylon area of cultivation. Incidentally the Professor at Babylon told me with much sadness that it will put an end to a great part of his work of exploration, as it will raise the height of the water in his excavations by six or eight feet. Secondly, there is a curious scheme by which Lake Habbania is to be used both as an outlet for the flood waters of the Euphrates, and as an enormous reservoir which will some day be employed in what may be called the Kerbela circle of cultivation on the west bank of the Euphrates. Then we have the great scheme by which the territories between the Euphrates and the Tigris are re-canalled by a project roughly following the old lines of cultivation which extend from above Ramadie to Baghdad on the Tigris, and thence descend slightly in a southerly direction till the Euphrates receives the superfluous water again. The resuscitation of the old irrigation works, still more or less in use, within the Diala district, and a magnificent scheme, rather of drainage than of irrigation, by which hundreds of square miles of swampy land below Kut-el-Amara will be rendered fertile, complete, I believe, at this moment a scheme which for sheer benefit to humanity is entitled to rank only with such work as that of M. de Lesseps.

VIII

One always has to speak of Mesopotamia with a certain sense of insecurity. Cheek by jowl, the old there jostles the new. As we have seen, the bricks of Nebuchadnezzar were used by French engineers, and the famous Yezidis who worship the Devil—and, incidentally, cannot abide the colour blue—are not unkindly hosts to the weary London missionary who sometimes finds himself benighted beside one of their rare encampments. The prejudices of the Arabs, and, be it added, their magnificent traditions of hospitality and of honour, are maintained to-day as fully as when the leaves of the Koran were newly collected and given to the Moslem world. Already the engines of the Baghdad railway snort amid the ruins of Carchemish—and there is nothing the Arabs love so much as a short journey, sixteen to a compartment. The persistence of an ancient régime amid new influences could not be better illustrated than by the present life of Mesopotamia; and he would be a bold prophet who did not take example from the past history of this great and lonely desert to prophesy little but the immediate industrial future. Nothing is more certain in Mesopotamia than change, nothing, except perhaps the certainty that when all is over and done, the eternal and primitive character of the country and its inhabitants will hold its own impassively but irresistibly side by side with any modern influence. Massudi, the historian of 940, tells the story that when Khaled conquered Babylon there was an aged man of el-Hirah sent to make terms on behalf of the city. (I take this story from one of the best geographical books that ever was written, Mr. Beazley's "Dawn of Modern Geography.") In conversation, Khaled demanded the meaning of the huge buildings of Babylon. The messenger replied, "They are built for mad people, who are shut up in them till they come to their senses"—meaning thereby, until they learn the truth of the flux of all things and see the folly of building for eternity, or even for a moderately distant future.

This gave the conqueror food for thought. "And how many years have come over thee?" he demanded.

"Three hundred and fifty."

"And what hast thou seen?"

"I have seen the ships of the sea coming up over this firm land with the goods of Sind and of India. The ground that is now under thy feet was then covered with the waves; where is now the sand of the desert was once full of villages, trees and crops, canals and streams. So God visits his servants and his country." Allowing for Oriental imagery, there was a substratum of truth in the old man's description of Mesopotamia at an indefinitely earlier period.

Still, in spite of the aged man of el-Hirah, there are some things certain even in Mesopotamia, and so long as man exists the muddy waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris will continue to offer him their priceless gifts. We know, too, that there is no soil in the world which can produce greater or more frequent crops than that of these long fallow levels. The two things are waiting for us. For *us*. It is not unpleasant to close this lecture with the belief—indeed, the certainty—that whatever may happen to Mesopotamia politically during the next few years, we may be sure that the treasure chest of this great land will, within a few years, have been opened by English hands, and we may well hope that its rich contents will be distributed to a waiting world by the same plain folk who have so often and in so many quarters of the world turned the wilderness into a smiling plain.

Sir EVAN JAMES, who had taken Sir Mortimer Durand's place in the chair, said he was expressing the views of all present in thanking Mr. Landon for an extraordinarily interesting lecture. By modern engineering in India the wilderness had been made to blossom as the rose. There were parts of the Punjab, for example, which were to all appearance far more sterile than the Mesopotamian plains which had been thrown on the screen; but the irrigation engineer had converted them into prosperous wheat lands. They would all hope that the work of Sir William Willcocks in Mesopotamia, to which the lecturer had paid such deserved tribute, would have like beneficent results when the war was over.

The audience owed an additional debt to Mr. Landon for the trouble he had taken in showing and describing to them the excellent series of photographs which he had taken in Mesopotamia. It was sad to think that the excavation of the temples led to their crumbling and collapsing; but all archæologists will be thankful that pictures of these ancient buildings were secured before the weather had injured the fabrics.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE said he had not travelled in Mesopotamia, but Meshed in Persia, which he had visited in 1885, contained the greatest Shi'a shrine in the world next to Kerbela—viz., the golden-domed Shrine of the Imam Reza. He thought that the iron door-chains at Kerbela to which Mr. Landon had drawn attention were possibly connected with the right of "*bast*" or sanctuary, which was a privilege of Mahommedan shrines to-day, as it had been formerly of Christian religious edifices. When he was with the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1884, he took into his service a Persian who came from Meshed. He was faithful for a time, but, when the Afghan Boundary Commission was encamped somewhere between Herat and Penjdeh, he decamped, and went off to Meshed with his despatch-

box, containing a large sum in rupees, a revolver, a gold watch and, what inconvenienced him (the speaker) the most, all his spare eye-glasses, which were carefully kept in his despatch-box. In April, 1885, he spent several weeks at Meshed, and ascertained that the thief was there in *bast*. No one, least of all a foreigner, dare touch a man in *bast*. The priesthood would raise an outcry that might cost a foreigner his life. But the man was known to occasionally come outside *bast*. The British Agent, Mirza Abbas Khan, concurred in a plan to catch him. He was watched, and on temporarily leaving *bast* was caught, and compelled to give up such of the property as remained with him. Colonel Yate suggested that the man should be punished, but the British Agent advised him to leave well alone, and be content with what he had got. The best description of the sacred Memorial and Tomb of the Imam Reza is to be found in Colonel C. E. Yate's "Khurāsān and Sistān" (*Blackwood*, 1900), and in an article contributed to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, of May, 1913, by Colonel Harry Stanley Massy, formerly of the 19th Bengal Lancers, who had entered the Shrine in disguise—a daring adventure. Lieut.-Colonel Yate thought the iron chains across the Kerbela gates might very well be a symbol of sanctuary.

Sir EVAN JAMES, in expressing the thanks of the Society to Mr. Landon, said he was one of the few people present who had been in Mesopotamia, though he did not get beyond Basra. Some of the tracts about the Shatt-al-Arab seemed to him of a most fertile character, and he confessed having had an idea up to now that there were similar tracts in other portions of Mesopotamia. From what Mr. Landon had told them it was evident they must wait for some day—he hoped it would not be a distant one—when the irrigation engineer would bring cultivation back as in the days of the great Nebuchadnezzar. In the India Office there were a few of those old bricks stamped with the name of that monarch, to which Mr. Landon had referred. He possessed one himself. It was brought from the ruins of Babylon by an officer of the Indian Marine, who was travelling there from Basra.

Mr. LANDON, replying to a vote of thanks proposed by Colonel Yate and seconded by Sir Frederic Fryer, said that the subject of Mesopotamia was very large, and many aspects of it could not be freely discussed yet. But at a time when military operations there were a matter of immediate interest, he thought it might be well to present to a London audience some elementary facts about the war. He was glad to gather from the remarks that had been made that he had not been entirely wrong in coming to that conclusion.

SEVEN MONTHS IN HIGH ASIA

By Miss ELLA SYKES, F.R.G.S.

At a meeting of the Society on February 2, 1916, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand was in the chair, and in introducing Miss Ella Sykes, said that many of those present were personally acquainted with her, and those who were not of course knew of her as a very intrepid and cheerful traveller with great descriptive gifts. She had lectured to the Society before, to their great satisfaction, and he was quite sure they had a great pleasure before them.

The lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides from photographs taken by Miss Sykes or her brother, Colonel Sir Percy M. Sykes, was as follows:

It is impossible in the space of half an hour to give any adequate idea of a journey which comprised residence in Kashgar, a seven weeks' tour in the Russian Pamirs and the Highlands of Chinese Turkestan, followed later by an expedition along the edge of the Takla Makan Desert to Khotan, famous for its jade.

My aim, therefore, has been to concentrate on Kashgar, the capital of Chinese Turkestan, with some account of the Roof of the World and its scanty Khirghiz population.

My brother and I went out early last March to Kashgar in order that he might act for Sir George Macartney, the well-known Consul-General, who was going home on leave.

Kashgar is certainly one of, if not the most, inaccessible Consular posts in the world, and it took us over a month to reach it. Owing to the war, we were obliged to go and return by a roundabout route, crossing from Newcastle to Bergen, then through Norway and Sweden; round the head of the Gulf of Bothnia to Tornea in the Arctic Circle, and so through Finland to Petrograd and Moscow.

From the fascinating city of the Kremlin we travelled five days and five nights in the train. As far as Samara with its great bridge over the Volga, the world was lapped in ice and snow, but when we passed into Asia, by way of Orenburg, spring was in the air.

Round the Lake of Aral a green flush was visible on the vast sweep of the steppe, and at Tashkent, the capital of Russian Turkestan, we were in a city of fruit-blossom and enervating warmth.

The Russian Railway came to an end at the small town of Andijan, from where we drove thirty miles to the pretty little Russian cantonment of Osh. Here we halted to buy stores for our twelve days' ride over the mountains, and old Jaffer Bai, the chuprassi sent from the Consulate to meet us, got together our caravan of ponies. We lodged in the Russian "Nomera," or "furnished apartments," a

residence far from clean, but luxurious in comparison with the hovels in which we slept later on.

It was the end of March when we set off towards the mountains, which we could see in the distance, but the 250-mile ride was by no means an unmixed pleasure, our ponies being in such poor condition that I think they would have broken down had we not walked constantly. The weather was fine, but as we mounted up into the hills it became cold in the morning and evening.

Our method of travelling was somewhat as follows:—We rose at half-past five, dressing hastily by the light of candles, while Jaffer Bai folded up our camp-beds and dragged out our holdalls and dressing-cases. Meanwhile, the cook was preparing breakfast, and the delicious Russian bread, butter and eggs, bought at Osh, lasted for the entire journey. At seven o'clock the caravan started, and as we were always ahead of it we made a midday halt for lunch, near a stream if possible, where the ponies could graze, and there waited until the baggage passed us. We then mounted and looked forward to tea and baths at the Russian post-houses, which boasted a couple of fairly clean, plastered rooms, often furnished with bedsteads, a table and stools, but had hardly any shelter for the pack-animals. This serious defect was remedied when we crossed into Chinese Turkestan, but travellers had to put up with dirty little mud rooms with a hole in the roof to admit light and air, and frequently prowling cats.

The crux of our journey was the Terek Diwan Pass in the Tian Shan Range, and my attire on this occasion was a blend of what would be suitable in the Tropics and the Arctic Circle, and both of us plastered our faces liberally with cold cream.

It was quite easy to negotiate the north side of the Pass as long as we kept to the beaten track, though if the ponies tried to pass one another they fell headlong in the deep snow on either side. Four hours' ride took us to the crest, where we had a glorious view of the Tian Shan and Alai Ranges, the " Celestial Mountains " among which we stood closing in round us like a sort of Gornergrat.

The descent was not nearly so pleasant, for the April sunshine had melted the snow into deep holes, at the bottom of which water ran over boulders. It needed wary walking on my part to save me from a twisted ankle or knee, but was almost impassable for the loaded ponies. The poor animals fell again and again, and though we ourselves reached the rest-house at one o'clock, it was nine o'clock before our caravan arrived with our bedding frozen and unuseable. The animals had taken thirteen hours to accomplish twelve miles, and I felt that if Russia had only made a rough mule-track, we should not have seen those countless skeletons of ponies and donkeys that bore eloquent testimony to the hardships of the road.

Irkishtan, the frontier village between Russian and Chinese Turkestan, is perched on a high cliff above the Kizl Su, the river that we learnt to know well at Kashgar. The broad stream was partially frozen over, and we had some difficulty in crossing it, as our ponies had to step down into the water from a shelf of ice and then clamber up on to an ice floe in the middle, but after this there were no further difficulties, only the discomfort of the Spring sand-storms that were in full blast in these barren regions.

The foothills got lower and lower until we emerged on to the Kashgar Plain and saw the green of the Oasis in the distance, and on April 10th we were among springing crops and trees in leaf, and after the dirty rest-houses it was a revelation to enter a well-ordered house with a countrywoman for hostess.

The Consulate, in a delightful terraced garden, overlooked the river, that with its two branches makes almost an island of Kashgar, and is the source of its fertility. The loess formation of the district is most picturesque, the high rocks being broken into fantastic forms, and when at sunset the tall poplars were silhouetted blackly against the sky, they looked like cypresses, and the mud shrines and mean dwellings, bathed in a quivering golden light, seemed changed into fairy palaces.

For several days after our arrival at Kashgar the sun was obscured by a haze of sand, and, indeed throughout our stay the atmosphere was seldom clear enough to enable us to see the snow-covered ranges that rise on all sides save to the east, where the desert reigns supreme.

Kashgar is a large, well-cultivated oasis on the edge of the Takla Makan Desert, and is inhabited by a mild race of peasant cultivators and little shopkeepers, who appear content with the easy rule of the Chinese. They are Sunni Mohammedans, but are not bigoted, and in appearance seemed half-way between the handsome Aryan races and the flat-faced, high cheek-boned Mongol. As Shaw, one of the first Englishmen who ever penetrated into Chinese Turkestan, puts it: "They are Tartarized Aryans."

The upper-class men had boldly-cut features with full beards and moustaches, and many of the young girls and children were charmingly pretty, reminding me of Italians or Spaniards.

Their dress was an orgy of colour. Men and women alike had embroidered skull-caps over which coloured velvet hats with fur brims were placed, and both sexes wore long, brilliantly-tinted coats and leather riding-boots. The women draped a white cotton shawl from the head to the feet with graceful effect, and had a short face-veil which they usually threw back over their velvet hats. We found them a friendly race, and encountered nothing but politeness on our daily rides.

The status of the women is decidedly superior to that of their Persian sisters. There is much more intercourse between the sexes,

women chaffering freely with men in the bazaars, and the wife is often spoken of as "Khan," or head of the household. She rides her horse or donkey, driving her stock before her to the market, where she transacts her own business, and in spite of the protests of the mollahs, she does not much attend to the Prophet's injunction anent the veiling of women.

There is, however, another side to the picture. Divorce is extremely common (anyone can get a divorce for fourpence), and is carried to such lengths that quite young girls have been married several times, and the custom of temporary marriages with traders is much in vogue.

There was a shrine on a ridge opposite the Consulate where women in want of a husband were wont to resort, the custom being to place their hands in holes made in the mud tomb while they were invoking the aid of this female saint—the Bibi Khanum, as they called her.

Of course there were plenty of shrines reputed to cure various maladies. The tiled entrance of one Mazar was covered with earth, the custom being for sufferers to fling lumps of wet mud at it, a cure being certain if the pellets stuck. In the courtyard of another shrine there was a huge old willow, bent nearly to the ground, this tree being beneficial for rheumatism. The patient had to go round the tree seven times, rubbing his back against the bark, and old Jaffer Bai, who was with us on the occasion of our visit, followed this simple prescription. I did not dare to ask him whether he had been cured of the pains in his back to which he told me he was subject!

We bought horses a few days after our arrival at Kashgar, and began to explore the town and its environs. I have never been in a pleasanter riding-country, for the sandy roads and lanes, without a stone, were shaded by avenues of willow and poplar growing along the irrigation-channels, and the eye rested on the vivid green of the young wheat and barley and lucerne crops. There were countless cross-country tracks, and the easily-forded river and loess cliffs gave so much variety that we could go a fresh ride nearly every day.

In spite of its antiquity Kashgar has hardly anything in the way of fine buildings, though it occupies the site of the old capital of Kie-Sha, visited by Hinen Tsang in the seventh century. The Chinese traveller speaks of the hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, but now the only remains of the old faith are two stupas to the north and south of the Consulate, both shapeless masses of rubble.

The quaint modern Chinese temple erected to the memory of General Panchau, the Celestial who led an army to the Caspian Sea, stood on the city wall. From it we got a fine view over the town, and were told that the wall was built by gangs of over-worked and under-fed slaves. If one of them died his corpse was built into the wet mud, and the legend haunted me when I stood on the wall, which is eighteen feet wide and has a high parapet.

The principal Mohammedan building was Hazrat Apak, with an imposing tile-covered façade, but it was not in any way equal to the beautiful shrines of Persia. The road leading to it is bordered for over a mile on either side by mud tombs, at which the women pray and weep on Fridays and Saturdays, and inside the shrine, Apak the Saint-King of Kashgar and sixty-nine of his family are buried in a crowded mass of tombs covered with blue and white tiles.

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The summer was unpleasantly hot in the Oasis, and as my brother had been invited by the Russian authorities to shoot ovis poli in the Pamirs, and also wished to visit Sarikol and its British subjects, we set off on a tour early in June.

My brother looked after our caravan, inspected tents, arranged for rations for the servants and barley and shoes for the horses, while on me devolved the task of packing stores to last for seven weeks, as we could count on nothing save meat and milk. I had hundreds of apricots stoned and dried on the Consulate roof, and made jam of the fruit, while the cook baked bread, cakes and biscuits, and packed eggs and vegetables. Bags were in readiness for rice, sugar, flour and so on, and the boxes had to be filled with care in order not to overload the ponies.

Just at this time Sir Aurel Stein arrived from a two years' stay in the Desert, bringing 150 cases of archæological treasures. It was with regret that we left such an interesting guest, but we were obliged to cross the Gez River before it rose with the melting of the snows, and Sir Aurel stayed on in the Consulate to repack his finds at leisure, and forward them to India.

We struck south until we entered the gloomy Gez Defile some sixty miles in length. In this part of the world no one comments on the weather, which is usually monotonously fine, the prime interest being the state of the water. We were fortunate in crossing the Gez in good time, before the "Great Water," which begins late in June, but even as it was, it was touch and go more than once with our baggage animals.

The old Beg of Tashmallik, who escorted us with his men, made me mount his own horse when the crossings were bad. We were obliged to negotiate the river four or five times a day, and at first it was somewhat alarming to feel one's horse slipping and stumbling in its efforts to find a footing on the rounded boulders which covered the bed of the stream. However, as one man held my rein, and another rode beside me to rescue me if my horse fell, I soon entered into the excitement of the scene, enjoying the sense of adventure.

The river crashed and hurled itself down over boulders, and above the hurly burly of the water the riders yelled to one another and to their horses, gesticulating wildly. I had to be careful not to look

at the swiftly flowing river, as the land ahead would seem to swim from me, but fixed my eyes on the riders.

The Defile got narrower as we proceeded, and was a scene of chaos and desolation, great boulders piled on one another in confusion, the barren hills rising sheer from the water giving a sense of imprisonment, and when we had crossed swaying native bridges and crept along narrow hill paths of loose shale, where a false step would have hurled us to destruction, it was a joy to see mighty Mustagh Ata standing up magnificently at the end of the Defile.

We emerged on to the shore of sand-filled Lake Bulunkul, and were now to travel in flat treeless valleys inhabited by Kirghiz, encountering nothing but snow-storms or sand-storms during the first week of our stay in these uplands, with their somewhat scanty grazing-grounds.

We found the Kirghiz a peaceful, hospitable race, well-built, with flat, rosy faces. The women were interested in me, and I had many lady visitors, all hard-featured and weather-beaten, except when quite young.

I lived for the most part in spacious *akhois*, the beehive-like erections covered with felts, save where a hole at the top admits light and air, not to say snow and rain, and lets out the pungent smoke of the fires. My visitors would squat on the floor, and while they drank tea sweetened with much sugar, I would observe their snowy head-gear, their brightly-coloured garments, and their characteristic jewellery of silver and coral.

Women are in a decided minority in the Pamirs and consequently valuable. A man must give a hundred sheep or their equivalent in live-stock to his would-be father-in-law if he wants to marry, and if he is poor often enters into a contract to serve his fiancée's father for a term of years, much as Jacob did for Rachel. He will marry the girl, but lives in her father's *akhoi* tending his flocks, and when the time is up he is given an *akhoi* and live-stock, and he and his wife live independently.

Divorce is practically unknown among these nomads, and usually a man has only one wife, but I was told that sometimes he takes a second when urgently begged to do so by his first wife, who finds the work too heavy for her. Certainly the value of a good wife must be "above rubies." She tends and milks the animals, makes cream, cheese, curds, and the acrid *koumiss*, and does all the cooking. There is mending and washing to be done, felts and woollen ropes and in some districts carpets to be made, while, of course, on her depends the rearing of the children. These were conspicuous by their absence, and I was told that few babies born during the long winter survive the rigours of the climate.

The men have all the amusement that is to be had. When guests arrive the men eat with them, but the women merely prepare the

banquet, and this is the case at weddings and funeral feasts. These latter are accompanied by horse-races with prizes, the idea being that the dead man is giving the entertainment and disposing of property no longer of use to him. The men do a certain amount of shooting, slaying ovis poli during the winter, and constantly amusing themselves with the " goat game " in the summer.

From these grassy uplands of Chinese Turkestan we made our way to the Katta Dewan Pass, which we crossed in a mild kind of blizzard, stumbling in the newly-fallen snow, but delighted to have reached the Russian Pamirs. From the crest of the Pass we got a view of the Great Karakul Lake, by which we camped for the next few days, and on our way there had our first glimpse of ovis poli, the sheep, large as donkeys, that inhabit the Roof of the World.

We were now in the Pamir of the Hare, a dreary region with hardly any grazing. The Karakul Lake was ringed with superb mountains among which rose the magnificent Peak Kaufmann, and its intensely blue waters were streaked with purple and green. It is salt and stagnant, and has a band of salt efflorescence on its shores, making the ground so rotten that one of our horses was nearly " bogged."

Sport was not good here, so my brother decided to proceed to Pamirsky Post, a ninety-mile ride along the Russian cart-road, through one of the most desolate regions imaginable. When we reached the Russian fort we were warmly welcomed by the Cossack captain, and I felt sorry for him and his men planted in such an inhospitable spot. The fort stood on a cliff above the Murgabi, one of the head-waters of the classic Oxus, and our host said that the ovis poli came down in winter to graze on the river banks. He and my brother discussed where the best heads were to be found, and a three days' caravaning brought us to the long valley of Witchkul, where my brother was successful, getting four heads in all.

We were camping at about 14,000 feet, and I found the elevation rather trying, as I panted at the least exertion, felt always tired, and had a feeling as if a hand were pressing on my throat, but when we left the Roof of the World my energy and appetite returned to me with a rush, and I felt delightfully fit.

The climate was also trying, as it was very cold in the early morning and evening, while the sun was unpleasantly hot in the middle of the day. If I dispensed with wraps an icy blast would be certain to come from the mountains, and the frequent storms in the hills visited us in the form of smart showers of snow and rain.

As to the scenery, Sir Francis Younghusband has vividly described it in " The Heart of a Continent." He explains how the valleys are choked up with the moraines of glaciers of countless centuries ago, so that, as he puts it, " The lowest valleys are the height of re-

spectable Alps." This makes communications easy, and once over the Katta Dewan Pass we could almost have driven the whole way.

But this elevation detracts considerably from the majesty of the mountain ranges, and it was only when we were on the lower levels that we could properly appreciate their real height. I shall never forget standing on the shore of Little Karakul Lake and gazing at the stupendous mountain barrier separating us from Kashgar.

Great Mustagh Ata and its twin giant, called Kungur by the natives, rose up 25,000 feet, dominating the long range of peak behind peak, all superb in their covering of eternal snow. It was a scene to take one's breath away, and my memories of the Swiss Alps, the Canadian Rockies, the Elburz, and the Caucasus left the Mustagh Range unsurpassed.

While in camp near this wonderful vision we resolved to reach the lowest glacier on the dome-shaped Father of the Snows, Mustagh Ata, a mountain which we had seen from all sides and regarded with immense admiration.

It was my first experience of riding the grunting yak, and I found it a comfortable steed, though its progress was slow. A Kirghiz led it by a rope through the nose, and implored me in dumb show to belabour its shaggy sides when it hung back, though I doubt whether it felt the beating, so thick were its tufts of hair.

With much grunting and gnashing of the teeth it reached the great glacier, stumbling now and again but always recovering itself, and picking its way most cleverly among the boulders that littered the moraine. It was interesting to stand in front of that immensely thick curtain of ice and feel that the crest of Mustagh Ata was inaccessible as yet to any human being. Our Kirghiz guides complained of headache, and we heard afterwards that they fear to venture alone on the mountain, as it is reputed to be haunted by white camels and by the sound of drums—possibly avalanches.

When it was time to return I tried to walk, but it was impossibly steep, so I remounted my yak, in which I placed great confidence. My brother's animal led off round the side of the mountain, but my Kirghiz pulled the nose-rope, and before I realized what was happening, I was going down a veritable "side of a house" to where the glacier stream lay far below. Expostulation was useless, so I rammed my feet into the stirrups and clung to the pommel of the native saddle, my heart being in my mouth when the yak performed the descent in a series of slides, landing me in safety at the bottom.

My last experience of yaks was not agreeable. We had to cross the difficult Ulughat Pass between 16,000 feet and 17,000 feet, and our mounts jibbed again and again, hanging over the precipice in a most unpleasant manner. My brother was in worse plight than I was, for his saddle ropes broke twice, and though he passed the

thong of his riding-whip round his yak's horns, yet I was by no means certain that that would save him from an abrupt descent on to the glacier below.

Just before the summit the track went straight up among rocks, and I put my feet on either side my yak's neck, as these animals brush close to any obstacle. A Kirghiz pony led in front of me fell, could not regain its footing, and slid right down upon my mount, that stood four-square and received the impact nobly: if I had been on a horse we should certainly have come to grief.

The mountain panorama at the crest of the Pass was magnificent, but as I was enjoying it I had my only attack of mountain-sickness, a curious mixture of splitting headache, nausea, and faintness. But time presses, and I must refrain from telling of the Aryans of Tashkurghan and many another detail of the never-to-be-forgotten time when I had the great privilege of visiting the Roof of the World.

The CHAIRMAN said that Miss Sykes had shown herself possessed of two unusual qualities for a lecturer. She went and saw things for herself, even at great risk, and she came back and told the story in a plain and attractive way. He had greatly enjoyed the lecture, and he was sure they had all done the same.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said they had heard from Miss Sykes of a large Mahomedan shrine in High Asia being visited by the people on Fridays and Saturdays. In India, Moslem shrines were frequented on Thursday evenings, as a preparation for Friday, and, of course, on Fridays. This was the case in other parts of the Mahomedan world, and he would like to know how a different custom arose in Chinese Turkestan.

Miss SYKES replied that she was told that the Kashgaris had taken a great many customs from the Chinese. For example, the custom of weeping and praying at the tombs was much more a Chinese than a Moslem custom.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said he happened to be one of the first travellers to measure Mustagh Ata, and he made it 25,000 feet. But later on members of the Pamirs Survey Expedition put it a good deal lower. He was pleased to gather from the lecture that it still stood at 25,000 feet.

Miss SYKES replied that she did not intend to express any opinion on the subject in mentioning the height. She took the figure from Younghusband's "In the Heart of a Continent," judging that authority to be quite good enough.

The CHAIRMAN said he would express to Miss Sykes their thanks, and the hope that they would see her at the Society again.

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THE RED KARENS

By Sir GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.I.E.

The Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, the Chairman, presided at a meeting of the Society on February 16, 1916. He said that Sir George Scott had kindly agreed to give them a paper on "The Red Karens of Burma." Thirty years ago Sir George joined the Burma Commission, and there was probably nobody living who knew more about the country. They were sure that what he told them would be very interesting.

The country of the Red Karens lies to the south of the Shan States, in the hills east of the Burma districts of Toungoo and Yamèthin. The last spurs of the Eastern Himalaya are here crushed in between the Salween River and the plains of Burma. There are five States, with a total area of 3,000 square miles, and, except for a small portion of the north of Western Karenni, the whole country is a jumble of hills. A narrow strip of Eastern Karenni runs down the left bank of the Salween River, and borders on Siam. Otherwise, the whole area is surrounded by British territory. Nevertheless, Karenni does not form a part of British India, and is not subject to the laws in force in Burma and in the Shan States. The chiefs are, however, under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Southern Shan States, who controls the election of chiefs and the appointment of officials, and has the power to call for cases, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma exercises the powers of a High Court.

The reason for this independence of the States is somewhat curious. The Red Karens, whatever they may have become since, were a very troublesome lot in the sixties of last century. The territory of the Karen tribes on the south and south-west marched with our old British Burma frontier. On the north of the Papun district there were practically no inhabitants at all. East of the Toungoo district the tribes were mostly Brè, who, though they were quarrelsome enough among themselves, never interfered with us. But in the north, where the Red Karens proper were settled, they came in contact with the Burmese garrisons of the Shan States, and had no respect whatever for

them. They raided when it suited them, carried off cattle and peaceful villagers, and defied all attempts of the Burmese to penetrate into their hills.

Just about this time, too, King Mindón, the father of King Thibaw, had realized that there was a great deal of money to be made out of teak, and he made it a royal monopoly. There was very fine teak in Karenni, and, partly to get possession of these forests, and partly because it was annoying and exasperating to have his Shan subjects periodically carried off to be sold as slaves, he made preparations to attack the Red Karens in earnest. But in the meantime some Burmans and others who were settled among the Red Karens, and were also interested in teak, entered into communications with the British Burma Government, and the result was that Sir Douglas Forsyth went to Mandalay and concluded a treaty with the Government of the King of Burma, whereby we guaranteed the independence of the Karenni States against ourselves or any third party.

A British party actually went up into Karenni, and erected boundary pillars in the flat country in the extreme north of the tract. They did not remain very long. An estimable Shan chief, who then held a commission as a Burmese General, lost no time in pulling them down as soon as the British party had left. He is now a Member of Council of the Burma Government; but the pillars have never been put up again, and, as a matter of fact, are not needed. Things went on very much as they did before. Some very fine teak was floated down the Salween to Moulmein; the Red Karens made periodical raids far north into the Shan States, and carried off monks and women and children, for all the world as if they were *Kultur'd* Germans; and the Burmese made fitful attempts to punish them, but were always beaten back at the passes.

Then came the reign of King Thibaw, when everything went to ruin in the Shan States. We were not in a hurry taking over charge there after the annexation, but, when we did, letters were sent to the Red Karen chiefs telling them that their States and their rule would be guaranteed to them. There are five of these chiefs altogether, but only one of them is of any considerable importance. Sawlapaw, the chief of Eastern Karenni, was a notable old savage, with a taste in musical boxes and carved elephant tusks. In addition to the fact that he had been able to defeat all Burmese attempts to reduce him to submission, he had for a year or two been supporting a Shan chief who had been driven from his State by King Thibaw, and had taken refuge in Rangoon. While he was there, this chief got it into his head that there was a plot against his life, and shot two of his followers. For this he was tried, and sentenced to death. The death sentence was commuted, and he ground wheat for a time in the Rangoon Central Jail. Then he was released on condition that he never entered British

territory again, and he went to stay with Sawlapaw, the Red Karen chief. When the Third Burmese War broke out, Sawlapaw fitted out his guest with men and guns, and the ex-convict soon recovered possession of his State for himself. He was wise enough to make immediate submission to the British Government, and did very well for himself afterwards.

But the Red Karen did not profit by his example. He was as full of brag as a Prussian *Kraut Junker*, and as ignorant as a Silesian peasant. He thought he could go on stealing cattle and making slave-raids just as if affairs were the same as in Burmese times. He raided and burnt a Shan capital, and put sums of money on the heads of sundry British officers. All warnings were disregarded, and the result was that he collapsed with the suddenness and the certainty of a church spire within range of German guns.

A successor was elected without any trouble, and the Red Karens have been very quiet ever since. The change has been absolutely startling. Half a century ago the Red Karen was a swaggering bully, and a terror to all the peaceful villagers within a range of a hundred miles. He went nowhere without his gun, and he always had, in addition, a handful of spears or javelins. Now guns are never to be seen, and it is nearly impossible to buy javelins as curios. They are depressed and sombre, but it is not wise for any Burman or Shan to think that they are cowed. They will very soon find that the Red Karen is as good a man at a fight as ever he was, and, though he may not start one, will be perfectly ready to take one up.

The Red Karens are only one section, and not a very numerous one, of the Karen race, which, next to the Burmese, is the most strongly represented in Burma. They were not invaders, like the Talaing, and the Burmese, and the Kachins, and the Tai or Shans. They did not come as a conquering swarm, nor even, so far as we have been able to learn, all at one time. They seem rather to have drifted in over hill passes and down valleys in bands strong enough to protect themselves, but not in force enough to seize lands where the population was not prepared to give up possession without a fight. They claim to have settled in the neighbourhood of Ava about the fifth or sixth century of our era, but there is nothing to prove it, and, anyhow, they seem soon to have been driven south, and to have spread over the hills between the Irrawaddy, the Salween, and the Mènām. They now occupy the Central Pegu Yoma range in Lower Burma, and the eastern slopes of the Arakan Yoma range to the west of the Irrawaddy Delta. They extend from Mergui to Toungoo, and form the chief population of the south-western section of the Shan States, and certainly have all Karenni to themselves.

They belong to the Chinese-Siamese sub-family, and it is probable that they were driven out by the Tai when the Tai were a great nation,

with a capital at Nan Chao or Talifu. The general theory is that their language is Chinese, but not descended from it, and that they are pre-Chinese, and not aboriginal in their present homes, or Tibetan, or descendants of the lost Ten Tribes, as enthusiastic missionaries would have us believe.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that the name Karen, by which we know them, is not a national name at all. It is just as much the wrong name for them as Shan is for the Tai, Talaing for the Môn, Kachins for the Jingpaw, or Chins for the Sho. It is not even a Chinese nickname. The Chinese are responsible for half the fancy names which are given to the Indo-Chinese races. It was a harmless form of *Kultur* with them. But the trouble is that the Karens themselves have no national comprehensive name for themselves. They have nothing but tribal names, and, in fact, disown all connection with most of their tribal branches with primitive violence of speech and total disregard for the researches and vocabularies of learned philologists, who divide them into three main divisions: the Sgaw, the Pwo, and the Bghai or Bwè. These are certainly Karen names, but they do not carry us very far, for Sgaw simply means male and Pwo female, and the reference is to a prehistoric tribal quarrel which led to the prohibition of intermarriage and social intercourse. Sir George Grierson has had his revenge on them, for he has decided that Karen is not a group of languages, but of dialects, spoken in patois which vary to an extraordinary degree.

Roughly speaking, the Sgaw and Pwo dialects are confined to Lower Burma, while the Bghai is spoken by the tribes of the north and east. The Bghai dialect includes that of the Red Karens, and has a large number of separate roots, and it may be taken to represent Karen in its oldest and purest form. All the dialects are tonic, and are believed to have the same five tones. The popular classification of the race divides them into the White Karens and the Red Karens. This is convenient, though it is hardly very descriptive as far as complexion or colour of skin is concerned; but in build they are very distinct. The White Karen is of heavier, squarer build than the Burman, and much more stolid. He is, in fact, a sort of picture-poster representation of the comic paper's view of the German Professor. His skin is fairer than the Burman, and he has more of the Mongolian tilt of the eye. About a generation ago they were converted in great numbers to Christianity, and there was much talk about quasi-Biblical traditions that were current among them, as well as old prophecies. These may have been derived from the old Nestorian settlements in China, but a very great deal requires to be learnt about them yet. The White Karens are credited with truthfulness and chastity, but they are very dirty, and drink heavily. In disposition they are heavy, suspicious, and absolutely devoid of humour, like the German professor.

The Red Karen is of an entirely different physical type. The men are small and wizened, but very wiry. They have broad, reddish-brown faces, and long heads, with the obliquity of the eye perhaps accentuated. It was the invariable custom of the men to have the rising sun tattooed in bright vermilion on the small of the back, and perhaps this gave rise to the name of Red Karen. Perhaps, also, it may have been due to the short breeches they wear, reaching to the knee. These were red when new, but they were not long in turning to a dingy black, and some of the shorts looked as if they had been handed down as family heirlooms. The trousers fastened with a leather belt. Some wear an open, sleeveless, dark-coloured coat, but perhaps the greater number wear instead a cotton blanket striped red and white, and thrown over the shoulders. In hot weather, both coat and blanket are discarded. Some sort of a handkerchief is generally twisted round the hair, which is tied in a knot on the top of the head. There are plenty of hill-streams in Karenni, but the people never use them, and the Red Karens are conspicuous among hill people for their dirtiness. In fact, they run the Wild Wa very close, whose griminess is only limited by the extent to which matter in the wrong place refuses to adhere to the human skin. As far as drink is concerned, they probably excel the White Karens. In the old days, when Mr. O'Reilly and others were engaged in prospecting the teak-forests, it was stated that a Red Karen never went out of doors without a bamboo full of liquor slung over his back. From this a tube led to his mouth, and he was able to go about his ordinary avocations without wasting any time. It is not easy to say whether this was strictly accurate, but at any rate it is not the custom nowadays. Lately, in fact, they have been converted by whole villages at a time to Christianity. They show complete impartiality in the matter, and join equally the Roman Catholic, the American Baptist, and the Presbyterian communions. It is much to be regretted that they show towards one another all the zeal and intolerance of perverts. They are very fond of music, and frequently have village brass bands; and it is on record that villages of rival faiths on opposite sides of a valley met on one occasion in the middle, and broke one another's heads and the band instruments with fanatical enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, of the 30,000 or so Red Karens who have been counted at the last census, a very considerable number are still spirit-worshippers, and even those who are converted keep up the customary rites and sacrifices as they did before their conversion. This is all the easier, and is the less interfered with by their pastors, because, like most spirit-worshippers, they trouble themselves very little about the *nats* as long as all goes well. There are temples or shrines erected to the spirits in all villages of any size, usually under the shade of a large single tree or of a dense clump of trees. They

are placed in charge of a selected old man of the village, who is allowed certain privileges, and as a rule conducts the ceremony of consulting the chicken-bones. Except at Sawlôn, these spirit-shrines are merely small bamboo and thatch sheds of insignificant appearance. In them are deposited the offerings to the spirits in the shape of rice, tobacco, fruit, and the like. The only large spirit-house in the country is the one at Sawlôn, the capital of Eastern Karenni. It is a massive timber building, sixty or seventy feet long, profusely gilt, and decorated in Shan fashion. Sawlapaw used it chiefly as a treasure-house, and none but he himself and his relations of the blood were allowed to enter it. The spirit-houses, in fact, seem never to be the scenes of worship, even at the two national festivals of the Spring and the Autumn.

The chief feature of the Spring festival of Kuto-bo, as they call it, is the erection of a post in or near each village. A new post is set up each year. The old ones are left standing, but are not renewed if they fall or decay. In most villages bamboos are thought good enough, but in the capitals and a few of the larger towns thirty or forty feet long tree-trunks are set up. The tree is chosen by consulting the chicken-bones, and is rough-hewn where it is felled and adorned with a rudely carved capital, which varies in pattern. The log is then dragged to the place where it is to be put up, and if, as frequently happens, it cannot be got there in a single day, the conveying party sleep alongside it at night, for it is imperative that no man or animal shall step over it. Technically, one ought to be able to determine the age of a village by these Kuto-bo posts, but white ants or natural decay soon make an end of them. When the post is hoisted into position there is a general sort of maypole dance to the accompaniment of drums and gongs, and then there is much eating of pig and drinking of liquor supplied for the common enjoyment by those villagers who are able to afford it. The portions of the sacrifices to the *nats* deposited in the spirit-houses are the head, ears, legs, and entrails, so that, in the case of a domestic fowl, the amount left to be consumed by the family is satisfactorily large.

Fowls' bones are the Red Karen's dictionary, encyclopædia, and Where-is-it book. He consults them to know where he should pitch his village or his house; whether he should start on a journey, in what direction, on what day, and at what hour; whether he should marry a certain girl, and, if so, on what day; where he should make his hill clearing; when he should clear, sow, and reap it; in fact, he does nothing without authority from fowls' bones, and the fact that he is technically a Roman Catholic, a Baptist, or a Presbyterian, does not seem to make any difference. When a chief dies, fowls' bones are consulted to decide upon his successor. This was actually done, since the British occupation, on the death of Hkun Bya, the chief

of Kyèbogyi. It was generally believed that Hkun Po, the nephew of the deceased, would succeed; but the bones declared against him, and in favour of his younger brother, Hkun U, who was formally elected. There is, however, a certain method in the process. Sons have the first right to try the fates; if they fail, then follow the brothers of the deceased chief, and after them the nephews. There are, however, signs of matriarchy in the fact that it is always left to the mother to choose by what name her child is to be known. She consults the chicken-bones to learn whether, in the case of a son, it would be lucky to name him after her grandfather, or after her grandmother if the infant is a girl. If the bones are unfavourable, then the father has the chance of perpetuating the name of his ancestors.

The women wear a short skirt reaching to the knee. It is usually dark coloured, but sometimes red. The rest of the dress consists of a broad piece of black cloth, which passes over the back across the right shoulder, and is then draped over the bosom and confined at the waist by a white girdle tied in front, the ends hanging down with more or less grace according to the newness of the material. Round the waist and neck are ropes of barbaric beads, and seeds of grasses and shrubs, and a profusion of these also decorate the leg just above the calf, which is encircled by innumerable garters of black cord or lacquered rattan. These, with the seeds, stand out some two inches or so from each sturdy limb. The result is that the women walk like a pair of compasses. They have also considerable difficulty in sitting down, and always do so with their legs stretched straight in front of them, a position which is highly shocking to the Burmese and Shan mind. Necklaces of rupees hang round the throats of those who are well to do, and a piece of black cloth thrown jauntily over the head finishes the costume, which is quite picturesque when it is new.

The Red Karens live in their five States in a compact block, but west of them, in the hills over Burma, there are a number of allied clans, who disown the connection, and are disowned by the Red Karens, but, nevertheless, are undoubtedly Karens, and connect gradually with the White Karens of the plains. There are a very considerable number of them, but the chief are the Manö, the Brè (k), and the Padaungs or Kèkawngdu. The women mostly wear the gaberdine of the White Karens—a sort of poncho-like garment slipped over the head. It is something like a lady's dressing-sack, except that the sleeves are either rudimentary or do not exist at all. It reaches mid-thigh, and is considered all that is necessary by some of the clanswomen, though some wear a short kirtle which reaches within a hand's-breadth of the knee. The great characteristic is the garters, if leg-rings which support nothing can be called garters. Sometimes they are bunched together like the Red Karen women's;

sometimes, as in the case of the Zalun women, solid brass circlets like large curtain-rings are fastened through the lacquer leglets, and festoon themselves round the calf. Others wear brass rod coiled round the leg from the ankle up to a few inches from the knee, or even right up to the knee; others, again, add to this coils beginning above the knee, and reaching halfway up the thigh. Similar coils of brass rod are worn twisted round the whole forearm by the Lamung and other tribeswomen. In some places separate rings, both on arms and legs, are worn, instead of one continuous coil. Practically all wear ear-plugs or cylinders in the ears, distending the flesh to the utmost limit. They are of every sort of material, from mere wood up to chased silver, according to the fortunes of the family. The armlets and leg cinctures are, however, always of brass, and never of silver. A bevy of these damsels would command a good deal of money at Krupp's just now, especially the Padaung women, who add extraordinary collars to the coils on the arms and legs. These neck-bands are formed of brass rod as thick as one's little finger. They are wound round the girls' necks as early as possible, usually when they are ten or eleven years old. Five coils are about all that can be got on as a commencement, and fresh coils are added as the girl grows, so that the neck is constantly kept on the stretch until the ordinary limit of twenty-one coils is reached. In addition to the actual neck-band, there is a sort of bottom layer which softens the bend of the curve to the shoulders, and inevitably suggests a champagne bottle. At the back of the neck, fastened through the wider coil, is a smaller ring about the size of a curtain ring standing at right angles. This suggests a possible tying up of the ladies to prevent them from gadding about, but it is not known whether this is the object. In addition to the neck-band, similar coils of brass rod are worn on the legs and arms. The total weight of metal carried by the average woman is fifty or sixty pounds, and some manage as much as eighty. With all this weight they carry water for household use, hoe the fields, and go long distances to village markets to sell liquor, carried in woven bamboo bottles lacquered over, and dispensed in woven bamboo cups. The fashion does not seem to affect the health, for there are plenty of white-haired old crones, and families of eight or ten are quite common. The only noticeable effect is that the women speak as if someone had an arm tight round their necks.

There are some who think that the Padaungs are not Karens at all, but belong to the Môn-Hkmer group; but their language has a strong resemblance to Taungthu, which is almost certainly connected with the Pwo Karen. The Padaungs, however, alone of the people in the Karenni country, have perfect liberty of marriage. All the other clans practise strict endogamy, and intermarry only with their own stock. But there are not many married out of their own tribe,

though many of the Kèkawngdu girls are quite good-looking. Possibly a consideration of the weight of metal they carry on their arms dissuades suitors.

Among the other clans, however, there are very strict rules of endogamy, and the penalties used to be very severe. A large hole was dug in the ground; across this a log was placed, to which two ropes were fastened. The ends of these were noosed round the necks of the man and woman, and they were made to jump into the pit, and so hanged themselves. Now the custom is to excommunicate the woman, and both are forbidden ever to enter their native village again. There are said to be two villages in the hills entirely inhabited by eloping couples.

The general rule is that only cousins, or only the inhabitants of certain groups of villages, may intermarry, and contracts of the kind have to be approved by the elders. As soon as a boy has attained the age of puberty, he is sent to live with the other unmarried youths in a building called the Young Man's *Haw*, which stands on the outskirts of the village. There he stays until he is married. He is supposed not to talk to the women of the village until that time. The limitations on possible alliances are so considerable that in some places there are many decrepit bachelors in the *Haws*, and many grey-haired spinsters in the village huts. The only occasions on which the lads and lasses meet are marriages and wakes. These are regular Homeric orgies. Both sexes are seasoned, since they begin drinking strong drink before they are weaned, and staid married people shake their heads over the amount of flirtation which goes on between the unencumbered at these festivals.

The unmarried youths wear a special dress, varying with the clans. Some have coquettish shell jackets, decorated with seeds or cowries; almost all have necklets of coloured beads, seeds, or cornelians, most commonly with two or more boar's tusks fastened round the neck. Large ear-cylinders swell out the lobes, and a few of the Loilong clan wear a sort of coronet adorned with cowries and rabbit's tails, and an aigrette of rice-stalk or feathered grass. On the forearm, also, some wear coils of brass, and others wear brass torques round the neck. When the man marries, all this finery is transferred to the person of his wife, or kept for the first son. At any rate, it is no longer worn by the husband, so that bachelors are very conspicuous, and the fact that many of them are middle-aged is indisputable.

The reason for the endogamy is not given. Probably the first cause has been forgotten. It is certainly not because there is much wealth to keep in the family, nor is it very obviously because the neighbouring communities profess different creeds. Many of the women are distinctly comely; they would also be fair-skinned if they ever washed themselves. Some would be quite pretty if they went

through that formality occasionally. It is possible, therefore, that the desire is to keep their women to themselves, for the Shan women have charms that are not so much facial as substantial.

The Banyang people are the most distressingly rigid. Marriages are only possible within the limits of the village fence. Formerly, an official of the State went every year to arrange an alliance, so that there should be at least one marriage in the twelvemonth. He ordered a couple to be married, and married they were, just as a man might be sworn of the peace. There was no hint of marriages of inclination. They were all, as it were, officially gazetted alliances. Occasionally, it is said, the bridegroom had to be taken by force to the bridal chamber. The police, however, having effected this, kept him there for three days and three nights. The village provided the bridal feast from which the man was taken, so that possibly the seeming want of gallantry was due to incapacity to go, or reluctance to leave too early. The lady caroused all alone.

All these clans consider themselves quite distinct from the Red Karens, and cordially dislike them, but it is quite common in hilly countries for isolated groups to develop differences, both in speech, customs, and even in appearance. Except for the Padaungs, however, they are undoubtedly of the Karen race, and it will no doubt eventually be proved that the Taungthu are also really Karens. If so, the Red Karens will be outnumbered by the other clans to the amount of about fifteen to one. Nevertheless, they remain the most compactly settled and the most sturdy of their race. They have always been fairly well to do. In the old days they made a good deal of money by slave-raiding. Most of their victims were sold over in Siam or in the Lao States. Then they made very large sums of money by the sale of their teak. It mostly got into the hands of a few only. One chief is credited with having emulated a magpie in burying huge sums in a variety of places in his State. Nevertheless, the general population profited a good deal in the way of feasts and largess, and all would have gone well if they had not been so spendthrift of their resources. Every single teak-tree, large or small, was felled. Forest and other British officers gave plenty of warnings, but Karenni was outside of British India, and the good advice was received in the usual way, with the remark that posterity would have to look out for itself. The country is not very large, and the teak was soon exhausted, and there seemed a possibility that the Red Karen might have to take to cattle-lifting and elephant-stealing again. But fortune favoured them again, and the development of the tin and wolfram mines at Mawchi, in the southern portion of the country, seems likely to bring a very great deal of money into the country. There are other valuable mineral deposits, but the heart-breaking character of the hills prevents anything like rapid development.

Sir GEORGE SCOTT, in replying to the discussion, said that Major-General Tighe might be described as the conqueror of the Karenni. He was known throughout the country as "Bo Tai"—Bo meaning leader. He went out on one occasion with a small party of mounted infantry to look for a good encamping-ground, and was attacked by the Red Karens. He promptly went for them with his forty troopers. They rode down the large body of tribesmen, and scattered them over the plain, killing many and taking at least 300 prisoners. The Red Karens had such an unpleasant experience on that occasion that they never ventured to make a stand subsequently, even when in good positions. Therefore "Bo Tai" might be considered the conqueror of the Karens, and they all hoped that he would be equally successful in East Africa. (Cheers.)

Colonel A. C. YATE said he felt called upon to speak, because it was his old regiment, the 127th (Queen Mary's Own) Baluch Light Infantry, which was employed in the cold weather of 1888-89 in annexing the Red Karen country, and also because Sir George Scott and he were engaged at one and the same time in the task of annexing the Cis-Salween Shan States. At that time the Englishman who did not know the name of "Shwe Yo" was not to be found in Burma, for it was under that *nom de plume* that Sir George Scott wrote what was still recognized to be one of the very best books on Burma—"The Burman: His Life and Notions." In the cold weather of 1887-88 Sir George White sent him (Colonel Yate) to accompany, as Intelligence Officer, the Northern Shan Column; and when that work was completed, he paid a visit to the Southern Shan Column, and there met Mr. (now Sir George) Scott, and attended the Durbar at which Mr. Hildebrand announced to the assembled Shan chiefs that in future the Cis-Salween States would form part of Her Majesty's dominions. The best account of the Red Karen Expedition, which followed a year later, is to be found in Sir Charles Crosthwaite's "Pacification of Burma," in which appreciative reference is made to the part played by Sir George Scott. Some of the young officers of the 127th Baluchis who served in that Expedition were doing notable work in the present War. The Press talked much of Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien in connection with East Africa, though he never got there; but the man who had borne the brunt of the day out there was Major-General M. J. Tighe, who had been holding his own on the defensive, though beset by many difficulties. General Smuts, when he arrived on the scene, would, with augmented forces, have a comparatively easy task before him. Major-General Tighe was a subaltern commanding the Baluch Mounted Infantry in the Red Karen Expedition, and having distinguished himself there, was awarded the D.S.O. In the same Expedition Surgeon Crimmin won the V.C. After Lieutenant Tighe had ridden through and scattered the Karens, Dr. Crimmin found

himself alone in charge of some wounded in the jungle. A number of Karens collected round and threatened the wounded. It was only his coolness and courage, almost unaided, that enabled him, with his revolver, to keep them off. Sir George Scott mentioned that Sawlôn, the Red Karen capital, abounded in musical boxes and elephant tusks. The Baluchis being a very healthy set, Dr. Crimmin had his doolies on his hands. He thought it a pity to waste them, and so just packed in them as many elephant tusks as the doolie-bearers could stand. He left the musical boxes to the Karens. Lieutenant Price, who also accompanied the Karen Expedition, and won his D.S.O. in Burma, was now Brigadier-General commanding at Aden, an onerous post which had been repeatedly threatened and attacked by the Turks. Lieutenant Fowler was the third subaltern of the 127th who had gone ahead since those days, and was now believed to be fighting in Mesopotamia. He and Sir George Scott in 1887 or 1888, supported by one or two men of the Rifle Brigade, bluffed and held up Twet-nga-lu's garrison at Moné. It was a most plucky act. The V.C. has been given for less. It was a pleasure to meet Sir George Scott once again, and to be reminded of days which, though distant, had not lost their fascination and interest. Once in the interim Sir George Scott and he had met. It was when Sir George received knighthood at the hands of Lord Curzon at the Delhi Coronation Durbar of 1903.

Sir FREDERIC FRYER said he was very glad that Sir George had been induced to read them a paper on the subject of the Red Karens, for there was no one better acquainted than he with all the races who inhabited the Shan States from end to end. He had served in the States, both Northern and Southern, almost uninterruptedly for nearly twenty years. It is very desirable that we should have on record full accounts of the manners and customs and traditions of the inhabitants of the Shan States before they were modified or passed away, in consequence of communications with Burma becoming closer. On the occasions of his own visits to the Shan States he had been impressed by the wonderful sight of the representatives of many different tribes assembled on bazaar days in their varied costumes. Of all these different people, he thought the most remarkable were the ladies whom Sir George Scott had described as wearing brass rings round their necks. One would think it a most painful and cumbersome form of ornament, and he fancied the ladies themselves would be very glad when custom allowed them to get rid of these brass rings. The manner and customs of the Shan States had had a very great exponent in Sir George Scott, who had always made it his business to collect as much information regarding these matters as he was able to do, and his opportunities in this respect were very considerable. They owed a great deal to the labours of Sir George in elucidating the ideas and habits of the tribes.

The CHAIRMAN: You will all agree that Sir George Scott has given us an exceedingly interesting paper. To me it was especially interesting, for personal reasons. Lately I have been going through the rather melancholy task of sorting, and in large measure destroying, the papers of my father (Sir Henry Marion Durand), which go back into the early thirties of the last century. Only yesterday I was going through a number of papers connected with the country of which we have been hearing. In the early forties my father represented the British Government in that part of the world, being what was called in those days Commissioner of Tenasserim. I see that he struck across to the Salween, and went through a good deal of the Karen country, and describes these very people. I was rather surprised to hear Sir George Scott speak of them as being so courageous, and able to give so good an account of themselves. What I was reading yesterday went to show that they were much oppressed, and exceedingly humble, calling themselves the insects of the hills. I have no doubt that there have been changes since then, and also that the Karens differ in different parts of the country. We have heard how the Karen ladies seem to wear their corsage round their necks. This quaint habit existed in my father's time.

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THE ASHIRET HIGHLANDS OF HAKKIARI (MESOPOTAMIA)

By EDGAR T. A. WIGRAM

At a meeting of the Society on March 15, 1916, with Sir Frederic Fryer in the chair, Mr. Edgar T. A. Wigram read a paper, illustrated by lantern views, on this subject. In introducing him, the Chairman said that Mr. Wigram's brother, a missionary of the Church of England, had been resident in those regions for some ten years past. It was in the course of a visit to him that Mr. Wigram obtained the knowledge of the country which he was about to use for their benefit. He believed that the photographs for the illustrations they were about to see were mostly taken by the lecturer.

Mr. Wigram's address was as follows:

We may form some rough mental conception of the general lie of the land in southern Asiatic Turkey by picturing it as a classical theatre, with its auditorium facing south-west. It is formed of a low, flat arena (or orchestra, as the Greeks would term it), half enclosed to the northward and eastward by a semicircular arc of lofty mountainous plateaux. The arena is Turkish Arabia—Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert—a dead, level plain, almost entirely alluvial, and nowhere rising more than a few hundred feet above the level of the sea. The plateaux which enclose it comprise Anatolia and Armenia to the northward, and Iran, or Persia, to the eastward—a continuous sweep of rugged tableland averaging some 5,000 feet above sea-level, and seamed with a network of mountain ranges which attain to a height of 10,000 feet or more.

The step from the plain to the plateau is very abrupt and definitive; and this abruptness is emphasized by a bold range of mountains which is drawn, like a huge saw-toothed parapet, right along the whole rim of the plateau. At its western extremity this range is known as the Taurus, and that name is now often used loosely to include all the central chain as well. But to the Greeks and Romans this central range was Niphates; and perhaps we may still call it so, for a modern generic name seems lacking. The peaks are now only known collectively as the mountains of Kurdistan.

It is in this central portion that the range attains its greatest elevation, and just west of the Turco-Persian frontier the chief peaks are some 14,000 feet high. Here, too, it begins to curve definitely southward; and, as it does so, it throws off a sort of spur in a northerly direction, linking up with Aghri Dagh (Mount Ararat), some 150 miles away.

Separated from each other by these three divergent ridges are three tracts of comparatively level country embayed in the re-entering angles; and in the centre of each of these tracts there lies a considerable city—Van, in Armenia, to the northward; Urmi, in Persia, to the eastward; and Mosul, in Mesopotamia, towards the south. These three cities are about equi-distant from each other, and may be regarded as forming the points of an equilateral triangle whose sides are 120 miles long; and the rugged mountain mass that fills the interior of this triangle is known as the district of Hakkiari—one of the wildest and least accessible regions even in Kurdistan.

The regular road from Aleppo to Mosul runs just along the foot of the mountains skirting the northern edge of the great Mesopotamian plain. This is the line that has been chosen by the engineers of the Bagdad Railway. And it does but follow the time-honoured track that has been adopted by nearly every traveller and conqueror since the days of Abraham and Chedorlaomer; for the bee-line from Babylonia to Syria traverses a waterless desert, and was impassable even in those days, when the rainfall was probably heavier than now.

The distance from Aleppo to Mosul is a little more than 300 miles, and when the railway is finished the journey will take about ten hours. But till then, under the old conditions, it entails about a fortnight's travelling, and this is usually accomplished in an araba—a sort of ramshackle four-wheeled buggy, fitted with a tilt, and drawn by three or four scraggy ponies—which the voyager (like an ancient Scythian) has to use as a "movable home." The araba progresses at a foot's pace, and an average stage for a day would be about twenty-five miles. The halting-places have to be determined by the known position of certain starveling streams, or pans of moderately drinkable water; and food, and even fodder for the horses, is generally only obtainable at intervals of three or four days.

Roads may fairly be called non-existent. Some few of the more important towns which lie near the foot of the mountains—such as Urfa, Mardin, and Diarbekr—do indeed pose as the starting-points of one or more metalled roadways, which sally forth heroically from the city gates, and disappear abruptly and ignominiously after a career of four or five miles. But on the plain are mere foot-tracks, often so faintly marked that it is difficult to trace them even by daylight, and singularly easy to lose them after dark. On one such occasion

our drivers, having strayed a few paces aside, set to work to hunt for the path by the light of a small wax taper. "How many miles to Babylon?" says the old rhyme, and goes on to ask: "Can I get there by candlelight?" It would seem that this was really a very important point to ascertain.

Mosul, the chief city of Upper Mesopotamia, is reputed to contain 80,000 inhabitants. It is the seat of a Vali, and the headquarters of a military division; but it is a squalid and meanly built place, and altogether unfortified. The streets are mostly so narrow that a cat can jump across them from roof to roof; and, after the least rain, so muddy that the householder usually bridges them with a plank whenever he wishes to visit his opposite neighbour. Their windings, too, form a maze of such ingenious complexity that few of the townsfolk know their way except in their own particular quarter.

The place is an oven in summer, and the half-dozen or so of Europeans who live there all escape for their lives to the mountains at that season if they can. But in winter the climate is pleasanter, except during the rainy season in January or February, which has been so hampering our troops lately in their operations below Bagdad.

Mosul lies on the right bank of the Tigris, and opposite to it, on the left bank, just beyond the old bed of the river, and consequently about a mile back from its present channel, rise the mounds that mark the site of Nineveh. There is nothing of Nineveh now left above ground except these great mounds, which look for all the world like derelict railway embankments. They mark the line of the old walls, and enclose an area about three times as large as modern Mosul. All the more important marbles and bronzes have probably been long since removed and housed in the British Museum, but one specially choice plum is still reserved for future excavators—the mound of Nebi Yunus, which covers the principal palace of Assurbanipal. This hillock is crowned by a mosque, which is reputed to contain the tomb of the Prophet Jonah; and a mosque of such peculiar sanctity must not be disturbed on any account. For Jonah is still a great personage in this locality; the fast which is said to have been instituted in consequence of his preaching being still observed annually, with the utmost strictness, by all local Christians and Mosloms and Yezidis, as well as by Jews.

Almost the only memorials of the old Assyrian conquerors which are now to be seen in the lands where they reigned in their glory are the great bas-reliefs which they delighted to have carved at conspicuous points in the living rock; apparently to serve as trophies marking the limits of their conquests, much as an English "Tommy" loves to carve the badge of his regiment on some conspicuous precipice in Tibet or Afghanistan.

Several such may be seen at about a day's journey north of Mosul,

at the point where the Bavian River issues from its mountain glen. This spot was apparently one of the quarries where the stone was cut for building the palaces of Nineveh, and whence the huge blocks were floated down to their destination on rafts of inflated skins. The sculptures are of the date of Sennacherib; and the quarries were perhaps abandoned in consequence of the outbreak of the civil war which followed his assassination. The principal relief records his destruction of Babylon, which had rebelled against him early in his reign, and which he took and razed to the ground.

Across the plains to Mosul one can travel in some sort of carriage, but the pathways over the mountains take nothing that runs upon wheels. Three thousand years ago, as he himself has recorded, "I, Tiglath-Pileser, was obliged to go on foot." And those who imagine that, because the Russians have captured Bitlis, the road now lies open for them into Mesopotamia, must have a very inadequate conception of the character of these local roads. It is true that an army may manage them; Xenophon's army actually did—but they abandoned all their transport to do so. And the road is now not a whit better than it was in Xenophon's day. The only baggage that can be taken is such as can be carried on pack mules; and even a small party is likely to get well strung out on the narrow pathways, and to require pretty frequent halts to pull itself together again.

Our road lies at first on the plain, close to the foot of the mountains, over stony ground, meagrely cultivated, with a few small, dirty villages here and there. Many of these villages are now deserted and ruined, having been gradually badgered out of existence between Turkish tax-gatherers and Arab raiders; and the most regular landmarks are the derelict, walled cemeteries, which are rendered conspicuous by their sacred trees. The cult of the sacred tree is, of course, one of the oldest of all religions. It is a familiar subject in the ancient Assyrian bas-reliefs, and often alluded to in the Bible as the worship of the groves. In this country, where trees are scarce, nearly every prominent tree seems to be canonized. It is too much to say, perhaps, that they are still actually worshipped, but they are at least very greatly honoured. Few natives will pass such a tree without leaving a rag in the branches to keep the Genius in mind of him, and none would dare to steal even a fallen branch to light his fire withal.

One of the most noteworthy monuments in this stage of the journey is the old hermit monastery of Rabban Hormizd, situated in a pocket of the mountains overlooking the plain of Mosul, and consisting of hundreds of cave-cells ranged in tiers along the face of the cliff. It was founded in the eighth century, and has never been entirely abandoned. Its church, in local phraseology, is a "Church of Name," celebrated for its miraculous power of curing insanity. The lunatic

(often quite willing) is solemnly conducted to the church, and chained up in it for twenty-four hours with a ponderous iron chain and collar. After that experience he is usually sane enough to profess himself cured.

Close to Rabban Hormizd is Alkosh, reputed to be the burial-place of Nahum; and, despite the fact that the commentators place Nahum's Alkosh in Galilee, I feel there is much reason to accept this local claim. One can hardly read Nahum's prophecy without feeling that he must have been an eyewitness of the last siege of Nineveh — probably one of the refugees who looked down from the mountains on the armies of Cyaxares and Nabopolasser, and saw " the bloody city " at last delivered to the flames.

But undoubtedly the weirdest corner in all this part of the country is Sheikh Adi, the central shrine of the Yezidis, or " devil-worshippers," which is hidden away in a secluded valley just within the fringe of the mountains about a day's journey north of Mosul. This strange sect is supposed to number about 200,000 adherents; widely scattered in many detached communities, but most numerous in the province of Mosul. The poor wretches are a quiet and harmless folk enough, but are regarded by all their Moslem and Christian neighbours as the vilest of outcasts and pariahs. They seem to inspire the same mixture of scorn and fear as witches used once to inspire in England. Anyone with adequate backing is ready to bully them by daylight, but nobody feels quite willing to pass their doors alone after dark.

" Devil-worshippers " they are truly, but their religion is a queer medley, compounded, apparently, out of about half a dozen others It must be admitted, however, that, such as it is, they adhere to it most steadfastly; and, in spite of incessant persecutions, apostasy is almost unknown.

The Yezidis believe in a Supreme Being, but in One who holds Himself entirely aloof from all created things. The creation of the world, and its governance for a period of 10,000 years, were committed by Him to the first of the seven great Spirits which emanated from Him—the Spirit euphemistically known as Melek Taus (King Peacock), who is identical with Satan. Melek Taus is an evil and fallen Spirit; but at least he is Prince of this world, and, as such, must be duly propitiated. Moreover, it is inconceivable that he shall not some day be rehabilitated, and then he will remember those who paid him reverence in his disgrace. Melek Isa (Jesus) is the second of the great Spirits, and He, too, will reign for 10,000 years, when Melek Taus's reign is done. But meanwhile worship of Him is not so imperatively necessary; and, in any case, those who neglect Him may hope He will pardon the offence.

This central article of their creed is an inheritance, no doubt, from the old Persian worship of Ahriman, the Evil Principle. Other

tenets date back to primeval Nature worship, or have been borrowed from Judaism, Christianity, and Mahommedanism. The Yezidis are very reticent about their faith, and no outsider has ever witnessed their ritual; but it seems clear that Sheikh Adi is to them what the Temple of Zion was to the Jews, and that all their worship is centred in the sacrifices performed here at their annual festival.

Sheikh Adi is a sort of Satanic monastery, consisting only of the temple and its precincts. There is no village near it; and nothing can be more eerie than to arrive at that solitary ruined shrine in its lonely glen at nightfall, and find it all silent and deserted, but brilliantly illuminated with scores of tiny lamps. The Yezidis entertained us hospitably, and allowed us to visit the temple, and even to inspect the shrine within it, which contains the image of Melek Taus in the form of a conventionalized bird. The bronze peacock in the British Museum was perhaps at one time used as such a "Sanjak," but they keep seven Sanjaks altogether, and these are often looted and replaced.

There are two main roads leading into the mountains from Mosul: one just west of Alkosh, and one at Akra, further east. Akra is a typical Kurdish mountain township, perched halfway up the slope of the hillside, and looking southward over the Mesopotamian plain. Mosul, some fifty miles away, is clearly visible, half veiled by the smoke of its lime-kilns; and the windings of the Tigris may be traced for many miles beyond. East and west, as far as the eye can see, the heights rise up from the level in a series of bold headlands that look as if they had been dressed to toe a line: and the steepness of the slopes is apparent in the planning of the city, where each front door seems entered from the roof of the house below.

The Kurds enjoy an evil reputation, and in most respects thoroughly deserve it; but at least we have no right to regard them as intruders who ought to be expelled. They have been established in the land as long as any of their neighbours; and as the Kings of Assyria made a practice of flaying their chiefs alive whenever they were able to catch them, we may infer they were considered a nuisance even in those earliest days. Xenophon expressly states that the Kurduchi were an independent people, and were not to be considered as subjects of the Great King; and he adds an illuminating note that there were no Armenian villages within a day's march of the Kurduchian frontier, because the Kurduchi were so incurably addicted to plundering them —a remark which seems to have a very modern ring.

The Kurds are still semi-independent, and it is certainly not from the Turks that they have acquired their unruly habits. They are not even akin to the Turks; for while the Turks are Turanian, and the Arabs and Armenians Semitic, the Kurds speak a dialect of Persian, and are thus presumably an Aryan race. I fear they are nearer akin to ourselves than they are to any of their neighbours; albeit, it is not

a relationship that we need be ambitious to claim. They are a pastoral race; but, unhappily, rather of the type of those Eliotts and Johnstones and Armstrongs who used to practise "the faithful herdman's art" upon our own border. And perhaps their inveterate enmity towards the Armenians and Syrians may be regarded as a part of the agelong feud between the feeder of flocks and the tiller of the ground which seems to have originated in the quarrel between Cain and Abel. In summer they are nomadic, dwelling in tents of black goat's hair, and tending their flocks and herds upon the high mountain pastures; but in winter they gravitate to their villages in the valleys or on the plains. They are a picturesque gang of ruffians, and one could hardly help feeling some sentimental regret at their disappearance; but I fear one is tempted to apply to them the words which Scott puts into Albany's mouth to justify the mutual slaughter of the Clan Quhele and the Clan Chattan. There can be no peace in the country until they are thoroughly tamed.

The range upon which Akra lies is one of a sheaf of parallel ridges which form a sort of outwork to the Hakkiari Oberland. Beyond them lies a long, straight, widish valley, running due east and west for a distance of about 100 miles, and forming a kind of moat between the outwork and the citadel. This valley looks quite continuous, but as a matter of fact it is not one valley at all. It is shared out between two rivers which break into it out of the northern gorges, pick up tributaries out of the central section, and emerge from it at opposite ends. A somewhat similar valley, the Valley of Mergawar and Tergawar, skirts the eastern front of Hakkiari upon the Urmi side. This latter valley possesses some importance as affording the most eligible route by which the Bagdad army could be transferred to Erzerum; but this district has long since been occupied by the Russians, and is no more available for the Turks.

These valleys, with the ridges which form them, are the boundaries of the Ashiret country; and the phrase, "the Ashiret country," may be paraphrased "the country of the clans." The Ashiret tribes live to-day under much the same sort of conditions as the old Scotch clans in the Highlands "beyond the line" before "the Forty-five." They are nominally Ottoman subjects, but their real allegiance is rendered to their own hereditary tribal chieftains. They pay tribute (when it can be got out of them), but not taxes, like the Rayats on the plains.

The Ottoman Government lately had been trying to strengthen its authority, but the effort must now have been abandoned, and never looked like having much success. In districts where the chiefs were powerful they often maintained order almost as efficiently as the Hukumet. But, unfortunately, this was not the case in the valleys on the Ashiret borderland. These are inhabited mostly by

petty chiefs and broken clans; and they are fitted with a handy bolt-hole into Persia for the convenience of folk who have made their own land too hot to hold them. It is said that a Vali of Van, upon taking stock of his Government, found that there were 700 men under sentence of death in it who were all still at large; and in the Amadia Valley nearly every prominent chief seems to be an outlaw for some proved act of violence—a circumstance which does not affect his standing in the least. My brother asked one such Agha, after an amicable conversation, whether it was really true that he had committed the fifteen murders with which he was commonly credited. "Well, Effendim," he replied innocently, "they were all of them enemies of mine, except two."

It is the Zab River that occupies the eastern end of the Amadia Valley, and the crossing of it was the occasion of our receiving a pretty clear intimation of the extent to which the Sultan's writ might be expected to run in an Ashiret chief's country. From Mosul to this point we had, of course, been escorted by a couple of zaptiehs, to insure the safety of our persons, according to the custom of the land. But this insurance policy did not include any risks on the farther side of the Zab River, and the zaptiehs washed their hands of us as soon as we reached the waterside. If the Sheikh of Barzan sanctioned our visit, we needed no further protection; but if he chose to resent it, what good would two zaptiehs be? Moreover, as my brother's escort said bluntly on another occasion: "Of course we can go with you, Effendim; but how are we going to get back?"

It is rather an adventure for a native to travel in the Ashiret country. Supposing that he is at all worth robbing, he needs to sound his course with great care. As it was in Israel in the days of Deborah, so is it now in certain districts of Hakkiari—"the highways are unoccupied, and the travellers walk in byways," and even "the noise of the archers in the places of drawing water" (if for "archers" we read "riflemen") is not quite an idle fear.

Of course, if the traveller is known to be blessed with powerful friends in high places, or relatives who have a reputation for conducting a blood feud energetically, his chances of getting through scathless are very greatly improved. But the murder of some stray villager is likely to pass quite unnoticed; and if they have robbed a man of a piastre the thieves think it rather a good haul. But the robbers keep one rule: "Thou shalt not attack a European." There are always inquiries about a European, and a most unsmotherable row. So the Frank's party travels scot-free; and as he proceeds on his journey he finds that every person who wants to go on tramp in the district has taken the opportunity of tacking himself on to his convoy in order to "walk under his shadow" and share in his immunities. He picks up two or three at one village, and drops two

or three at another, and always has some small following till he reaches his journey's end. How many depends upon circumstances. Where the local chief keeps good order, like the Sheikh of Barzan, his countenance is not so essential; but in the neighbourhood of such folk as the Mira of Berwar or the Agha of Chal his services are in great demand.

Where travelling is so precarious, it is natural that there should not be much accommodation for travellers, and in a mountain village there is very seldom a khan. The traveller billets himself, as of course, upon the headman of the village, usually making him some small present in departing in return for his hospitality—a gift if his host is of some social standing, or money if he is obviously poor. The guest is almost always welcome. His visit is held to confer a certain " kudos " upon his entertainer; as the local phrase runs, it " increases his name." Indeed, if the chief be a personage of any note, it is a marked slight to enter his village without accepting his hospitality. Thus the prophet in the Biblical narrative, who was sent to Bethel to denounce the king's idolatrous practices, was particularly charged not to accept hospitality; and the local prophet felt that his own prestige must suffer so much under such a pointed censure that he rode out after him, and persuaded him to disobey. A Tkhuma Malik once met my brother as he was returning howewards down the valley. " It is my hope, Rabbi, that you will be my guest to-night. You see, you stopped with So-and-so (a rival chief) on your way up, and if you don't honour me this time I fear I shall be obliged to shoot you." There was no ill-feeling in the matter, but he felt that his honour was at stake.

One must add, to the credit of the tribesmen, that the poorest traveller may claim hospitality even at the house of an Agha. He will get at least a meal and shelter, and his person and property will be safe as long as he stays. Violation of hospitality is a very rare event, and is always strongly reprobated, though it has been held fair to rob your guest later, after he has been allowed sufficient law.

The village houses are built of rough stone walling, and floored with mud beaten hard. The roofs are always flat, and are formed with rafters of unsquared poplar-stems, upon which is spread, first a layer of brushwood, and then a thick covering of well-punned mud. Such roofs are quite water-tight so long as they are properly attended to; but they have to be kept well rolled and trodden, so as to work out the cracks which are constantly appearing in them after a spell of dry weather. The rooms are low and very dark, for there are often no windows whatever, and the daylight is only admitted through the smoke-hole and the door. The doors are made very low, probably to prevent the cattle entering; for in many cases, particularly in Kurdish villages, the living-rooms and byres are all under the same roof, and intercommunicating. The belated wayfarers at Bethlehem,

who were obliged to spend the night in the stable because there was no room for them in the guest-chamber, were perhaps experiencing no very unusual hardship—certainly none that is at all unusual in Hakkiari at the present time.

If there is an upper story, it is generally what is known as a " belai " —open towards the north, and serving as a living-room during the heats of the summer, and as a store for fodder during the winter months.

The typical fireplace, or " tanura," is a beehive-shaped hole dug in the middle of the floor. The smoke escapes from it as best it can, partly through a hole in the roof over it, partly at the ends of the rafters, and partly under the lintel of the door. The house boasts practically no furniture except the sleeping-rugs and cooking-pots; and householder, guests, and retainers as a rule all share the same room.

Naturally the inhabitants do not live in such rooms more than necessary. They sleep there at night; they live there in the depths of winter, when often for days or weeks together the villages are buried under snow. But by day, in the spring and autumn, they generally carry on their ordinary household jobs on their roofs or in front of their doorways; and in summer, when the nights are sultry, they usually sleep on the roofs as well.

The village roofs, by the way, seem to be regarded as common territory, and all inhabitants enjoy a right of way across them, except where the alleys between them happen to be too wide to jump. Such an easement, indeed, is inevitable where the village lies on a hillside, as it is only over the roofs of the lower houses that one can reach the doors of the upper rows.

The people, whether Kurds or Syrians, are partly agricultural and partly pastoral; but flocks and herds being portable property, and (in border phrase) easily " lifted," there is a natural tendency for agriculture to get left more and more to the Syrians, and for the sheep and cows to gravitate into the possession of the Kurds. Syrian and Kurdish villages are intermixed everywhere in Hakkiari, just as Kurdish and Armenian are intermixed farther north. The two peoples hardly ever share a village, though occasionally a few stray families have somehow got themselves stranded in an opposition camp. They differ in race and in creed, and they speak different languages; but their dress and their physiognomy are both very much the same. The Kurd carries a larger armoury, and bears himself with a certain ruffianly swagger; but, except in these two particulars, it is difficult to tell them apart.

Neither Syrian nor Kurdish women wear the veil, though, of course, the Kurds are Moslems, and though Christian women in Armenia are also accustomed to go veiled. Their rough open-air

life, and the field labour to which they are habituated, has apparently led them to discard this hampering conventionality.

Amadia, the chief town in the Sapna district, stands right in the centre of its valley, occupying the flat summit of an isolated hill, whose cresting of vertical precipice gives it exactly the appearance of being surrounded by a titanic wall. On the northern side of the valley rises the main mass of the Hakkiari Mountains, and before describing these particularly I would say a word about their general form.

The Niphates range, as I said earlier, forms the southern edge of the Armenian plateau; and as the three great rivers of Mesopotamia all have their sources on that plateau, it follows that they all have to cut their way through these mountains in order to descend to the plain. The result is a series of magnificent gorges—magnificent even in the case of the Tigris and Euphrates, which pierce the range further westward, but most magnificent of all in the case of the Zab, which cuts its way through the highest and wildest part of the range in the very centre of Hakkiari.

We say, "As old as the hills," but there are certain physical features of the globe which are in most cases older than the hills, and these are the rivers. This fact is probably responsible for the formation of the Hakkiari gorges. The rivers were already flowing southward from the plateau to the plain before the mountains were thought of; and as the limestone ridge slowly heaved itself up inch by inch for century after century, the stream, neither checked nor diverted, kept grooving the barrier away.

According to Syrian tradition, the Zab is the "River of Eden." They identify it with the Pison, and regard the Garden of Eden as having been situated on the Armenian plateau about the regions now occupied by the vilayets of Van, Erzerum, and Bitlis. According to this reckoning, the three other rivers of the Garden would be the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Araxes, which all have their sources in this region within a short distance of the Zab. Milton seems to accept this theory when he pictures Satan as alighting on Mount Niphates, and it is a theory which has at least the merit of giving a satisfactory answer to the vexed question why it is that no Eden now exists. All the original face of the ground now lies buried hundreds of feet deep beneath the ashes and lava flow from five huge quiescent volcanoes, and when these were in full activity they must have been very fitting representatives of Cherubim with flaming swords.

The other land which claims to be the site of Eden is, of course, Babylonia. But we may at least say this in favour of the Armenian theory—that Babylonia, though historically the most ancient, is, geologically speaking, one of the newest of countries. It is almost

entirely alluvial, and at the time when man may be supposed to have first made his appearance in the world it probably did not exist.

The Zab gorge, for all its narrowness and difficulty, is one of the main avenues of traffic in these regions, and it has even been seriously contended that if a railway is ever constructed to link Mesopotamia and Armenia, this is the line along which it will have to come. At present, the path is one long arduous scramble along the steep banks of the river. Sometimes it is built out upon a rough causeway close along the edge of the torrent; sometimes notched in under an overhanging precipice; or even bracketed out across the face of some great vertical slab, on stout wooden bearers wedged into the crevices of the rock. Often the path has to leave the waterside and clamber up by steep zigzags across the saddle of some projecting bluff, and at certain points where the gorge is notoriously cumbered with fallen boulders it is usually judged expedient to desert it altogether, and take a divergent course along some of the lateral valleys, including one or two passes above the line of perpetual snow. The river is only fordable at one or two points in these gorges, and even at these points only for a few weeks every year. The only means of crossing it at other times are provided by two or three very narrow and flimsy bridges precariously bracketed out from the banks on rough wooden cantilevers. Only one passenger can cross these at a time, and he will not be able to do so unless he possesses a pretty good head.

The gorges are rendered quite impassable by the depth of the snows in winter-time, and the imminent danger from avalanches continues to prohibit travel until the spring is well advanced. The fall of these avalanches often blocks the course of the river for several hours together, and on such occasions the natives have a fine opportunity of gleaning the fish that have been left stranded in the dry bed below. In due time the dam bursts, or the river bores a passage beneath it, and then the adventurous fishers have to shin up the rocks for their lives.

The road leading into these regions from Amadia is the merest boulder-shoot; the pathway wriggling up a steep gully in the hillside behind the town through a cascade of huge fallen fragments, many of which are as big as a house. It is considered a bad bit of road even when judged by local standards, but it is literally the only road at this particular point. Farther in things are somewhat better; but as often as not the traveller finds himself committed to the dry bed of a rock-encumbered torrent; or to a six-inch path across a bare sloping scree, as steep as the roof of a house, and finishing off at the eaves with a fifty-feet drop into the boiling river below.

I know nothing of the road from Nisibin to Bitlis. It was a district so notoriously infested with Kurdish cut-throats that even my brother and his colleagues (who were not usually deterred by trifles)

had never ventured to travel that way. But, unless it is altogether different from all other roads in the neighbourhood, the Russians at Bitlis will not find it easy to get in touch with a British army on the Tigris above Mosul.

I have spoken of Syrians and Christians as being intermingled with the Kurdish tribes of Hakkiari, and it is amid the fastnesses of the Zab gorges that these Syrian Christians for the most part have their home. Tyari (the central portion of the main Zab Valley) and the lateral valleys of Tkhuma, Baz, Jilu, and Tal, are almost exclusively populated by these Christian tribesmen, and they have many isolated villages in other districts as well. It cannot be honestly said that they are, when independent, much tamer or more law-abiding than their Kurdish neighbours. Their Maliks are perpetually at feud with one another over grazing rights, and so forth, and, of course, still more constantly at feud with the neighbouring Kurdish Aghas, with whom they can pick religious quarrels even when they have no valid grievance of any other kind.

These Christian tribesmen are Ashirets, like their neighbours. They owe allegiance primarily to their hereditary Prince-Bishop, Mar Shimun, the "Catholicos of the East." They are now but a small community, being supposed to number in all about 80,000 persons; but, small as they are, they are one of the most interesting survivals in the Ottoman Empire, and their strange position as a semi-independent Christian tribe living in the midst of Mahommedans, and ruled by a chief whose authority over them is exercised both temporally and spiritually, they seem like a standing testimony to the truth of the old medieval legend of Prester John.

Of their origin as a nation it is difficult to speak positively. They themselves assert that they are descended from the ancient Assyrians, and it cannot be denied that, if we are to attach any weight to physiognomy, we shall find a good deal of evidence that tends in favour of such a claim. Of course, it is only a comparatively small proportion of the tribe who have markedly Assyrian features. Their race, as it exists at present, must have been much adulterated with other stocks. But in some cases the Assyrian type asserts itself so arrestingly that we feel it impossible to question their Assyrian descent. Certainly, if we are to admit it, it would be a striking fulfilment of prophecy: "Nineveh is laid waste; who shall bemoan her? Her people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them."

In addition to the Assyrians' features, the tribesmen have inherited no small share of their martial instinct, and their prowess as fighters is fully admitted by the Kurds. The Armenians and the Syrians of the plain have had most of their fighting spirit crushed out of them, but no Kurd cares to face a Tyari man on anything like level terms. So long as the arms were equal, the Christians, though heavily out-

numbered, were able to give about as good as they got in the way of manslaughter and sheep-stealing; and as the amount of powder burnt was altogether disproportionate to the size of the casualty lists, there seemed no particular reason for any outsider to interfere. But of late years the arms were not equal. The Christians were supposed to be disarmed, and had often to make shift with flintlocks. The Kurds obtained Government recognition as "Hamidie Irregular Regiments," and, as such, were equipped with Mausers; and on these terms the game was too onesided. On the outbreak of the present war the Christians were assailed by a general coalition of all the Kurdish tribes, assisted by regular troops with mountain batteries of artillery; and though they put up a good fight as long as their ammunition lasted, they had at last to abandon their villages and retreat over the snowy passes into Persia. They reached Urmi almost naked, and in a state of utter destitution; and the men, women, and children who perished from the hardships of that march were far more than fell in the fighting. Such help as is possible is now being given them by Russians, by the British Consul, and by the American missionaries; and we hope that by these means the survivors may have been tided over the winter, and may be able to establish themselves in the wasted Urmi villages in spring.

Their Christianity is of very ancient origin, for they represent about the last remnant of the Christians who inhabited the ancient Parthian and Sassanid Persian Empire. Christianity, we must remember, spread eastward to Ctesiphon at least as rapidly as it spread westward to Rome and Carthage, and up to the end of the fourteenth century there were probably more Christians in Asia than there were in Europe. These Eastern Christians, however, were always kept very much out of touch with their Western co-religionists, first by the constant wars between the Roman and Persian Empires, and then by the Moslem conquests, which cut them off from all intercommunication. They formed a separate independent national Church, recognizing as their Patriarch the Bishop of their capital city Ctesiphon; and their very existence seems to have been so completely forgotten by the whole of Western Christendom that, whenever a medieval traveller did stumble across them, he always regarded them as a new discovery. They were a numerous and powerful body, nevertheless. The "Arabian Nights" indicate that they formed an important section of the community in the days of Harun al Rashid. They spread throughout Persia, and into China and India; and the Christians of St. Thomas, in Malabar, a branch now much larger than the stem, still acknowledge Mar Shimun, the chief of the Assyrian Christians, as the legitimate successor of the Patriarch of Baghdad.

The decay of Christianity in these regions seems to have been the

result mainly of the devastation and depopulation caused by successive waves of conquest, particularly by the conquests of Timur the Tartar. The Patriarch fled first to Mosul; and in later years sought a yet securer refuge at the village of Qudshanis, in the heart of Hakkiari, where the last remnant of his people were still maintaining themselves.

Benjamin, the present Mar Shimun, is still a comparatively young man, though it is now some ten years since he became Catholicos. The dignity is hereditary in his family, as such dignities generally are in this country among Moslems and Yezidis, as well as among Christians, and as the High-Priesthood was hereditary in the House of Aaron among the Jews. The office descends from uncle to nephew; for by old tradition the Bishops of this Church must be celibate, though the priests are always married men.

Mar Shimun is, of course, regarded by the Kurds in the light of an hereditary enemy; but they think of him, nevertheless, as a chief of equal standing with themselves, and as possessing the same sort of semi-sanctity as their own Sheikhs. By our own theological purists both he and his people are rather held suspect as Nestorians; but, without entering upon that thorny subject, I will only say that those who have lived most among them are convinced that there is no heresy in them at present, and that the chief obstacle to reunion is their somewhat natural reluctance to admit that there ever has been.

I ought, perhaps, to add a warning that the East Syrians, whom I have just been describing, are quite distinct from the West Syrians, whose Patriarch resides at Mardin. The latter represent the old Christian Patriarchate of Antioch, the Christians of the Asiatic provinces of the old Roman Empire; and though both Churches are now Melets of the Ottoman Empire, they have always kept entirely distinct.

One of the most typical of the lateral valleys is that of the Oramar River, a considerable tributary of the Zab, which unites with it just below Amadia. It is a valley which is very seldom visited, being about the only district in the neighbourhood which is left absolutely blank on the large scale maps; and we were assured that we should be the first Europeans to visit it, and that even we could not do so. "Horses couldn't go, and mules couldn't go, and Englishmen couldn't walk." The valley was chiefly inhabited by Kurds, who acknowledged the authority of the Sheikh of Barzan, and one of his caterans accompanied us to see that we came to no harm. There were also a few Christian villages, which, politically, were pretty well off, because the Sheikh is tolerant, but which in their remote valley had been left without priest or service for about twenty years.

Oramar itself lies at the head of the valley, a little below the snow-line, and looks very much like a swallow's nest plastered against the face of a wall. This appearance is owing to the terraced fields, which spread out fan-wise beneath it—a good example of the terrace cultivation which is commonly practised in these mountain glens.

Upon these bare rock slopes sufficient soil for cultivation can only be kept together by the building of retaining walls; and there are even exceptional instances where, after the walls are built, the soil has to be carried up to them in baskets on men's backs. Water has also to be provided artificially by ducts from the mountain streams carried along the face of the slope, and even after all this labour it often happens that the only crop which can be grown is millet, though good ground bears wheat, and sometimes even rice and vines. The men of the mountains lead a pretty hard life, but for all that they would not change with the despised plain-dweller. As the local proverb says: "It is better to eat millet bread and carry a gun than be an unarmed rayat under the Ottoman."

The very existence of these terrace fields, by the way, proves that Oramar was once a Christian village, and that (as is still constantly happening in similar cases) the Christians have been squeezed out by Kurdish intruders. Kurds never trouble to make good fields. They are not, and never will be, cultivators. And the Turks are likely to find this out, to their cost, now that they have expelled all the Syrians and Armenians. Asia Minor is far more likely to suffer from famine itself than to be able to spare any corn for Germany.

Only one Christian family is now left in Oramar, and the reason why it is allowed to remain is very typical of local habits of thought. The head of this family is the Christian priest of the ancient hermit church of Mar Mamu, which is planted a little above the village; and, like many another ancient Christian shrine in the district, Mar Mamu is considered sacred even by the Kurds. No doubt it was a hallowed spot long before the days of Christianity, and its old traditional sanctity has survived all changes of creed.

Mar Mamu was a very early Christian martyr, who underwent his persecutions at the hand of Alexander the Great. This tyrant cast him into a burning fiery furnace, where he was heard singing the Psalter for three months consecutively, till his persecutor released him in despair. Thereafter he retired to Oramar, and (like another St. Patrick) swept away with him into his hermitage all the snakes that infested the upper valley, which he bottled up in a cave under the floor. The snakes are all still there. The present incumbent has seen them—"in a vision." And it is obviously unwise to meddle with their keeper, lest they should escape to vex the land once more.

Many of the mountain shrines are accorded similar veneration, such as Mar Abd-Ishu, in Tal, and Mar B'Ishu, in Gawar, the latter being one of several where the ancient animal sacrifices still form part of the customary rites; but perhaps Mar Zeia, in Jilu, is most "lord of name" of them all. Jilu is about the most remote and inhospitable of all these savage valleys; and Jilu men (having a specially hard life of it in their own homes) have developed, to an even greater extent than their neighbours, the national habit of "going to

countries " in order to better themselves. They drift away absolutely penniless, and utterly ignorant of any foreign language; yet not only do they contrive to penetrate even as far as America, but often drift back to their homes again with quite a good stock of hard cash. This is seldom quite honestly come by, for the charitable folk whose purse-strings have been loosened by their (perfectly true) tales of the miseries and oppressions of their hapless Christian brethren have generally failed to realize that their petitioners (as representatives of these oppressed Christians) have every intention of keeping all alms for themselves. But the rascals have at least so much conscience as prompts them always to make a thank-offering on their return at the Church of Mar Zeia, and that shrine is now choked with a most amazing collection, which it has probably taken centuries to get together, and which ranges back from festoons of modern American clocks to ancient jars of Chinese porcelain which may be well worth their weight in gold. The guardian relic which preserves all these treasures from plunder is a kerchief, believed by all Kurds to be the veritable " napkin of Mohammed," given to the Church by the Prophet himself as a token of his protection.

Intermixed with the Kurds and Syrians, who form the main population of Hakkiari, there are, besides Yezidis and Armenians, a certain small number of Jews. And these quite decline to lend themselves to any Anglo-Israelitish theory, for they claim that they are the only original " Lost Ten Tribes," and that they have never been lost. They and their fathers, they say, have been settled in Mosul and its neighbourhood ever since the day when Sargon carried them away captive from Samaria. Their position is far from enviable, for the Yezidis alone are regarded with greater contumely; and though many of them are wealthy, thanks to their national talent for money-lending, yet (like Jews of medieval Europe) they dare not let their wealth be known. The Jew who will cash your cheque promptly (when he learns that you are an Englishman) is to all outward seeming the poorest wretch in the town. Many Kurdish Aghas keep tame Jews, practically as bond-slaves, to manage their finances for them. The Agha of Chal, in particular, keeps quite a herd, and once even offered to sell us one for £5.

The Agha of Chal is commonly reputed to be the greatest thief and murderer in the district, except the Mira of Berwar; but this fact has proved no impediment to his being appointed Mudir, to administer justice in the land, as representative of the Ottoman Government, and this he is still doing—according to his lights. If scandals of this sort were rare, it might be permissible to ignore them; but, unfortunately, they are the merest commonplaces of Turkish provincial administration, and furnish the most unanswerable argument against the continuance of Turkish rule. As a man, the Turk has many

virtues, but as a governor he is execrable; for he has allowed all the machinery of government to fall into the hands of professional jobmongers, and the most flagrant corruption flourishes absolutely unchecked. The substitution of Young Turks for Old has produced no improvement in this particular, and, indeed, the new hands (being novices) seem to plunder with rather less grace.

The Turks have been confronted with a most difficult task, analogous in some degree to the task which confronts us in India. Numerically an insignificant minority in the lands which they nominally govern, they are set to control a medley of mutually antagonistic tribes. Energy alone could win respect for their rule, but they have long since lost their energy. Like other feeble opportunist Governments, they are now seeking only acquiescence, and their method of doing so is to allow as much licence as possible to all the more turbulent elements (from whom any trouble may be apprehended) to behave exactly as they please. The result is, naturally, chaos. Though seldom designedly cruel, they have succeeded, by sheer laziness, in evolving a condition of anarchy more disastrous and oppressive to their subjects than any open tyranny could be.

The Kurds, whom they have sought to conciliate, are more profoundly disaffected to their government than the Armenians and Syrians whom they have allowed them to massacre and expel. Before the outbreak of war, there was scarcely a single Kurdish chief who was not in treasonable correspondence with Russia. The Russians had even supplied them with arms, and though, on the commencement of hostilities, the arms were used against the donors, this *volte-face* was not the result of any profound policy, nor even of the fanaticism engendered by the proclamation of the Jehad. The Kurds had merely realized that by joining the Turks at first they would get *carte blanche* to plunder the Armenians; and now that the plunder is exhausted, and only hard knocks are going, they are not at all likely to give much more effective aid.

It is to be hoped that, when the war is over, this country may be blessed with an active and resolute "Warden of the Marches," like Belted Will Howard, of Naworth, who will put down all disorders impartially with a strong hand.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said that between thirty and forty years ago he visited the regions described by the lecturer—namely, during the Turko-Russian War of 1877-8. He was with the Turkish Army, which included a force of several thousand Kurds as auxiliaries, and very troublesome auxiliaries they were. Any wounded Russians who fell into their hands were done for, and many Armenian villagers who happened to come in their way were slaughtered. They became so troublesome that at last they had to be sent away, and a very good

riddance it was, as they were of little use in the fighting line. At the same time there were many of them who were good fellows in their way. It struck him, as it had struck the lecturer, that the tribal clan system was similar to the old clan system in Scotland. In the Turkish Royal Family the Sultanate does not pass from father to son; the succession passes to the eldest male member of the family; but in Kurdistan the succession is from father to eldest son, and the Chief is looked upon exactly as the old Scotch clans used to look upon their Chiefs. The wonder to him was that Mr. Wigram found any Nestorians left. About 1850 Beder Khan Pasha, Emir of Bohtan, which lay west of Hakkiari, the famous father of seventy stalwart sons, in association with the Chief of Rowanduz, massacred almost the entire body of the mountain Nestorians. They were so successful in their hunt for them that the Patriarch had to take refuge in Mosul, where he was entertained and protected by our Consul. He believed that he and those who were with him succeeded in getting back to their country, but how it could still be largely populated by Nestorian Christians is a problem. There have been other massacres since, culminating in the recent outrages, and it seemed there could now be very few Christians left in the country which had been described to them. When he was at Van he met the Patriarch of the Nestorians. They exchanged gifts, and had some interesting conversation together. He could hardly say which was most to be admired in the lecture —the photographs, or the very graphic descriptions by which they were accompanied.

The LECTURER said that according to careful estimates he had heard, the refugees from Hakkiari still numbered about 40,000 men, and as there would still be some left in the remote villages, he thought that his estimate of 80,000 Christian tribesmen was probably not very far out of the reckoning. Answering a question, he said the language spoken in Hakkiari by the Christians was pure Syriac, while the Kurds spoke Kurdish, which was a dialect of Persian. The Christians were proud of their language being very much the same as Aramaic, the old Syriac of Christ's time, which was still read in their churches, and was still understood more or less by them. The Old Syriac bore about the same relation to the New as the language of Chaucer did to the English of the present day.

Colonel A. C. YATE drew attention to the fact that the Society had within the last two months had two very able and instructive lectures upon Mesopotamia, in both of which a claim to the site of the Garden of Eden was put forward. The first was from Mr. Perceval Landon and dealt with the lower regions of the Tigris and Euphrates, the claim of which to be the birthplace of man was so much better known than that of the Highlands of Central Kurdistan with which Mr. Wigram had just dealt. The fabled scene of Man's sinless exist-

ence—short, as might be anticipated—must, however, yield the *pas* for the moment to the one vital point connected with the war with which Mr. Wigram had dealt—viz., how long the Russian Army, reported some days ago to have reached and occupied the Bitlis Pass, would take to reach and seize some point on the Bagdad Railway. Practically four Russian forces were operating from the Caucasus—viz., towards Trebizond, Nisibis, Khanikin, and Ispahan. These Russian movements had an important relation to the relief of General Townshend's long-beleaguered force, a force for which all felt keen anxiety. He had had the pleasure of escorting to the meeting one of the most patriotic of Russians, who, however, was no longer in the room. As they drove to Albemarle Street, she, Madame Novikoff, in reference to the capture of Erzerum, reminded him that the town had previously been twice in the hands of Russia, once in 1829, when General Paskiewitch took it, and again in the Russo-Turkish War of 1876-8, during which Sir Henry Trotter had himself been present in that neighbourhood.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said he was there on that occasion. The town was occupied by the Russians during the armistice, but was restored to Turkey under the Berlin Treaty.

He desired in conclusion to express his appreciation of a lecture which had been delivered with a lucidity that engaged attention, and which had made them feel in some measure acquainted with a neighbourhood which to most people was a *terra incognita*.

The CHAIRMAN said the lecture had greatly increased their knowledge of the Mesopotamian Highlands, and of the characteristics of the tribes by which they were inhabited. He thought, taking everything into consideration, it was very remarkable that there were any people, other than the Kurdish clans, left in those regions. Not only did the country seem to be most inhospitable and most inaccessible, but also there seemed to be standing feuds between the tribes, which left very few inhabitants. He did not think it was a country he would be very anxious to visit, though to younger men its exploration must be very interesting. Mr. Wigram had made the very best use of his opportunities for studying the country and people. It was to him surprising that the lecturer's brother had been able to live in these wild Highlands for so long a time as ten years. From the views they had seen it appeared to be almost impossible for the Russians to be able to reach Bagdad, or to give us material assistance in Mesopotamia, seeing how deplorably bad the communications were. Still, the Russians had done very marvellous feats in this war, and it was at least possible that they might be able to surmount the tremendous difficulties of the mountainous route to the southern plains. He proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Wigram for his most interesting and instructive lecture.

ASIA MINOR AND THE WAR

By W. J. CHILDS

At a meeting of the Society on April 12, 1916, Mr. W. J. Childs read a paper on "Asia Minor and the War," illustrated by lantern views. Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich was in the chair, and said that Mr. Childs had travelled extensively in Asia Minor, and was sure to give them an interesting description of the country and people he had been amongst.

Mr. Childs' address was as follows:

Sir Thomas Holdich, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In looking at the long history of Asia Minor, one fact stands out which may arrest attention at the present time.

It is that, with only one or two exceptions, every really great Power which has ever arisen in the Old World has sooner or later figured in war in this western region of Asia. We find also that no portion of the earth's surface has attracted so many invaders or seen so many conquerors; and that they have come from three continents and in all ages. Looking at these persistent facts, we may almost say that so surely as a State of the Old World attains a certain relative degree of power, so surely does aggression or defence at last bring it in hostilities to Asia Minor and the territories immediately adjoining.

It is common knowledge that the position of the country has largely made its history, and that as a three-way bridge between Europe, Asia, and Africa, across it passed all the old roads by which three continents exchanged commodities.

Turkey-in-Asia has seen wars for land passage, and wars for control of its straits and gulfs; it is a fertile land, and has therefore seen wars prompted by land-hunger. It is now seeing hostilities which have all these causes at bottom; nor can we well suppose the present war to be the last.

In speaking of Asia Minor and the war, I will confine myself to two districts that I know fairly well. They are Northern Anatolia, especially the Sivas Vilayet, and the country round the Gulf of Alexandretta. In these two districts I have spent more than fifteen months, and travelled on foot at least 1,500 miles.

Before going on to speak of the war in Asia Minor, I should like to say a few words on the man-power available for the Ottoman armies. On this point there is uncertainty everywhere, even as to the total of the Ottoman population. Figures usually given for the population are not based on any census, but on the returns of police and tax-farmers, and on the number of dwellings. I have heard the population placed as high as thirty millions, and as low as twenty. If we call it twenty-two for the present Ottoman Empire, I do not think we shall be far out. Of this total perhaps two millions are in Europe.

Now, these twenty-two million people comprise a variety of races, some of which hate each other with more than common hatred. Some of them are few in numbers and may be ignored; or may be included among the other races. We may say roughly that there are more than five million Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, three or four million Arabs, one and a half million Kurds, and that the remainder are Turkish and Circassian Moslems, numbering perhaps eleven million. Of these people, Kurds do not serve in the Ottoman regular army, for the adequate reason that the State has never been able to compel them to serve. It is not a matter of cost at all. The Turkish War Office would be glad enough to incorporate Kurds in the regular army; but to do so would involve civil war. There are Kurdish portions of Eastern Anatolia where the Sultan's writ does not run, and where you had much better travel alone than with a Turkish official or servant. It used to be said by Turkish officials, when disarming of the Kurds was proposed, that a force of 50,000 men would be required to disarm the three or four hundred thousand Dersim Kurds alone, to say nothing of the others. Kurds, therefore, have never been compelled to serve as regulars. The State has been content to call them out under their own chiefs as irregular cavalry; a degree of service not always given readily, and, when given, not of much value. A large portion of the Arab population is in a similar position of semi-independence, and for the same reasons has never contributed to the regular army.

Greek and Armenian elements of the population are liable for military service, and find evasion difficult. But what value is to be attached to Armenian troops in the regular army at this time? Something less than nothing, one supposes; though the Armenian is not at all the harmless, peace-loving individual that he is painted in England. The Armenian peasant with his heart in the work of fighting would be, I fancy, second only to the Turk and Circassian, and from some Armenian districts would be second to none.

Of Ottoman Greeks it may be said that they have no sympathy with anything Turkish. Their aims and ambitions are quite apart. They detest the Turk and the Turk detests them. They may add

numbers to the Ottoman armies, but add little in strength, for they cannot be trusted, and merely dilute the ranks of the real fighters.

There remains the real fighting population of the Empire, the ten or eleven million Turkish and Circassian Moslems. Of these perhaps eight millions are the Turkish Moslem peasantry of Anatolia, the heart and backbone and everything else of the Ottoman Empire. In the long-run everything hangs by them. They it is who keep the other races in subjection. They are a sort of tribe, with one purpose and one faith, and have the consciousness that they are conquerors. They do not as a class provide brains—the brains of the Ottoman Army used to come chiefly from Albania—but they are natural fighting men of the first order. I always found them courteous, honest, simple folk, fearing no man, and as likeable as any people that can be named. This Moslem peasantry of Anatolia contains, I believe, fewer males of military age than any other population of equal numbers in the world. On their manhood military service has borne heavily. Besides three great recent wars, they have fought in many insurrections. For many years also they have undergone the annual drain of service in the Arabian peninsula. Only Moslems may serve in Arabia, and the death-rate among them there, chiefly by disease, but also by warfare, has always been appalling. Service in the Yemen is regarded by Moslems as being almost equivalent to a death-sentence.

In the present war, the Ottoman armies have never attained the strength hoped for in Germany, not only for the reason that the men are not available, but that the men do not exist in the numbers supposed.

With this subject out of the way, I will speak now of two parts of the country which are of special interest in the present war. Except Constantinople and the Straits, these are the only two regions which can be called the real vitals of Asia Minor. One of them I should like to designate as the vital part of Anatolia; the other as the vital part of Turkey-in-Asia, for it has a wider importance. The Russian advance due westward from Erzerum is directed against the vital part of Anatolia.

The physical characteristics of Eastern Anatolia make it a territory which contributes little to the general resources of the Ottoman Empire. Regarded as a whole, it is a barren land of lofty mountains and highland valleys which lie some 6,000 feet above sea-level. Sometimes these valleys open out into plains a few hundred square miles in extent, but in all they occupy only a small portion of the country's surface and their winter is long and severe. It is a country sparsely peopled, with little commerce and small revenues, and the comparatively small population that it carries is of little value from the Turkish point of view. Many of its inhabitants are Armenians,

many others are Kurds. So far as the human and material resources of the Empire would be affected, Russia might occupy the country up to Erzingan and Trebizond and the Ottoman State be little the poorer, little less capable of placing armies in the field.

This inhospitable district, however, is counted as the eastern bulwark of Anatolia. To Russian invasion it offers every imaginable difficulty. Invading armies must traverse high passes, where for six months in the year they may encounter snow. Of roads leading towards the heart of Anatolia there is not one worth the name. Nor is it a land in which invading armies can find sustenance; it has difficulty enough to feed itself in times of peace, and often has to draw on more fertile regions. An army invading Anatolia from this side must be fed from the rear along lengthening lines of communication on which conveyance will always be difficult. On the eastern edge of this wide border province, the fortress of Erzerum stands across the natural route of invasion; and to enable the fortress and the armies based upon it to be readily supplied, the only good road in this part of the country was constructed to the port of Trebizond. Turkish control of the Black Sea was an essential factor in this scheme of defence; but retaining that control little fear was felt for the rest. And even if Erzerum should fall, and Turkish armies retreat somewhat, matters would not be desperate. Still holding the sea, the Turks would transfer their lines of supply to roads from Black Sea ports farther west, particularly to the great road from Samsoun to Sivas. Metalled all the way, easily graded, passably well bridged, and capable of carrying heavy traffic, it would be an adequate line of communications. In possession of Erzerum, the Russians would still have Turkish armies before them, and the rugged border province to cross before reaching the heart of Anatolia. The war would show nothing decisive so far; would still remain to be won or lost.

So Turks argued who possessed some knowledge of their country's military affairs. But with control of the Black Sea gone, and Erzerum with it, this scheme of defence falls to the ground.

The road from Samsoun to Sivas is now as little available as that from Trebizond to Erzerum. Turkish armies of the East are faced with the same difficulties of transport that it was hoped to impose upon their enemies. The advantage in this matter, indeed, may even have passed to the enemy. So far, however, the rugged border province still protects Anatolia, still has to be crossed by the invader, and so gains time for the Turks to reorganize their beaten armies, bring up reinforcements, and prepare a fresh defensive with Sivas as the new base, even though men and material have to come five hundred miles by road to reach it. As yet no pressure by invaders has reached the heart of Anatolia.

It may be asked now, Where is this heart or vital part of Anatolia,

pressure on which will be disastrous for the Ottoman State? Speaking broadly, I would say that it is the fertile country inhabited largely or wholly by that Turkish Moslem peasantry of Anatolia, that peasantry which I have described as the mainstay of Turkish dominion. The two go nearly always together—the Turkish saying runs: "To the Osmanli the rich lands, to others the mountains." These fertile districts of Anatolia begin somewhere west of Erzingan, corresponding roughly with the valleys of the Kelkit Irmak or Lycus, and the Kizil Irmak or Halys. The plateau of Asia Minor may be regarded as falling gradually from Erzerum to the west. Erzerum plain is 6,000 feet above sea-level; Sivas and Shabin Kara Hissar, in the valleys of the Kizil Irmak and Kelkit Irmak respectively, are 1,500 feet lower. West of Erzingan, the country becomes more open; the valleys are wider; the mountains lower; the climate less rigorous. By the time Sivas is reached you are well in the fertile country, and have the heart of Anatolia around and before you. Between Sivas and Angora lie wheat lands of a quality not excelled in the world.

Erzingan, on the great northern branch of the Euphrates, is a place where many roads meet. Thence go roads to Baiburt and Trebizond in the north, to Kharput, Malatia, Marash, and Diarbekr in the south—all of them important cities judged by Turkish standards—and from Marash an easy road goes on to Aleppo and Alexandretta. But of much greater importance than any of these is the road westward from Erzingan which climbs out of the Euphrates valley and in some fifty miles reaches the valley of the Kizil Irmak, and has upon its right the valley of the Kelkit Irmak and the town of Shabin Kara Hissar. This western road—it is a road only by courtesy, and better imagined as a natural route—is the only pathway for armies invading Anatolia from the east. It has seen many. This way came Timur on his fourth campaign, when he entered Anatolia and reached Angora.

It has been reported that the Turks are preparing a new line of defence, from Kerasund on the Black Sea through Shabin Kara Hissar to Sivas. More correctly, no doubt, its right flank rests on the northern end of Karabel Dagh, or Terja Dagh as it is sometimes called, some forty miles east of Sivas. From the sea at Kerasund to this point is a distance of only a hundred miles; and Karabel Dagh, which bounds the south-eastern side of the wide valley in which Sivas stands, is a great natural barrier crossed by only three roads in sixty or seventy miles. The part which has often been foretold for Sivas now seems about to be played. Sooner or later, in the conflict known to be inevitable, it was to see a last Turkish stand against a Russian army. For by some general perception of what the city means to Anatolia, it is recognized as a centre possession of which by Russia would carry with it the end of Turkish dominion in this region. There

is no other place of equal importance in the interior of Anatolia. It is in effect the inland capital, if there can be one, and, with its population of about 70,000, is the largest city in the heart of the country. Here, also, more than elsewhere, meet those great highways by which troops are moved and the internal commerce of Asia Minor is carried on.

It may be of interest to look at these roads for a few moments, for much is likely to be heard about them in the immediate future. For one, there is the great highway of invaders from the east, the road from Erzingan and Erzerum, which has been already mentioned. It comes down the valley, winding between the bleak treeless uplands, a road of destiny for Sivas and the Turk. From the west comes in the road from railhead at Angora, two hundred and seventy miles away, which now is the chief route for Turkish reinforcements. There are, indeed, at least two other routes by which Sivas may be reached from Angora. They are longer than this road through Yuzgat, but no doubt they, also, are being used at this time to prevent congestion on the main highway. From the north-west comes the great road from Samsoun, called the Bagdad Road, the greatest road in Asia Minor, said also to be the busiest road of its kind in the world. It passes through Sivas, crosses the Kizil Irmak by the famous old "Crooked Bridge," and after climbing Terja Dagh, goes on to Malatia and Kharput and Diarbekr and Bagdad. By this road, too, is reached Nisibin, which is railhead on the Bagdad Railway. From the south-west another very important road enters Sivas. It comes from Eregli, a town and station on the Bagdad Railway, upon the northern slope of the Taurus Mountains, and passes through Kaisariyeh. This is a route as much used for troops as the road from Angora to Sivas. I have passed large bodies of troops on this road in time of peace, and have seen them detraining at Eregli to begin the march. The road has the advantage of very easy gradients all the way till it makes a steep descent of more than 2,000 feet into the valley at Sivas. It is undoubtedly the easiest way to Sivas in all seasons excepting winter and early spring. In winter it is closed by snow between Sivas and Kaisariyeh; in spring it is sometimes a bog between Eregli and Nigdeh. In addition to these main roads are routes of less importance which go northward to small ports on the Black Sea coast, and southward to Aleppo and Alexandretta and the Cilician plain.

And here, perhaps, I may be allowed another short digression, this time on the subject of motor transport on Turkish roads, particularly those coming into Sivas. I have no doubt that motor transport will be used for military purposes between Angora and Sivas and Eregli and Sivas. The snow has melted by this time between Angora and Sivas, the roads and country are drying, and even the season of mud may be over if the summer is early. In dry weather

it will be possible to use motor transport over wide stretches of country westward of Sivas. There is, indeed, a second road between Angora and Sivas which would suit mechanical transport well. It goes from Angora to Chorum, and thence to Amasia, where the Bagdad Road is reached; a route perhaps forty miles longer than the direct road between Angora and Sivas, but one that allows of the Bagdad Road being used for a hundred and fifty miles. From Samsoun to Sivas the Bagdad Road is quite possible for motor vehicles, and with little labour and time might be made a road on which they could average ten miles an hour. Motor-cars travelled from Samsoun to Sivas several years ago; and except for frightening caravans, and danger from enraged camel-men, found no difficulty in making the journey. Mechanical transportation is also quite feasible on the road from Eregli to Sivas. It is all a question of dry weather coupled with intelligent road maintenance from day to day.

A few words may now be given to Sivas, as an old city about to add another chapter to its history. It is built in the valley of the Kizil Irmak, which hereabouts forms a level plain five or six miles in width and 4,500 feet above sea-level. On the south-eastern side the valley is bounded by rugged treeless mountains rising 2,000 to 3,000 feet, or more, above the valley. On the opposite side are bold downs which in a few miles ascend to the much higher ground of Melekum Dagh.

Ten or twelve centuries ago, in the days of Byzantine prosperity, Sivas is said to have had 300,000 inhabitants, and was the second city in Asia Minor. By a very curious transaction it became Armenian in a way. An Armenian King who reigned beside Lake Van in the 11th century found his neighbours too powerful and troublesome. He coveted ease and freedom from strife. He therefore exchanged his realm for the province and city now called Sivas, where he became a Byzantine Viceroy, but also remained an Armenian King. With him, and afterwards, came many Armenians; and from that day to the present Sivas has had a considerable Armenian population.

It is now a squalid, ill-built town in a country devoid of trees, without gardens or orchards, or any of the features which generally give grace to a Turkish city. Its streets are crossed by lines of raised stepping-stones—testimony to their condition in wet weather. You may look Sivas over and find nothing in it of interest except its old Seljukian colleges and mosques and minarets. There are seven or eight of these in all, built in the 13th century, as fine as any in the country, but now partly in ruin. Two miles outside the city is the old Armenian monastery of St. Nishan, the residence of the Bishop of Sivas, who is reported to have been tortured last year by having his feet shod like a horse. When I saw him at the monastery he was looking forward to better times for himself and people under the Ottoman Government.

The foundation of all the prosperity Sivas enjoys now, and has enjoyed in the past, lies in the rich agricultural and pastoral country around it. It is a country of wheat and herds and flocks. From Sivas Turkish armies on this frontier have always drawn their supplies of food. It is an old tradition in Sivas, and over large portions of Anatolia, that when Sivas bakers are ordered to bake and fill the mosques with hard bread, war with Russia follows. So it was in 1829, in 1853, in 1877; so no doubt in 1914.

Sivas is—or was—quite unfortified. Nor can one think that any attempt would be made to hold it now against a siege by Russians. Its position is so commanded by heights—from Terja Dagh to Melekum Dagh across the valley must be a distance of nearly twenty miles—that an immense perimeter would be required for its lines. The defence of Sivas will be conducted on the position already mentioned thirty or forty miles to the east; and when that goes, Sivas and much besides will go with it.

I now go on to speak of the yet more important district which I have called the vital point of Turkey-in-Asia. Everyone recognizes its present importance; but not so many realize that this little-known spot is a position with a future before it altogether exceptional, and fraught with immense possibilities. This vital part of Turkey-in-Asia is the few miles of coast around the Gulf of Alexandretta. It is not only the vital part of Turkey-in-Asia, but may be called the centre of the whole German scheme in Asiatic Turkey. Here, for a distance of fifty miles, the Bagdad Railway is never more than twenty-five miles from the sea. Here was to have been a great German port.

The Gulf of Alexandretta is about twenty miles in width and fifty in length to its head. Along the eastern side of the gulf, separated from the sea by a mile-wide strip of plain which sometimes breaks up into undulations and sometimes has marshes, runs the Amanus range. It is bold and abrupt; it rises to a height of five to six thousand feet at its highest points; and shows beech and oak woods in its ravines. Low, bare hills extend across the northern end of the gulf. They continue along the western side for part of its length, increasing in height somewhat as they pass south, but never reaching fifteen hundred feet. At the southern extremity of these hills is Ayas Bay, a harbour with the little town of Ayas upon its northern shore; and opposite to it, across the bay, is the mouth of the Jihur, one of the chief rivers of Asia Minor. Within twenty-five miles of Ayas Bay, across the Cilician Plain, is the town of Adana, a place of 100,000 inhabitants, the capital of the Plain, and an important station on the Bagdad Railway. But the Bagdad Railway comes even closer to the sea than it does at Adana. If you were to go ashore at the head of the gulf and walk due north for less than four hours

you would then cross the railway. From this point a branch line has been laid down to the gulf and along its eastern shore, crossing on the way the plain of Issus and Alexander's battlefield, to the port of Alexandretta. This outline topography of the district around the head of the gulf is all that I need give now. The inner purpose of the Bagdad Railway is known to everyone in this room; so also is the importance of the railway at this present time. I may now go on and speak of Alexandretta, and the part it was to fill in a Germanized Turkey-in-Asia.

It has been said sometimes that one of the aims of the Bagdad Railway scheme was to restore the old trade route between Europe and Asia which passed through Constantinople. That by the Bagdad Railway goods were to be hauled overland between Bagdad and Central Europe. As a war route, no doubt this was the purpose, but only as a temporary measure; there was a much wider aim and appreciation of possibilities. Asiatic Turkey, when fully developed by German railways and capital, would require more than the Bagdad Railway to convey its products to Europe. It needed ports, ports in the right place, ports served by railways. Instead of goods being hauled to Europe they were to be shipped, and Alexandretta was to have been the Mediterranean port of the Bagdad Railway system, and a port of the first order.

To understand what Alexandretta was intended to be, and its enormous importance, you need to look thirty years ahead and consider Turkey-in-Asia as a whole—as the Germans have done. Consider it well supplied with railways; various ports to have been made, and joined by railway lines with the districts which they naturally serve. So doing, you find that about two-thirds of Asia Minor proper will be served by eight or ten chief ports—Trebizond, Samsoun, Constantinople, Ismid, Aivali, Smyrna, Adalia, and possibly Selefke. Mersina may be left out of this count, for it is a somewhat artificial creation. It is an open roadstead in shallow water where vessels have to lie two or three miles out. Its present importance is largely due to old caravan routes, and the limitations of road traffic. Railways, and the other port which must be constructed on the Gulf of Alexandretta, will eventually diminish its value. But for the wide territory of South-Eastern Anatolia, Northern Syria, and Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, there are, owing to the configuration of land and sea, only two conceivable outlets. One of these is on the Persian Gulf, the other either on or close to the Gulf of Alexandretta. By reason of water traffic on the Tigris and Euphrates no doubt the Persian Gulf outlet will serve the greater area. But when allowance is made for this advantage, there remains a territory of more than 100,000 square miles, much of it among the richest in the Turkish Empire, for which a port on the Gulf of Alexandretta will be the

outlet and have no possible rival, unless you imagine ports within a few miles of each other. This area will begin west of the Taurus Mountains; it will extend north of Kaisariyeh; it will include all the Cilician Plain; it will pass east through Kharput to Lake Van; include the Diarbekr region, take in a large portion of Mesopotamia, and extend south of Aleppo. And it must be borne in mind that in reaching European ports the Gulf of Alexandretta gives a shorter voyage than from the Persian Gulf by nearly 4,000 miles, and also saves the Canal dues.

You see something of the importance of the Alexandretta Gulf port on the map, but you do not see nearly all of it so. You need to be familiar with the country to understand the future of this north-eastern angle of the Mediterranean. You need to have seen the agricultural possibilities of the Cilician Plain; of the central parts of Anatolia; to have travelled in Northern Syria and seen wheat extending to the horizon like prairie grass. You also need to realize what mineral riches are awaiting scientific mining and means of conveyance. There are copper deposits near Kharput and Diarbekr to equal any in the world. In the mountains of Albistan, peasants bring lumps of lead ore and magnetic iron, and tell what masses these samples have come from. The mines now worked in the Taurus are said to produce more silver than any in Europe. From a mineralogist's point of view, Asia Minor is almost an unknown region.

Knowing the country well, fully appreciating its possibilities, and looking far ahead, Germans realized what was to be done in the Gulf of Alexandretta. They aimed to make there the centre of the whole future economic development of Asiatic Turkey. There was to be the Hamburg and Trieste of Turkey-in-Asia. The Bagdad Railway was the first step in the process—a military railway at this stage to make the rest possible. The political and military side of the matter settled, the port on the Gulf of Alexandretta would then be developed to the full. Between the future Alexandretta, and Trieste and Fiume a great trade was expected by the Austrian partner in the scheme; between Alexandretta and North Sea ports a greater by the German partner.

In the past there has been debate where the port on the Gulf of Alexandretta should be. Some considered the Bay of Ayas, on the western side of the gulf, as the best and most natural site. The Bay of Ayas is a natural harbour, but it also requires artificial protection by harbour works, and is also on the wrong side of the gulf, for the greater extent of territory to be served lies to the east. The Germans investigated the claims of Ayas and of Alexandretta, and decided for the latter, and one supposes that the choice is now definitely settled for all time. The bay was surveyed and plans made for the new harbour by German engineers. Then a concession was obtained

by a German syndicate enabling it to construct and work the port; and construction had been in progress a year when war broke out, and presumably stopped operations.

Alexandretta, as I have said, was the German choice for the future great port in these regions, and their choice, I believe, is a wise one. It has the immense advantage that no other port hereabouts will serve so great a territory. You may have ports which will serve Mesopotamia equally well, and others Asia Minor, but none which will so well serve both regions. Suedia—the so-called port of Antioch—Beyrut, Haifa, all will do for Mesopotamia; but they will draw nothing from Asia Minor, particularly from the region west of the Gulf of Alexandretta. In looking to Syrian ports as the future chief outlets of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor is ignored; and it is by no means certain that, in the long-run, a developed Asia Minor will not prove of greater importance than a developed Mesopotamia. If Haifa or Beyrut, for instance, be made the chief port, there will certainly have to be another for Asia Minor on the Gulf of Alexandretta. In deciding upon Alexandretta, the Germans chose the one central spot.

Let us now take a glance at this little place which seems destined for future greatness. The town is called unhealthy, a place of mosquitoes and malaria, owing to marshes between it and the mountains. But when Ibrahim Pasha, at the time of the Egyptian occupation of Northern Syria, made it his chief port, he cut a canal, drained the swamps, and mosquitoes and malaria disappeared. The canal has not been maintained and fever has returned. But there is no other reason why the town should not be as healthy as any. It has a good situation and abundance of excellent water, which breaks out in springs at the foot of the mountains.

Although Nature has not made a harbour here, she has gone a good way towards doing so. For just at Alexandretta the coast-line coming down from the north turns sharply to the west for two or three miles, and encloses a bay, sheltered from any direct swell from the Mediterranean, but, to a certain extent, affected by the range of such seas. The bay is also open to any sea which rises in the thirty-mile extent of the gulf itself. The building of a breakwater, however, presents no difficulty. It would have to resist no great weight of wave; shingle and rock for concrete are in abundance; and there is deep water—yet not too deep—close inshore. All that is needed is to construct a snug harbour within a gulf which is too large to be a snug harbour itself. This work, as I have said, has already been begun.

At present the town is the terminus of the short branch line which comes from the Bagdad Railway at the head of the gulf. For the time being, until the military and political side of the German Asiatic scheme had been cleared up, Alexandretta was to have no more than a branch railway, more not being advisable or even possible.

"In time to come," said a German official in Cilicia to the writer, "no doubt we shall take the railway under the Beilan Pass to Aleppo." Beilan Pass is eight or ten miles south of the town, and that way is the direct route to Aleppo and Syria and Mesopotamia. The official spoke without boasting—he was looking far ahead, to the time when Germany would have a free hand; when there would be a network of railways, and when the shortest routes would be followed. This official had no doubts about the future of Alexandretta—it was to be a very great port indeed; to be, among other things, the western port of Mesopotamia.

We may recall that a generation ago Alexandretta was proposed as the western end of a British railway to India. No doubt we may look forward now to seeing that railway constructed sooner or later. We may be able to travel by rail from Charing Cross to Calcutta, and Cairo, and Cape Town. Whenever that comes about, the route will be past the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta. The gulf will have as much to do with railway communication between London and Africa as between London and India. To this extent, and for whatever value this through railway communication may have, the Power which holds the gulf and port of Alexandretta will control railway communication between Europe and India and Africa, and largely to Persia. There is no other spot of equal importance in all Asiatic Turkey.

If, at the present time, the Gulf of Alexandretta is the most vital point in the Turkish Empire outside the capital, not less, but more so will it be a vital point in any conceivable order of things which may follow the present war. Its importance will increase with every year. You cannot well overestimate what that importance will become, if you consider the commercial and other developments likely to take place in the future between the Ægean and the Persian Gulf. Call Alexandretta of the future one of the greatest, perhaps the very greatest seaport on the Mediterranean, and you will not have overestimated its full possibilities. You may, at all events, be glad that Cyprus, covering this great position, remains a British possession.

Let me now show you a short selection of slides from photographs I have taken in many parts of Asia Minor.

The CHAIRMAN said that out of the instructive and interesting lecture they had heard an immense number of problems, both political and military, emerged, and some of them, no doubt, would exercise our own administrators considerably. He did not himself feel competent to touch upon such problems, and would confine his remarks to two points in the lecture which interested him particularly.

He was exceedingly glad to hear Mr. Childs speak well of his old friends the Turks. When he was in Mesopotamia, he was frequently

entertained by Turkish gentlemen and officers of the Turkish Army who were there keeping the country against the Arabs. He always found them most courteous, most obliging, most hospitable, friendly, and well-mannered, and kindly to men and even to animals. He could not imagine any people further removed from what would be classed in these days as the barbarian or the Hun. He could not bring himself to believe all the stories that were told of the terrible atrocities with which they were sometimes credited, though they had been partly subscribed to even by so experienced and distinguished a diplomat as Lord Bryce. If they looked into the details given, they would see that in many cases, at any rate, the numbers suffering from the atrocities alleged were impossibly large. For instance, it was quite impossible for 10,000 Armenians to have been conveyed away in small boats into the middle of the sea and there dropped into the water. It was equally inconceivable that 800,000 Armenians should have been massacred in Bitlis. Such stories went about, and the Turks, in accordance with their fatalistic policy, did not care to contradict them. There was room for suspicion that, on the other hand, the Armenians found it useful financially to boom atrocities. He would, therefore, ask them most earnestly to take stories of Turkish atrocities with considerable grains of salt. They should remember how public opinion was stirred in the days of the Bulgarian atrocities, but in the fiercer light of subsequent history it was found that they gradually dwindled down to about one-tenth of their original supposed dimensions.

With reference to the extraordinary potential wealth of Mesopotamia, they knew of the plans prepared by Sir William Willcocks for irrigation both north and south of Bagdad. Mr. Childs considered that there were only two outlets for the trade of Central Mesopotamia, one north to Alexandretta and the other south to the Persian Gulf. He would ask him why he overlooked the possibilities of produce being eventually carried by rail westward from Bagdad through Palmyra to Damascus, which was already connected with Beyrut. It seemed to him that that would eventually be the most important line of communication.

Colonel Sir HENRY TROTTER said that his travels in Asia Minor were in parts other than those described by the lecturer. He knew the Aleppo district, but was more particularly acquainted with the Erzerum frontier region. The recent Russian capture of that city he regarded as one of the most wonderful military feats in history. No one knowing the rough mountainous country over which the Russian guns had to be taken could doubt this. It was snow-covered in winter, subject to terrible blizzards, and presented awful difficulties to an advancing army. He was at Erzerum when it was attacked by the Russians in 1877. The Russians won a big victory

at the Deve Boyur Pass, about five miles east of Erzerum, and if they had followed it up the same night, he believed they would have got into the fortress. But they halted and hesitated, and when some days later on they made the final assault they were beaten. They invested, but never entered Erzerum during the war, and while they were besieging it during the winter they lost some 20,000 men from typhoid fever.* Many of his own prophecies respecting the present war had come true; but two days before the capture of Erzerum he maintained that it was absolutely impossible for the Russians to take it. He was gratified to find his beliefs in this respect falsified. (Cheers.)

Colonel A. C. YATE said he was interested to hear that the influence of the architecture of the Knights of Rhodes had extended so far into the centre of Asia Minor as the lecturer had shown—viz., to the neighbourhood of Kaisariyeh. He had been a student for the past fifteen years or more of the history of the Knights of St. John, and had not heard before of such extension. The history of the tenure of Rhodes by the Knights was well known. "The Street of the Knights" in Rhodes was famous. On the Asia Minor coast they held Smyrna, until the hordes of Timur the Lame drove them from it. The fortress of Budrum, built up by the Knights on the site and from the ancient masonry of Halicarnassus, was the refuge of escaped Christian slaves during the 14th and 15th centuries. The Order of St. John of Jerusalem in this country took a keen interest in its own antiquarian history, and would be glad to have further information on the subject of this recrudescence of Hospitaller architecture in Asia Minor.

The account which the lecturer had given of the future great importance of the port of Alexandretta recalled to his mind the fact that Lord Beaconsfield, prior to the Berlin Conference of 1878, had decided to make Alexandretta the Mediterranean terminus of an Euphrates Valley or Bagdad Railway. To that end he occupied Cyprus. That Disraeli and Salisbury blundered at Berlin in 1878, when they let in the thin end of the Austro-German wedge, we all now know. But had not the Liberal tide floated Gladstone into power in 1881, Disraeli would have squared matters with the Central Powers by forestalling Berlin at Bagdad.

Mr. A. L. P. TUCKER said that many would like to know what was the degree of popularity enjoyed by the Young Turk Party Government among the Turkish soldiery of Anatolia. How was the new Turkish Government—Hariyeh as it was called—regarded by these millions of peasants and brave soldiers? In reference to the remarks that had fallen from the Chairman as to the probable guiltlessness of the Turkish Government in the matter of the reported

* Under the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, Erzerum was temporarily handed over to the Russians.

recent Armenian and other older massacres, he would like to mention one thing. A member of the Society whose lot was cast for some time at Bagdad in an official capacity told him that he thought the Turkish officials with whom he there came in contact were the worst, and indeed the vilest, class with which he had ever had dealings.

Mr. CHILDS, in reply to the observations of the Chairman, said that of course a railway could be made to Beyrut, and the traffic diverted thither, if that was the object aimed at by the authorities concerned. But provided a good harbour was made at Alexandretta, it would be very difficult to get the traffic away therefrom. The distance between the two ports was only about 120 miles, and he did not think there was anything in favour of Beyrut in point of distance. And further, Alexandretta would be the port for a large part of Anatolia, which Beyrut could never hope to be. It was no good hoping for Beyrut to have the supremacy if a start was made at Alexandretta, and it was turned into a good port, and provided with railways.

With regard to the traces of the architecture of the Knights of Rhodes in Central Asia Minor, it was generally believed that the Greek builders themselves came from Rhodes 200 or 300 years ago; it was at least clear that the work was done by Greek masons, who were said to have come from the southern coast.

As to the sentiments of the Turkish peasantry towards the Government, it was to be remembered that the cultivators believed whatever they were told by the priests and teachers. They had no newspapers enabling them to learn what was going on in the outer world. They had been told that the English were endeavouring to destroy the Mohammedan religion; and of course they were ready to fight to the last for their faith. The majority of the Turkish peasantry, in so far as they had any opinions on the subject, had no great partiality for the present form of government. In their sympathies they were supporters of Abdul Hamid rather than of the present régime. They were told of the evil things that were going to happen to Islam if the Turkish cause was defeated; and they were prepared to do anything the authorities demanded to save their religion and their country from the dangers they believed were threatening them.

MANCHURIA, 1905-1915

By the REV. A. R. MACKENZIE, B.D.

Delivered May 10, 1916, illustrated by lantern slides, and with the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand in the chair.

In a large, loosely compacted country like China, there are regions which tend to be of critical importance in determining the destinies of the whole. Manchuria has proved itself to be one such area in the nearer, as in the remoter, past. The Liao dynasty and the Chin dynasty, which attained successively to a considerable measure of power in China in the time of the Sung Emperors (tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D.), had their origin in Manchuria. Thence, also, sprang the related race which became the Ching dynasty and took over imperial power in China in 1644, and resigned it in 1912. Manchuria was the scene of two sanguinary wars in the decade previous to the one now under consideration—the Chino-Japanese War, 1894-5, and the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5. And the years 1905-1915 have witnessed important developments in Manchuria with respect to domestic policy and international relations alike.

As regards the supreme authority in the Chinese State, Manchuria has been affected by recent changes as much as the rest of China. The second last reign of the Manchu dynasty, that of Kwang Hsü, came to an end towards the close of 1908. There followed a regency on behalf of a very young Emperor, the reign of Hsüan Tung, which ended in resignation of empire by the Manchu dynasty in 1912.

The Revolution, which arose in Central China in the autumn of 1911, spread very quickly among the educated, and vocal, minority of the Chinese people. Province after province intimated its adhesion to the Republican cause. A good deal of bloodshed and misery was suffered by both sides in the course of the conflict.

The "Three Eastern Provinces"—*i.e.*, Manchuria—were among the last to adhere to the new cause, and ere that took place, about Chinese New Year (February, 1912), many judicial murders had been committed at Moukden in the name of the moribund Imperial dynasty. On the other hand, the Revolutionists were responsible for local disturbances, even after the Republic had been proclaimed in Manchuria. At Kaiyüan, where we were living at the time, a rising

occurred which involved considerable loss of life. Apparently it had been planned before the city began to fly the Republican flag, and the robbers who formed the bulk of the revolutionary force were unwilling to be deprived of the booty promised them by their leaders. In any case the five-colour flag had been flying over Kaiyüan for a day or two, when, on February 21, a small company of resolute men, well armed, entered the city from the east and engaged the Chinese police on guard, shooting many civilians in the bygoing.

Our Mission had only a Women's Hospital in the place; and while the skirmish was in progress the two lady-doctors got ready to receive the wounded. Then I went to the scene of the fighting and got them fetched to the hospital. One old Mohammedan had gone out to call his grandchildren off the street, away from danger. He was shot, and in spite of treatment he died some days later. A young man, the sole surviving son of his parents, was also fatally wounded. The killed numbered about a score, mostly police; and the wounded brought to the hospital were also about twenty in number. Most of the latter recovered.

For five days after that the city was at the mercy of the robbers, who looted at their pleasure, especially at night. We opened a building in our premises as a refuge for women and children, or for whole families, if they desired to come.

On February 26 a Republican force was marched against Kaiyüan and laid siege to it. They brought with them a field-gun, with which they bombarded the city, presumably for having been so foolish as to be occupied by robbers. One of their 4½-inch shells, fired empty, fell in our garden, damaging the wall. The fight was inconclusive, and the robbers cleared out that night under cover of the darkness, as their ammunition was spent.

Later events have shown that the strength of the Revolution was critical rather than constructive. A change of dynasty was overdue, and it was accomplished with the tacit consent of the people. But the immediate building up of a Republic upon a sound foundation proved a task beyond the powers of the wisest Chinese statesmen.

Democratic institutions—a central Parliament, provincial Parliaments, and local councils—have all been tried and found wanting. The Chinese people are not yet ready for self-government, because they lack the necessary education and discipline. The power is now in the hands of Yüan Shih-kai, who is dictator in fact, if not in name. There was a proposal recently to create Yüan Emperor of China, which has now been abandoned. In spite of Yüan's apparent reluctance to take the title of Emperor, it is plain that this course would be no more than the logical development of his ambitions, and the sequel to his performance in recent years of the Imperial sacrifices at the Altar

of Heaven. It would be difficult to predict what bearing it would have on the future of China. To a disinterested observer it appeared to be a policy fraught with great danger to the State, and to the continuance of ordered government within it.

The winter of 1910-11 was rendered memorable in Manchuria by the deadly epidemic of pneumonic plague, which spread from the Russian frontier southwards. Of the tens of thousands stricken by the plague, not a single person is known to have survived. Among the deaths were those of several doctors engaged in preventive work among the Chinese, like Dr. Mesny of Tientsin, Dr. Arthur Jackson of Moukden, and at least one Japanese doctor. The subject was investigated by an International Medical Commission, which met at Moukden in April, 1911, before the epidemic had completely disappeared. Measures for the prevention of a future epidemic of the kind were discussed, and in view of these the Chinese Government appointed Dr. Wu Lien-teh, a Cambridge-trained Chinese medical man, to supervise a comprehensive scheme for the prevention of plague, with its headquarters in North Manchuria. The plague was probably one of the factors which hastened the end of the Manchu dynasty. At the memorial service held at the British Consulate-General in Moukden, after Dr. Jackson's death, Hsi Liang, the Viceroy of Manchuria, confessed his responsibility to the Emperor for the spread of the plague to the provincial capital. Similarly the Emperor, or the Prince-Regent in his name, was deemed responsible to the people for the calamity that had overtaken the Empire under his charge. In this instance, at least, the inference had a closer relation to facts than we in the West are apt to realize. The epidemic could easily have been held in check but for deplorable ignorance and want of organization on the part of the Chinese officials in North Manchuria.

The close of the Viceroy's speech on the occasion referred to was so memorable as to bear recalling:* "O spirit of Dr. Jackson, we pray you, intercede for the twenty million people in Manchuria, and ask the Lord of Heaven to take away this pestilence, so that we may once more lay down our heads in peace upon our pillows. In life you were brave, in death you are an exalted spirit. Noble spirit, who sacrificed your life for us, help us still, and look down in kindness upon us all."

The summer of 1915 was marked by disastrous floods in many parts of China, and the Manchurian plain, watered by the Liao River, suffered, as well as parts of the Sungari and Amur River basins. Thousands of the inhabitants were rendered homeless and foodless, and public relief has had to be provided on a large scale.

* *The North China Herald*, March 3, 1911.

Relations with Foreign Powers.

For some time past Chinese diplomatic communications with Russia have dealt chiefly with questions about Outer Mongolia, rather than about North Manchuria. The Chinese Government has found it difficult to maintain its suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, which has set up a claim to autonomy under its locally appointed rulers. Meantime, the Russians have endeavoured to promote their interests, commercial and other, throughout the region. Outstanding questions at issue between China and Russia have been discussed at a Conference between Commissioners appointed by both countries, but no permanent settlement has yet been reached. Relations between these two Governments in regard to the position in North Manchuria continue relatively unchanged.

Chinese relations to Japan in South Manchuria are full of interest. The professed policy of Japan in regard to China is the maintenance of the latter State's territorial integrity. After the Chino-Japanese War, Japan was forced to relinquish her hold on Manchuria, and after the Russo-Japanese War she voluntarily did so once again. Japan, however, retains complete control of the leased territory in the Liaotung Peninsula, and of the railway zone as far north as Changchun. This last-named strip, under foreign jurisdiction, has been the cause of many perplexities. The Japanese are supremely jealous of their authority in the railway zone, and will admit of no interference in it of Chinese military or police. Chinese brigands and other criminals are apt to take advantage of this, and resort to the Japanese region as to a sanctuary. So long as their behaviour there is good, the Japanese authorities have no objection to their presence. This tends to stultify Chinese efforts at good government. Other difficulties arise out of this intrusion of an alien authority right through the heart of Chinese territory. Regulations are made by the Japanese authorities which the Chinese resent; dues are imposed against which they protest in vain. Patriotic, but unwise, attempts have been made by Chinese to boycott the Japanese railway, but without success. For there is no gainsaying that the South Manchuria Railway has benefited the Chinese enormously in a material sense.

The Japanese policy in Korea has caused many Koreans to cross the border into Manchuria. A number of these immigrants sought to become naturalized as Chinese subjects; but the Japanese Government intervened at an early stage, making representations to China against the procedure, which has now been made very difficult in practice. Meanwhile, the Japanese have been endeavouring to create a practical monopoly of China's foreign trade for themselves throughout South Manchuria, using their favourable position as owners of the railway as a lever, and employing every means short of

an explicit infringement of the principle of "the open door." Among the officials of the two countries, and in mercantile circles, there has been a considerable measure of *rapprochement*. But the bulk of Chinese popular opinion seems to be increasingly anti-Japanese. There are doubtless various reasons for this, both good and bad. Japanese treatment of Chinese is by no means always conciliatory. China is humbled in the persons of her officials, as well as of her populace, whenever an excuse is found for "putting her in her place." Japanese trade is, in some of its aspects, disastrous to China's well-being—*e.g.*, the wholesale establishment of Japanese *fornices*, and of "medicine-shops" throughout the interior for the sale of morphia and hypodermic needles. By this last-mentioned trade, which has grown to enormous dimensions, China's splendid fight for the abolition of opium is being nullified, and the habit is being fastened on the people in a worse form than ever. These "medicine-shops" have been conducted by Japanese contrary to treaty rights, but under the protection of their Government. Chinese vendors of the drug would have been pounced upon by the Chinese authorities, and severely punished.

The only occasion on which I have witnessed the use of morphia by a Chinese drug-taker at first hand was at Weishaho, a small place in the Chi-an prefecture, some two hundred miles east of Moukden, early in the month of November, 1914. We put up at an inn, where a soldier belonging to the Chinese mounted police was also a guest. In the course of the evening he proceeded to take a dose of the drug. He made no secret of the fact that it was morphia, bought in a Japanese medicine-shop at Tunghwa, the nearest town of any size.

After dissolving a quantity of the drug in water, he filled a hypodermic needle with the solution, punctured his arm with the needle, and injected the contents. The needle had been broken, and was roughly patched up with a substance resembling cobbler's wax. The place on the arm was wiped with a cloth beforehand, but no effort was made to secure a proper asepsis.

The soldier then persuaded another fellow-guest to take a dose of the drug. This latter-named was a carter suffering from toothache. The drug was administered in the same careless fashion as before. The following morning, before he left the inn, the soldier took another dose.

Reports reach me from time to time, through Chinese friends and others, as to the disastrous effects of this habit upon its victims, and also as to its widespread distribution in Manchuria.

Effects of the European War.

The present war has affected China, like the rest of the world. Trade has been profoundly disturbed by it, even in remote parts of China. And one of the earliest concluded campaigns of the war took place in China, where Japan attacked the German leased territory of Kiaochou, in Shantung, with the aid of Britain, and took it towards the end of 1914, after a comparatively brief siege of Tsingtao, the principal town of the territory.

In Shantung Japan has succeeded Germany, temporarily at least, in the management of the Shantung Railway (Tsingtao to Tsinanfu). The staff of the South Manchuria Railway was already acquainted with the working of a railway concern under similar conditions, so the Japanese Government approached the South Manchuria Railway with a request to detach some of their employees for service in Shantung.

In order to reduce the risk of harm to her own citizens, China was persuaded to delimit a zone in Shantung for the operations of the belligerent forces, and soon after the conclusion of the campaign requested the retrocession of this zone. Japan claimed that this was not due until the end of the war, but assented on condition that China admitted a few counter-claims. These included, with reference to South Manchuria, extension of the terms of the lease of the Kwantung Province—Port Arthur and Dairen—and of the South Manchuria Railway and the Antung to Moukden Railway to ninety-nine years from the dates of the original agreements, certain mining rights, preferences in borrowing for Government purposes or for railway construction to be given to Japanese capital, and consultation with the Japanese Government previous to the engagement of foreign advisers, and also the following provisions:* "Japanese subjects may lease or buy the land in the region of South Manchuria that may be necessary either for the erection of buildings or for commercial, industrial, or agricultural purposes." "Japanese subjects shall be at liberty to enter, travel and reside in the region of South Manchuria, and to carry on business of various kinds, commercial, industrial, and otherwise." By South Manchuria is meant the Japanese sphere of influence as defined in the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905). It is a division of Chinese territory by alien Powers, without any reference to Chinese opinion, or even to Chinese political geography. After negotiations protracted through several months, Japan insisted on China's acceptance of the agreement, by presenting an ultimatum. China had nothing for it but to give way. What the effects will be in the future it is impossible to forecast. For one thing, it entirely alters the position of immigrant Koreans in Manchuria.

* *The Times*, May 11, 1915.

Formerly they were there on sufferance, and many difficulties had arisen on account of their presence. Now they may claim status as Japanese subjects, with a right, under the new agreement, to be in Manchuria. It also legalizes Japanese trade of every kind throughout Manchuria, including presumably the harmful classes of business to which reference has already been made.

For a number of reasons Chinese sentiments in regard to the war tend to be markedly pro-German. Full advantage is taken of this by German agents in China; for instance, the German telegraphic news service is made available to Chinese newspapers at temptingly low rates.

The feeling in Manchuria is illustrated by the fact that on the German Emperor's birthday, January 27, 1915, Chinese flags were flown throughout Moukden at the order of the police. This was interpreted as a demonstration directed chiefly against the Japanese; but it is hard to see what good purpose such a display can serve.

Japanese Sphere.

The Treaty of Portsmouth, which concluded the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, put Japan in possession of the leased territory in the Liaotung Peninsula, an area of about 1,200 square miles in extent, and of the railway from Port Arthur and Dalny as far as Changchun, a stretch of over 470 miles in length.

Port Arthur is the seat of the Government and official administration of the Japanese area in Manchuria. The Japanese territory is ruled by a Governor-General appointed by the Japanese Government. The numbers of the military garrison maintained there and in the railway zone are not published. Visitors to Port Arthur are shown the ruins of Russian forts and other striking reminders of the great siege of eleven years ago. Extensive new fortifications have been constructed by the Japanese. But the real centre of Japanese trade and activity is to be found at Dalny, called by the Japanese Dairen, thirty-seven miles by rail to the north-east. Dairen is now a well-planned modern town, with many handsome buildings. To other great natural advantages, the harbour of Dairen adds the important one of remaining practically ice-free through the winter. It thus enjoys uninterrupted trade at all seasons. The greater distance between Dairen and towns in the interior is minimized by special low freight rates on the railway, and for all these reasons Dairen has become a formidable rival to the port of Newchwang (Yingkou).

The business control of the port of Dairen, along with numerous other commercial interests of the Japanese in Manchuria, is vested in the South Manchuria Railway, an immense concern with a large proportion of Government funds in its capital.

During and after the war, as the Japanese took over the railway, they converted the Russian broad gauge into the narrow gauge, for which they had material immediately available. In 1908 the main line was converted to standard gauge, and still later was doubled through a great part of its length, in order to cope with the steadily increasing coal exporting and other traffic. With the introduction of the standard gauge, great improvements on the rolling-stock were effected, and now expresses *de luxe* on the Pullman system, with dining-cars and sleeping-cars attached, convey passengers on their way to and from the West, via Siberia.

Among the exigencies of the war-time was a railway pushing across the mountainous region that separates Antung at the mouth of the Yalu River from Moukden. A line was hurriedly constructed by the military on a very narrow gauge, and opened for passenger and goods traffic subsequent to the conclusion of the war. Travelling by this line was somewhat slow—a rate, including stops, of about ten miles an hour was attained—but there was the compensation of viewing some grand mountain scenery to very great advantage as the tiny train toiled up to the summit of the passes and rattled down again. A few years ago this line was entirely reconstructed on the standard gauge, with tunnels through the mountains. The journey from Antung to Moukden, or *vice versa*, is now performed in six to seven hours, where formerly it took two days, with a night spent at a Japanese inn *en route*. And a swing bridge has been built across the Yalu, connecting the South Manchuria Railway with the Korean Railways, so that the traveller from Europe may journey without change of carriages from Changchun in Manchuria to Fusan on the straits at the south-east corner of Korea, whence a short sea crossing brings him to Japan.

A year or two ago, before traffic was disorganized by the present war, an American traveller performed a round-the-world trip in about thirty-five days. He travelled across the Atlantic, by Siberia to Harbin, thence through Manchuria and Korea to Yokohama, where he caught the C.P.R. trans-Pacific steamer for Vancouver, and so home.

The coal trade of the South Manchuria Railway has been alluded to. The mines at Fushun, twenty miles east of Moukden, produce a bituminous coal which kindles readily and burns intensely, if smokily. They have been equipped with the most modern plant, and the daily output is said to exceed 5,000 tons, and it is hoped that it will shortly reach the 10,000 ton mark. The miners are Chinese. They are housed in a particularly squalid town, which forms a contrast to the wide streets and rather handsome buildings of the contiguous Japanese town.

It is impossible to do more than mention some of the other enterprises of the South Manchuria Railway. It runs newspapers in

Japanese and English (the *Manchuria Daily News*, a little sheet of four pages, giving the important telegrams of each day, with local political, commercial, and social news, edited from the semi-official Japanese standpoint). It has established modern hospitals for the reception of Japanese and Chinese patients at every considerable place along the railway line. It has founded a splendidly equipped and well-staffed Medical College at Moukden for the instruction of Japanese and Chinese students through the medium of the Japanese language. It has made roads. It has built several large railway hotels for the reception of Westerners travelling to and fro. It manages public supplies of gas, and electricity, and water. It runs tramways. It is at the back of a considerable shipping business. It is endeavouring to foster all sorts of industries, such as fruit-growing, sericulture, glass-making, the manufacture of fireclay, paints, and chemicals, and so on, and so on.

Most of the original rolling-stock of the railway came from the United States. Some locomotives were got from Manchester. Now the Japanese say that their railway workshops near Dairen have turned out, and are going to continue to turn out, a locomotive which combines the excellences of the American and the British types, not to mention passenger cars and goods waggons.

The railway has agents with a roving commission, travelling all over the world to pick up ideas. They make no secret of their willingness to adopt hints on anything, great or small, connected with railway management, from anywhere (*e.g.*, in such a detail as the caps of station-masters, it was announced, shortly prior to the outbreak of the present war, that henceforward they would be made according to the German model !).

It is difficult to exaggerate the extent or the multiplicity of the business engaged in by this extraordinarily versatile corporation. One reason, moreover, for putting so many and so various schemes under the charge of the one company suggests itself. The larger the South Manchuria Railway concern becomes, and the more its capital grows, the harder will it become for China to face its purchase, when it comes to have the option in course of time.

The management of this vast company, and its policy at any given time, are necessarily bound up with the course of domestic politics in Japan. Questions that gravely affect the prosperity of the business community are discussed and decided in a political sense. Such are, *e.g.*, the matter of preferential rates for imports of Japanese cotton goods by the Korean Railway and Antung. These rates were acting greatly to the disadvantage of the Dairen merchants, not to mention foreign manufacturers, and were repealed after a brief trial. There is also the question of the registration of Japanese-owned shipping at Dairen. Foreign-built shipping, bought by Japanese

owners and registered in Japan, has to pay a considerable import duty. If registered at Dairen, there is no duty to pay; but in Japanese ports such shipping is treated the same as foreign shipping, and may only enter such ports in Japan as are open to foreign shipping.

Christian Missions in Manchuria.

1. *Roman.*—The Roman Catholic Missions in Manchuria are carried on by the French *Missions Étrangères de Paris,* under two Bishops. As far as the information of the writer serves, the work is continued on the same lines as in previous decades. Orphanages and elementary boarding-schools constitute an important feature. The Roman Catholics have erected a number of beautiful churches in Manchuria, including an imposing cathedral at Moukden.

On the mission staff there are fifty-two French priests and twenty-seven Chinese priests. Ordinarily the French priests are not given any opportunity of returning to their native land, but by the operation of the French conscription law many of the younger priests have, since August, 1914, been recalled to France to take a hand in the war against the German aggressor.

A total membership of upwards of 50,000 is reported, with over 4,500 catechumens.

2. *Protestant.*—Protestant Missions are carried on by Presbyterians (Presbyterian Church in Ireland, mission started 1869; and United Free Church of Scotland, 1872) and by the Danish Lutherans (mission started 1895). These Missions work together in entire harmony, with complete delimitation of the field. Formerly, most attention was given to ordinary evangelistic and medical work, aiming at far-spread extension. Later years have seen great developments in the sphere of education, in which the three Missions co-operate to a large extent.

There is the Manchuria Christian College (Union, Arts and Science) at Moukden, with a staff of five European professors and a number of Chinese teachers. The present buildings were opened in 1910. On the roll there are some sixty students, nearly all of whom are baptized Christians. The college aims at a standard as near as possible to the University standard at home.

The Moukden Medical College (Union) was opened in 1912. Dr. Arthur F. Jackson, who died at the plague time, went out to teach in this college, and a wing of the main building constitutes a fitting memorial to him. The first class entered in 1912, the second in 1914, and a third class is to be received at the beginning of 1916. The College is housed in substantial buildings. There is a staff of five European professors, of whom Dr. Dugald Christie, C.M.G., is Dean, with visiting lecturers and Chinese assistants.

An Industrial School for the training of craftsmen in Western methods has been established in Moukden.

Y.M.C.A. work has been begun recently in the provincial capitals, Moukden and Kirin, and has created much interest. This work is confined almost wholly to the governing and the educated classes amongst the Chinese.

On the women's side, a Normal College for training girls to be teachers has been started at Moukden, in a beautiful new building, and there is a similar institution at Kwanchengtze.

There are Middle Schools and Primary Schools, both for boys and for girls, in many centres throughout the Manchurian provinces.

The Manchurian Revival of 1908 was widely reported at the time. It took its rise at Liaoyang, where meetings were held under the leadership of the Rev. Jonathan Goforth, a Canadian Missionary in Honan. Men and women began to stand up in church and make public confession of their sins. Very often they seemed to act under the compulsion of an overpowering emotion, confessing in agony with strong crying and tears. Then the whole congregation, on being invited to pray for a penitent, would break forth into a storm of audible prayer, in which one perceived the Divine Spirit rushing like a spring gale through many hearts, quickening them into an entirely new life.

From Liaoyang the Revival spread northwards to Moukden, and to other centres throughout the province, and southwards on to China proper. The following years proved that its effects were real and lasting in many, if not in all, who passed through it. Numbers of Chinese Christians gained a vision at that time, and a permanent uplift in their lives. And many others had their more or less formal interest in Christianity deepened into personal faith. The numbers of candidates for baptism and of inquirers increased remarkably. So also did the liberality of the Church. Some congregations were able to go forward to the calling of Chinese pastors which had hung back up till then, because of supposed inability to support them. In short, all the energies of the Chinese Church were stimulated by the Revival in a way not open to question.

The Church has now reached a membership of about 25,000 baptized Christians, including 18,500 communicant members, with about 6,500 adherents under instruction. There are sixteen ordained Chinese pastors, and the mission staffs number as follows: Irish Presbyterian, 43; United Free Church, 63; and Danish Lutheran, 43. Of the total of 149, 67 are men, 38 single ladies, and 44 wives of missionaries.

Missionary work among the Japanese in Manchuria is carried on by the American Presbyterians, and among the Korean immigrants by the American and the Canadian Presbyterians. There is

also English work for the foreign community carried on by the S.P.G. from the ports of Dairen and Yingkou.

Present Situation.

In the last ten years large additions have been made to the Chinese population of Manchuria, from Shantung and elsewhere in China proper, and great tracts of land in the East and the North have been opened up by the new settlers. It is still, however, a somewhat thinly populated country. The principal export in these years was the soya bean, which has found its way into many of the world's markets. Much timber has been sent down the rivers from the eastern forests, and a considerable amount of grain has been exported to needy parts of China.

An attempt has already been made to indicate the main features of China's political condition at the present time. Administrative control in China is not very effective or thoroughgoing at the best, and symptoms seem to point to a marked decline in effectiveness since the inauguration of the Republic.

Edicts have been promulgated by the executive, and promptly disregarded by the people. It is impossible to indicate the number and various tenor of these. One was a sumptuary law to regulate, in the interests of national economy, the expenses of betrothals and marriages, and of funerals, and to prevent the waste that is common in connection with them. The difficulties in the way of carrying out such a law are wellnigh insuperable.

The provinces are each under the control of a Military Governor, who has the assistance of a Civil Governor. A province is divided into several circuits (*tao*), with resident prefects (*tao-yin*) in charge. Each *tao* comprises a number of districts (*hsien*) under the authority of magistrates. But the whole Chinese governmental system has been subject to chameleon-like changes in recent years. I am without information as to what forces of military and police are at the disposal of the provincial Governors in Manchuria.

Lawlessness has been rife in many parts of China in the past year or two, in Manchuria as elsewhere. Foreign missionaries and other foreign residents have been robbed by brigands, which thing was by comparison unknown in Manchuria under the late dynasty.

It is other factors than these, however, that render the task of the Chinese administration in Manchuria unusually difficult; and since it is in connection with railways that the complexity of the special political situation in Manchuria has arisen, it might be well at this point to enumerate the railways exhaustively, in order to arrive at a comprehensive view of the question.

There are, first, under Chinese Government control: (1) The

Chinese Government Railway, Peking to Moukden (Manchurian section, Shanhaikwan to Moukden, 261 miles; branch to west bank of River Liao at Newchwang, 67 miles. Constructed with British capital). (2) Changchun to Kirin Railway (87 miles. Japanese and Chinese capital).

Secondly, under Russian administration: (3) Moscow to Vladivostok (Manchurian section, Manchouli to Pogranitchnaia, 925 miles). (4) Harbin to Changchun (150 miles). These sections of the Siberian Railway are called the Chinese Eastern Railway, and were built with Russian capital.

Thirdly, under Japanese administration: (5) Dairen to Changchun (438 miles). Branch lines (76 miles). (6) Antung to Moukden (170 miles). These are comprised under the South Manchuria Railway, and were built or reconstructed with Japanese capital.

Fourthly, the following additional construction has been proposed, and preliminary surveys made: (7) Ssŭpingkai to Taonanfu (about 200 miles. (8) Kaiyüan to Hailungchêng (120 miles). (9) Fushun to Hsingching (75 miles). These would be constructed by Japanese engineers with Japanese capital.

Thus, of the 2,174 miles of railway already opened in Manchuria, only 415 miles are under Chinese control. The remaining 1,759 miles are completely under foreign management. This means that, in the case of hostilities between China and either of the Powers administering these railways, the latter would be used against China. It is surely unnecessary to point out how dangerously this affects Chinese autonomy.

Even in time of peace the railways are not run primarily in the interests of China; and the railway zones, with foreign settlements at each large place on the railway-line, are definitely under Russian or Japanese administration, as the case may be. The Russian or Japanese authority in these strips and areas is jealously maintained as regards both military and civil administration.

Naturally this gives rise to continual friction of a more or less serious kind, and it is almost unnecessary to add that China, slow-moving and weak and inefficient as she is, judged by modern standards, has almost invariably to give in to her stronger neighbours in the long-run.

Japan, for example, is not merely indifferent to the lack of order that prevails in some parts of Chinese territory, she seeks to turn it to account and to attract wealthy Chinese, merchants and others, to reside in the railway zone and benefit by the security maintained there by the Japanese garrison.

The agreement concluded between Japan and China in May, 1915, has the effect of extending the rights of Japanese subjects from the railway zone indefinitely into the interior of South Manchuria. It

puts Japan into a position of advantage in that particular part of China such as no other foreign nation enjoys anywhere else. And in the meantime, while her Western competitors are largely engrossed in the great war, Japan is straining every nerve to promote and consolidate her interests in China, particularly in Manchuria. The growing influence of Japan is, in fact, the salient feature of the present situation in Manchuria.

Japan feels that she ought to occupy this privileged position, because of her sacrifices in two costly campaigns twenty and ten years ago, and especially because of the broad identity of interests between these two nations of the Far East. On the other hand, China and the Chinese resent coercion into what is to them an unfamiliar point of view. Whereas Japan's desire to be China's dearest friend is unexceptionable, her manner of showing friendship may be open to criticism.

If a young lady's lover were to demand at the point of a pistol that she should put her jewellery under his safe-keeping, there might naturally be some grounds for suspicion as to the reality and disinterestedness of his affection, no matter how excellent the young man's professions might sound. Japan's recent vigorous method with China has surely been of this nature. The question cannot but occur to the onlooker, Are Japan's attentions to China the rough but well-meant actions of a highly self-conscious, and therefore somewhat awkward, neighbour? Or will they have to bear some sinister interpretation? The future alone will declare.

The CHAIRMAN, in inviting discussion, said that they had listened to a very interesting lecture, interesting from whatever point of view it might be regarded. Their hearty thanks were due to Mr. Mackenzie.

Sir EVAN JAMES: I join with our President in thanking Mr. Mackenzie most heartily for his lecture. What impressed me most in the lecture was the greatness of the changes which have occurred in Manchuria since, exactly thirty years ago, Sir Francis Younghusband, Mr. Fulford and myself travelled through that province. The administration was then purely Chinese, the country was only sparsely populated, and the Northern Province was used as a place for the transportation of criminals and exiles. The mountains were unexplored, no railways existed, and journeys and commerce were only possible in the winter when the roads were frozen. Now, as you have heard, the country is divided into three provinces under three Governors-General instead of one. It is wonderfully well served by railways, giving communication with Pekin on the west, with the Russian railway system and Siberia on the north, and Vladivostok and Korea on the south. Manchuria has been the scene of great fighting, as

a result of which, and of the great siege of Port Arthur, Japan has obtained possession of the Liaotung Peninsula south of Moukden, of Port Arthur itself, and the great Russian town and port of Dalny, or Daren, close to Port Arthur. Japan possesses also a strip of country running halfway up the province, over which her railway passes. She has annexed Korea on the south, and has joined it by rail with her own Manchurian district. The great Manchu dynasty which came from Moukden and conquered China in 1644 has perished, and there is now no central authority at Pekin to secure the loyalty of the people.

Under such circumstances it would seem impossible that the country should continue for long to exist as a part of China, and perpetual friction between the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Russian authorities would seem inevitable. Still, Orientals do manage sometimes to get on in what to Westerns would seem an inconceivably difficult situation. It is impossible now to prophesy what may happen, and certainly till the end of the Great War no disturbance of the *status quo* is likely to occur. The Chinese have evidently no love for the Japanese. The incident mentioned by the lecturer, that after Japan had beaten the Germans at Kiaochau the Chinese authorities at Moukden flew flags in honour of the Kaiser's birthday, indicates serious dislike. Much, no doubt, will depend on whether China can develop a strong central government again. If she slides into civil war and anarchy, it seems not improbable that Manchuria will be practically lost to her, just as part of Mongolia has already lapsed into Russian hands. Probably there will be two spheres of influence for a time—Russia in the north and Japan in the south, and in time Japanese and Russians will divide the whole. During the period of transition the Japanese, with their railways and steamers and business enterprises, are making the country a valuable asset to the world, though in some ways the population are not much the better. The development of the morphia habit, which is nullifying the sacrifices which the Chinese have made to suppress opium smoking, is demoralizing the people, and Japanese influence seems evil in other ways. But population and cultivation are extending, and the wild forests through which we had to travel with great difficulty are being cut down for lumber.

One bright spot is the progress made by Christian missions. I can bear testimony to the fine character of many of the Chinese Christians, and their steadfastness during the Boxer persecution was very fine. Hundreds of them submitted to execution rather than deny their faith. I may quote an example related by the Rev. Dr. Ross, of whom we have heard, the founder of the Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria, whose loss we have recently had to deplore, one of the ablest men whom this country has ever sent out to China. How well do I recall the kindness we received from him and his

excellent colleagues in 1886. Mr. Webster's services were thought too valuable in Manchuria, and he is now working at the Mission's home offices in Scotland; but Dr. Christie, whom the Crown has honoured with the order of the C.M.G., is still continuing his splendid work of introducing European methods of medicine and surgery to North China. To return to Dr. Ross—the following is an example he gives of one of the Christian martyrs: "One of the Christians, who was head of an important business, escaped to the hills. For three days he was hiding, when he was discovered by the agents of the Boxers, who scoured the country all around. His captors recognized him, for he was a prominent citizen and well known. They desired to save his life, for he was generally respected. When seizing him they said they would take him to the 'Guild,' before which he should renounce his 'heresy,' when he would be set at liberty. He refused to go, saying he would never renounce his belief. They dragged him forcibly along, but he set his heels in the ground and resisted. They expostulated with him on finding it was impossible to drag him so far against his will, and, losing patience, at length angrily threatened him, asking whether he knew what the result would be of his obstinacy. 'Yes,' he answered; 'when I became a Christian I was prepared for this.' They beheaded him on the spot."

One can only hope that Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues will be able to further extend the missionary influence, and that every now and then we may hear in this Society of the progress which the Mission is making. We trust that no civil commotion will disturb it, or the great prosperity of Manchuria generally. Mr. Mackenzie has given slides depicting the looting of Kiayuan, where he was stationed, by a set of raiders when the revolution came about. We may congratulate him on not having suffered more severely; but he took the disturbance as part of the day's work, and the missionaries spent their time in rescuing and caring for those whom the raiders had wounded. The Chinese telegraph office had been destroyed, so amongst other things Mr. Mackenzie, though he has omitted to tell us so, walked six miles to the nearest office of the Japanese railway, and was able to send news of the raid to the Chinese authorities at Moukden, who then sent out troops to recover the town. As an instance of political friction I may mention that the Japanese railway refused to carry the troops to the rescue, and they had to come all the long distance by road.

I am unable to agree with the lecturer that by vigorous and immediate action the Chinese authorities might have kept the plague out of Manchuria. When I was Commissioner in Sind I co-operated in my small way with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to prevent the spread of plague into his province. We employed all the resources of the British Government, and I am free to confess

that we exercised our powers with tyranny; but the people concurred in our proceedings and tolerated them willingly, because they knew our object was beneficent. Yet we did not succeed in keeping plague out of the Punjab, and it has been worse there than in any other part of India.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: I am afraid the experiences of Sir Evan James and myself in Manchuria are almost prehistoric now. Listening to the lecture, it is amazing to note the change and progress that has been effected in that wonderful country. We travelled into the remote valleys from which the Manchus originally sprung, and from which they extended their sway over the whole of China. It is an extraordinary reflection that in a very short time within recent years the Manchu dynasty has entirely disappeared, and that China of all countries of the world should have become a Republic. I gather from the lecture, however, that the Republic is not very stable, and that the people seem to be tending in the direction of another monarchy.

What we noticed particularly about Manchuria was the great richness of the country. The soil was exceedingly prolific, and there were vast regions of most valuable virgin forests. The roads then were not good, being very much in the condition of some of those shown on the screen. We used to have to plough our way along those roads in the country carts, and where there were no roads for carts we took mules, and with them travelled up into the mountains of Manchuria. When mules failed, we trudged along carrying loads on our own backs; and one of the sights I admired most was to see Sir Evan James trudging along with a 40-pound load on his back. In that way we ascended the mountain called the Long White Mountain, on which Sir Evan James has written a book. On the summit there was fabled to be a lake; and finding our way through the forests and emerging on the summit, we found this fabled and unexplored feature. The bed of the lake was formed by the crater of an extinct volcano.

I was very glad to see that one of the slides contained a photograph of that veteran missionary, Dr. Ross. Sir Evan James and I still have a vivid recollection of the cordial hospitality which was extended to us by him, and also of the valuable information he gave us. He had compiled a most instructive "History of the Manchus," and was the very best type of missionary. The work which these Scotch missionaries have done in Manchuria is really as excellent as any done by missionaries in any part of the world. We were deeply impressed by it, and we have since watched it progressing year by year. Only a short time ago we had the pleasure of meeting Dr. Christie, who had entertained us in Moukden thirty years ago, and I understand he has now returned from furlough to

Moukden. It is a most valuable work that the missionaries are doing, and I am very glad of this opportunity to testify to it, and to corroborate in every respect what has been said. We thank the lecturer for his interesting and informative paper, and we shall hope at some future time to have Dr. Westwater, to whom he has referred, giving us a lecture on the great province he knows so well, and which has such a great future in store for it.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MAY 10, 1916

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:

1915. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary:

1914. E. PENTON, ESQ.

Members of the Council:

1915. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I.
1915. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ.
1914. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1913. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1913. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1915. COLONEL SIR HENRY TROTTER, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1914. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ.
1914. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

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.
1916. Ainscough, T. M., Artillery Mansions, Victoria Street, S.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.
1916. Baluchistan Agent to Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.
10 1905. *BARNES, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Woodlands Corner, West Byfleet, Surrey. M. of C.
1913. Barrow, Major-General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., Artillery Mansions Hotel, S.W.
1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, 9th Lancers, 2nd Cavalry Brigade, B. E. F., France, Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
*†BENNETT, T. J., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.
1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W.
1910. Bigg-Wither, Captain F., I.A., Deputy Commr., c/o Messrs. A. Scott and Co., Rangoon, Burma.
1916. Bombay, Sec. to Govt. Political Dept., Bombay, India.
Bosanquet, O. V., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, Indore, C.I.
1903. Bottomley, Frank, 157, Sheen Road, Richmond, Surrey.
20 1916. †Bruce, General 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.
1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W.

C

1907. Cadell, P. R., C.I.E., 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.

1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W., Vice-President.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockrind, 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. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.
1907. *Curzon of Kedleston, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, Vice-President.

D

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., C.I.E., I.C.S., Sibi, Baluchistan, India.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W.
1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane.
1907. *Durand, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmain House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall. 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.
1915. Flower, Hon. E., Durrow Castle, Durrow, Queen's County, Ireland.
1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W.
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. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., Indian Army. Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral, Malakand, N.W.F. Province, India.

H

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.

I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
60 1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W.

J

*†James, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.
†Jardine, Mrs., Monmouth House, Stanley Avenue, Wembley, Middlesex.
1916. Jardine, Sir John, Bart., K.C.I.E., Applegarth, Godalming, Surrey.
*†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., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, W. M. of C.
1913. Komp, 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.
70 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.
1908. *Lloyd, George A., M.P., 99, Eaton Place, S.W.

1912. Loch, Lieutenant P. G., 97th Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox & Co., Bombay, India,
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, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.
1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., High Commissioner for Egypt, Cairo, Egypt.
80 1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue.
1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.
1903. Moon, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. M. of C.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Commonwealth Bank, New Broad Street, E.C.
1916. Mysore, Residency Library, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 4, Campden House Chambers, Kensington, W.
1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

O

1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.
90 1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.

P

1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
1907. Pemberton, Col., R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W., and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. *Hon. Sec.*
†Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.
1914. Perry-Ayscough, H. G. C., c/o The Chinese Post Office, Shanghai, China (via Siberia).

1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, W.
*†Picot, Colonel, Indian Army (ret.), Hotel Beau Séjour, Lausanne.

R

1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1916. Rajputana, The Agent to the Governor-General, The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.
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.
*†Ronaldshay, The Earl of, M.P., 38, Grosvenor Street, W. Vice-President.
1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., H.B.M. Consulate-General, Shanghai, China.

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.
1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.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.
1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W.
1903. Swayne, Colonel H. G. C., R.E., Headquarters of the Army, Simla, India.
†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 Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Bandar Abbas, Persian Gulf, via Karachi.

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 123, Sinclair Road, W. Kensington, W.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1908. Tod, Colonel 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., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

V

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

W

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.

130 †Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W.

1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, Ambala, Punjab, India.

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.

135 *†Younghusband, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W., Vice-President.

BILLING AND SONS, LTD., PRINTERS, GUILDFORD, ENGLAND

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. The Central Asian Society was founded for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election.

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1.

5. The Council shall have power to remit subscriptions in special cases in which such remission shall appear expedient.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually, but if the election takes place in November or December, the second annual payment will not become due till the expiration of the succeeding year; thus if a person be elected in November, his second subscription will not be due till the second January following.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrear. If the arrears be not discharged by the 1st of January following such application, the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the 1st of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The Chairman, (2) the Honorary Treasurer, and (3) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be a Secretary.

12. The Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of his election. He shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of his tenure of office.

13. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

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.

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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VOLUME III., PART IV.

CHANGING CONDITIONS IN CHINA

By Mrs. A. S. ROE

Delivered June 21, 1916; illustrated by lantern slides, and with Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.I.E., Vice-President, in the chair.

I FEEL I ought to apologize for my somewhat hackneyed title. We have heard so much about "changing conditions in China" ever since, or almost ever since, the Boxer upheaval, in 1900. When, however, in 1907-08 I was travelling through various parts of the Celestial Empire, I found comparatively few outward and visible signs of the changes that were supposed to have taken place. A few hundred miles of railway had been constructed; a few modern schools had started into being; a certain number of Chinese soldiers had been drilled by German military instructors. Now and again a Western-learning student clad in "devil's clothes"—in other words European suits—cropped up, very eager to make friends with the once despised foreign barbarian.

When, however, I arrived in China at the beginning of 1912 on my second visit, a visit that was to last just over three years, I found certain vulnerable parts of the Great Middle Kingdom simply erupting with changes of one kind and another—changes political, commercial, social, and intellectual.

I arrived at the end of the revolution. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, with his motor-cars and American secretary, was installed at Nanking as first Provisional President of the new republic. Yuan Shih Kai up in the north was busily engaged in playing not only his own cards, but those of the Dowager Empress Lung Wu and the boy Emperor; and as everybody knows, he played them so well that he very speedily won the game. In Sun Yat Sen's own words: "A beautiful repose did reign." Smilingly the Manchu rulers gave up all claim to the Dragon throne, and smilingly Yuan Shih Kai became Provisional President of the republic instead of the self-effacing Sun Yat Sen.

Meanwhile the Chinese people—taken as a whole—were divided into two classes: those who didn't know that anything had happened, or, at all events, didn't care; and those who thought that the establishment of a "people's kingdom" meant the beginning of a golden

age—an age in which every man would be a kind of king in his own right, in which customs duties would be abolished, taxes would cease to exist, money would be plentiful, and peace in the land established for evermore.

Needless to say, their dreams of an Utopia received a severe shock before many days were past. The new officials were, for the most part, hot-headed students who had studied in Japan or America, and who now saw splendid opportunities for putting into practice their newly-formed theories of government. Men of the old school found these "sham foreigners," as they called them, with their numerous codes of regulations and their mad craving for an inconvenient species of reform, such as the abolition of slavery, infanticide, gambling, and so forth, far more aggressive than the officials of other days—those who had now gone to "cultivate their gardens," as the Chinese put it. "What will you do about all the old officials?" an American asked one of the republican leaders. "Oh!" came the ready reply, "we shall turn them into lawyers!" A remark rather typical of an attitude of mind often met with in those days amongst the sons of new China.

But to descend to lesser changes. "Do but look at the cut of the clothes," said Carlyle, "that light visible result significant of a thousand things which are not visible"; and China, though she had failed to assimilate the moral foundation of European civilization, seized with avidity on the bowler hats and the frock coats and the leather shoes and the hand-shakings of the European world. There was a great demand for hats, and one enterprising Chinese shopkeeper, lacking the right material, conceived the brilliant idea of cutting the crowns and brims out of old oil-tins and covering them with flannelette. Some of the fashionable Chinese ladies in the Port towns took to buying European children's dancing-shoes, but even these were too large. However, instead of unbinding their feet, they filled the superfluous space with paper and hobbled along quite happily in their new possessions. One saw strange sartorial effects in those early days of the "people's kingdom." Thus, in a city in the far West of China, one young dandy might be met with sometimes wearing a pair of French corsets by way of an outside wrap.

Most of the new officials adopted the European dress. Those who could not afford such grandeur were clad in the plainest Chinese garb possible, for silk was taboo in the early days of the "people's kingdom."

I spent the winter of 1912-13 in a progressive inland city in the Province of Chekiang, the city of Lanchi. The farmers of that district hoped great things of the republic. Now surely, they said, five evils will be abolished in the land: the smoking of cigarettes, the wearing of jewellery, the eating of the black dirt (opium), the binding

of the women's feet, and the worship of idols. It was hardly likely that the cigarette would disappear, as that was more or less a feature of the new order of things. The British-American Tobacco Company was making a fortune by the sale of this "rolled paper tobacco." It is said that over fifty million cigarettes are sold daily, and that the chief consumers are women! As to the wearing of jewellery, that fashion was hardly disappearing, but it was certainly changing. Thus some of the young men of fashion in that particular city took to wearing a movable gold sheath over a perfectly sound front tooth. This was worn on gala occasions only, and was supposed to be an imitation of the much admired American dentistry. One young banker, with whom I was acquainted, had a handsome gold ring engraved with his name in English characters. He was not content with merely his name, but added the prefix "Mr."—*Mr. Wu*. He had discarded the old-fashioned red-paper visiting card, some five inches long, for one of European make, and had his name printed thereon in both English and Chinese, with the addition of his photograph, for this was what he took to be a truly Western custom.

The people of that district were at least able to admit that a great deal had been done towards the abolition of opium. Both there and all over the country the laws relating to opium-smokers, and especially to opium-growers, were becoming stricter than ever, so strict indeed that in extreme cases the penalty of death could be inflicted. In that particular city such drastic measures were only threatened, and never actually carried out. Fines and imprisonment were the usual punishments imposed.

At the Yamen there existed a so-called opium refuge—in reality a kind of prison, an Oriental "Marshalsea." During my five months' stay in the city there were always from eighty to a hundred poor unfortunates collected within its walls. They remained "in prison" until they had broken off the drug habit, and paid a fine, large or small, according to their supposed means.

My hostess was a medical missionary, a talented Englishwoman; she and her two colleagues were the only Europeans in the city. She had been invited by the officials to undertake the medical supervision of severe cases.

Often and often I have followed her on her rounds through the tumble-down prison buildings (held together by dirt and cobwebs), and I have watched with amazement the motley crowd of prisoners—well-to-do merchants, prosperous farmers, respectable agricultural labourers, ne'er-do-well loafers, the roughest of coolies, and even on one occasion the "King of Beggars," all herded together in one miserable, vermin-infested enclosure. The "King of Beggars" was probably better off as regards money than many of his social superiors.

There were always a few new arrivals to be medically inspected,

and always some who vowed that they were absolutely innocent. But the "foreign doctor," as she was called, had great experience in these matters. During the past twelve months over a thousand cases had passed through her hands, many of which she had been able to cure. If, however, there was any doubt, a drop or two of the blood from the patient's finger, mixed with a small quantity of apomorphine and alcohol, proved unmistakably the presence or absence of the opium drug in the system.

There were some who had come in of their own initiative, to stay three weeks as "paying guests," eating the foreign medicine. This was a politic thing to do, as it saved them the heavy fine and also the disgrace of being brought in by the police.

The "foreign doctor" preferred, whenever the patient could, or would, afford the small extra expense, to use the Malay Treatment, which prevents the complications that often arise when breaking off an opium habit of many years' standing.

Meanwhile the soldiers were scouring the country in search of opium plants; when any were found, a fine of so many dollars for every "mow" of land was imposed. On one occasion, in our neighbourhood, one solitary poppy-plant was discovered in the midst of a tea-plantation. The seed had no doubt been deposited by a bird, but as someone had to be fined, and even in China the bird was out of the question, the owner had to suffer—a typical instance of the way the law works in China, even in these enlightened days. All the same, the Chinese have worked wonders in this anti-opium crusade. Thousands of acres that once grew poppies now grow vegetables, and forty millions of revenue have been sacrificed.

During the early days of the republic war was waged in many parts of the country against idolatry.

In the minds of the common people idols had become connected with the fallen Manchus. This, of course, was unfair, as, according to the records of history, China has worshipped idols for some three thousand years. There were, no doubt, other reasons for the change of attitude. All Chinese Christians, for instance, laid great stress on the fact that Sun Yat Sen, the first Provisional President of the republic, believed in Christianity. A certain section—mostly Chinese students who had studied in America—had adopted Christianity themselves, and some few, mostly those who had studied in Japan, had thrown all religions to the wind. Many of the soldiers of the republican army—the soldiers, for instance, who were responsible for the destruction of idols in Nanking, where I was then staying—flattered themselves that they were no longer fettered by the old superstitions. They went from temple to temple with these words: "Can your idols eat cake? No! Well, then, they shall be destroyed." They hacked them to pieces and burnt the remainder. A large gilded "goddess of

mercy" smouldered odoriferously outside our gates for some twenty-four hours.

Another and a very utilitarian reason for getting rid of the idols carried most weight with the practical Chinese. Barracks were required for the huge republican army, and what could be better for the purpose than the large empty temples? Also, in the craze for Western education, more schools were needed; thus for the nonce temples were converted into schools or barracks.

But China had expected "an egg to crow," as the Chinese saying goes. Many of the young reformers seemed to have forgotten their high ideals in the struggle for place and power. Here and there one came across an unselfish and truly patriotic soul; but if, as invariably happened, he failed to see eye to eye with Yuan Shih Kai, his life was not worth much more than five minutes' purchase.

A great part of the republican army had sprung up like a mushroom growth, and soon began to disappear. Thieves who had turned into soldiers turned back into thieves. Many of the new schools were like forced plants put out in the open ground too soon. There were not enough teachers to go round, and some of those engaged had practically nothing to teach. A little knowledge may be a dangerous thing, but in those days in China it meant a certain source of income. Girls who had sung in the choir of a mission church, but who could not play a note of any kind, blossomed out into music-teachers at a fair salary. Young men who had studied English up to the letter G became professors of foreign languages. The classics—the Confucian books—were put on one side for the time being. "Western learning," history, geography, elementary science, and mathematics, etc., were the order of the day; and above all, military drill. No modern school was complete without two things—one, a harmonium, on which possibly no one could play; and the other a drill-ground.

Still, every year will see China better equipped in this matter of teachers. Some Government institutions have forged bravely ahead, to say nothing of the ever-increasing number of schools and colleges, more or less conducted by foreigners.

The Chinese say we foreigners have no manners. We have never read the book of rites, we know nothing of the three thousand rules of etiquette.

Still, it became fashionable to behave in a free and easy style in what was called the "foreign fashion."

"Manners are the shadows of virtue," we say, and there were many who deplored the results of this particular change. One thing leads to another, and young China began to cast off the ethical restraints of Confucianism and to put nothing in their place.

Young Chinese girls, with a smattering of American education, desired to manage their own matrimonial affairs in what they called

the American way. They would have astonished their American sisters by sending proposals of marriage to young men whom they did not even know, but whose appearance had taken their fancy.

One advanced girl student in Wu Chang took to advertising for husbands in an Anglo-Chinese paper: "Those with such and such qualifications may apply on Sunday next, when I will examine their scholarships," she wrote. Needless to say, many of the impromptu marriages came to a sudden and unhappy end. Some poor little Chinese brides, who had been betrothed by their parents long years before, probably in babyhood, found themselves in the unhappy position of being declined at the eleventh hour by the quondam bridegroom who, having tasted of the tree of Western knowledge, was no longer willing to abide by the old regulations, but desired to choose a wife for himself. Confucius spoke of woman as a mindless, soulless being who may never "presume to follow her own judgment or be permitted to direct affairs." What would he have said to the independent young women whom the republic brought forth—the girl soldiers (who were soon disbanded), the spies and detectives (who are still to the fore), the suffragettes (who, however, did not last long), to say nothing of professional politicians, journalists, and, lastly, the Red Cross nurses, who did exactly as they pleased, and were under no sort of control?

In many a Chinese home sad stories could be told.

"Would there had never been a 'people's kingdom,'" said one unhappy mother, "if all our rice is to be diseased."

There was one change that the farmers—an important class in China—sincerely regretted, and that was the change to the Gregorian calendar. Snow fell that year three weeks before its time.

"This comes," they said, "of following the foolish ways of the foreigners." "Besides, if we change the calendar, how shall we know when to plant our crops?" they added, and they decided to keep to the old dates and the useful fortnightly periods—big snow, little snow, grain rains, excited insects, and so forth—by which farming operations are always regulated. The merchants agreed with the farmers, for, they said, if we adopt the new calendar, we shall only have ten months in which to collect our debts and get in our accounts. But the Yamen, the Post Office, and all Government Departments kept January 1 as the official New Year's day, and a public holiday. Most of the shops, however, remained open, for the first month of our year, and the twelfth month of the Chinese year, is one of the busiest of all.

Foreign shops have been greatly on the increase of late years. As an Englishwoman I have grieved to see, in far-away inland cities, that most of the European goods came from either Germany or Japan. In many cases the things were cheap—too cheap, perhaps, to com-

mend themselves to an English firm, but quite good enough to serve the purpose for which they were required. The cotton goods, I believe, were not all German. It is said that the United States exports more cotton goods to China than to all the rest of the world combined. There was a great demand for bright-coloured enamelware, for lamps and looking-glasses, clocks and watches, though as regards the latter, some of the rural Chinese were a little hazy at first as to which was which. One young countryman returning from a visit to the city was seen to be bulging out very much in front. The cry of a bird solved the mystery. It appeared he had bought a cuckoo clock, and was going to wear it henceforward as a watch!

Marcella counterpanes were much in request as tablecloths, and pocket-handkerchiefs were bought for ornament, and not for use. Last, but not least, there were the foreign medicine-shops. We strayed into one of these so-called chemists one day and were amused to be asked by the proprietor to explain the nature and property of the drugs he had for sale: how much should be given, and for what special ailment should such and such be prescribed, etc. Fortunately, the Chinese are not very susceptible to medicine. I have known of them drinking with impunity a mixture of eye-lotion, sulphuric acid, quinine, and castor-oil.

Foreign doctors, however, mostly agree that when trained the Chinese make some of the ablest surgeons in the world. They are so quick to learn, they never forget, they are neat-fingered, and have plenty of confidence—perhaps almost too much. Their ways are sometimes rather a shock to Westerners. My Lanchi friend's dispenser had once been her cook. As he rose in the world, he let his nails grow. She remonstrated with him for following so foolish a custom, and he replied somewhat haughtily, "We doctors find them very useful," and forthwith used his longest for measuring out a dose of quinine.

The Chinese, taken as a whole, are not interested in politics. "Do not discuss politics"—a notice posted up in a Peking tea-house—has been a kind of unwritten law all over the land. When, however, the Empire turned into a "people's kingdom," the politics of his country became a matter of personal interest to many a Chinese citizen who had never before troubled his head about such matters. In the blissful future, they were told, every province in China, nay, every man in China, would have a voice in the central Government. I was still in Chekiang on the occasion of the first general election. As a leader-writer wrote in a leading Anglo-Chinese paper: "For the first time in history 400,000,000 people are interested in the same thing." But this was all rubbish! Even in that progressive city a good many would have nothing to do with the affair—others, who might have voted, abstained from doing so for fear, they said, of letting themselves in for heavier taxation.

Still, for three days the city was thronged with scholarly, well-dressed Chinese, who had come from many miles around either to look on or take part in the election.

"Can a member of the Provincial Assembly also be elected to a seat in the Peking Parliament?" a friend asked one of these learned electors. The answer was typically Chinese. All he said was: "Can a monkey wear two hats?" and forthwith began to ask questions *re* politics in the Balkan States, which showed that he was a very advanced Provincial indeed.

The Provincial Assembly Halls all over the country had been built in so-called foreign style with, as a rule, a clock over the entrance. Very often, however, it was not a real clock, but merely a clock-face painted on the wall—rather symbolic of the travesty of foreign customs in vogue throughout the country. In course of time the Peking Parliament became of little more use than the clock-face painted on the wall. As one astute observer of things Chinese remarked: "The members talked of

Ships and shoes and sealing-wax,
Of cabbages and kings,

of new laws and new loans and the trimming on schoolgirls' dresses." Finally they came to blows, and threw ink-pots at each other's heads.

The winter of 1913-14 I spent in one of the most famous of the Northern cities of China—the city of Si An Fu, the capital of Shensi, and often in past ages the capital of China itself. It was here, about 250 B.C., that Shih Hwang-ti, the "Emperor First," as he liked to be called, had his capital. It was he who built the great wall, and burnt the books and buried the scholars. His tomb, of which there is nothing now left, was one of the wonders of the world. It extended for over a mile under the ground, and was supposed to represent China in miniature, with rivers of quicksilver and a sky set with stars of precious stones. Sir Richard Burton says it was the original of Aladdin's Cave in the "Arabian Nights." The Arabs who traded with China in the seventh century took the legend back with them.

Si An was a Manchu stronghold, and suffered more than any other city in China in the 1911 revolution. During the space of three weeks, over 10,000 Manchus were cruelly massacred, and the Manchu city reduced to a wilderness of pits and stones. Often and often I have walked across that dreary expanse of ruin, and my servant, a local man, would point out with interest the various pits in each of which were 300 bodies of murdered Manchus.

To get to Shensi we had to pass through a part of the province of Honan, the most conservative province in China, and no doubt the dirtiest. A Chinese proverb has it that, "No Honanese ever washes his feet unless he happens to ford a river." The people of Shensi and the people of Honan are not fond of each other. The people of

Shensi are more advanced and more republican in sympathy. The Honanese are said to be pro-Manchu—many of them were still wearing the queue that was rapidly disappearing in most other parts of China. At Tungli Gwan—the border city on the Yellow River—we had a long delay. We were travelling by cart, and every axle of every cart had to be changed because, forsooth, the roads in Honan are only adapted to Honan carts. One calls them roads—they were merely trodden tracks of loess soil, with two deep ruts for the cart-wheels, and in Honan the ruts are closer together and the tracks narrower than in other parts of the country.

This road along which we were travelling is one of the great trade routes of China. On and off all day long processions of carts lumbered past us, carrying skins and drugs, tobacco and cotton, to the coast. But soon, say the optimists, the railroad will run all the way from Honan Fu to Si An Fu, and on to Lanchow Fu, the capital of Kansu, and so on to Thibet and Turkestan. It was being constructed by Belgian engineers, with the help of a Belgian loan, and when last I was there it extended some forty to fifty miles beyond Honan Fu. When the European War broke out, the Chinese had to manage as well as they could without the Belgian engineers and without the Belgian money. A local loan was raised, and one only hopes the funds will not be wasted in salaries for station-masters before there are any stations, as was the case in another part of China a few years ago.

On paper the future railways of China are most imposing, but in real life they are apt to be disappointing. A year or two back we passed through the city of Chang Shan, on the borders of Chekiang, where a short railway of some thirty miles was going to be built, in order to link up a busy trading centre in Kiangsi with the river. All the merchandise from these parts travels by wheelbarrow or on the backs of coolies. A Danish engineer arrived on the scene, rails, etc., for the work began to appear, when a quarrel arose. The mob stoned the Danish engineer, and all that was left of him fled. The rails remained, rusting into the ground, and have now become part of the soil. Eight years ago I came down the Yangtze with two Chinese engineers who were on their way to Hanyang, the big iron works of China, to buy rails for the new Szechewanese Railway. That was eight years ago, but as far as I know only some eight or eighty yards of the line have been completed. I was on another of these uncertain railways four months after the European War broke out; it came to an abrupt end on the banks of a river. A German firm had the contract for the bridge, but all the materials were on a German ship interned at a neutral port. British firms have agreed to build some of China's future railways. Last year the Japanese put in a claim for the one from Nanchang to Chao Chow. Being told, however, that it

had already been promised to her allies, Japan agreed to let the matter stand over, for the time being at all events.

Another future British railway will link up the mountainous province of Kiaochow with Szechewan on one side, and Kwangsi and Kwangtung on the other. This will no doubt be an expensive undertaking, but as the guide-books say, it will probably prove very "repaying."

Even in Si An—that wilderness place, as the Chinese call it—the revolution had brought about many changes, particularly in the mental attitude of the people more than in things material. It was still very medieval, with its carts without springs, its unmade roads, its unminted money—silver in rough lumps that had to be weighed in gigantic scales before one could pay a bill. These things were curiously out of keeping with the telephone wires that were being put up in the city, and the last new thing in aeroplanes manned by French pilots, that had been sent in pursuit of the White Wolf—a brigand chief.

As time went on, China reminded one more and more of the snail in the nursery story, that climbed up five feet every day, only to slip back four every night.

She seemed to have lost so much that she once had gained.

Yuan Shih Kai had become Emperor in all but name. The young officials had been for the most part replaced by men of the old school, and very reactionary men at that. Provincial assemblies and Peking parliaments had ceased to exist. In the temples the priests had "relit their lamps," new idols had been made, and Confucius was being worshipped as of yore—not so much by the will of the people, as by order of Yuan Shih Kai. In the schools, great indignation was aroused when the candidates for official posts, who had studied Western subjects for two years according to the rules laid down, presented themselves for examination, and the only questions asked were out of the Confucian classics, which had not formed part of the curriculum. Recently, however, new regulations have been passed for admission into the civil service which imply a very fair amount of Western learning; and a recent mandate provides for examination in foreign subjects by an independent board of examiners—but the sons of new China no longer put their faith in mandates.

Yuan Shih Kai with an iron hand crushed all who opposed him. Innocent or guilty alike of any real offence, they were got rid of by death or some other means. As in the days of the French Revolution, one could be "suspect of being suspect."

If Yuan Shih Kai studied the history of his country, he must have known that he was playing a dangerous game. "To stop the mouth of the people," goes a Chinese saying, "is more dangerous than to dam up a river."

A few months ago another election of a very "Chinesy" nature took place in China. Delegates from the provinces arrived in Peking who represented, not so much the provinces as Yuan Shih Kai himself. They were asked to vote for or against a return to the monarchy. Needless to say, their vote was unanimous in favour of Yuan Shih Kai becoming Emperor of China. "Let those who oppose the idea," said Yuan, "listen to their consciences and give up their prejudices." Instead of doing this, however, they rose in revolt, and eight provinces openly declared their independence of the Central Government. Yuan Shih Kai was forced to give up all idea of his coronation, little thinking that the day was fast approaching when he would be called upon to give up his life as well. Whether he died of the disease mentioned in official telegrams, or was hurried out of existence in a more truly Oriental style, we do not yet know. At all events he has "left the world," as the Chinese say, and there remain the three contending political parties—Republican, Imperialist, Monarchist—a house divided against itself! Yuan's temporary successor, Li Yuan Hung, was Viceroy on the Yangsze a year or two ago, and living at Wuchang. Whilst there, his sincerity and goodness of heart won for him "golden opinions" not only amongst the Chinese, but also amongst the Europeans. When he was summoned to Peking, in 1913, people predicted we should never hear of him again, and that he would be absorbed by Yuan Shih Kai. In this they were wrong. One rather doubts, however, whether he possesses sufficient force of character to fill so difficult a post as that of the President of the strangest republic the world has ever seen.

But to return to China herself, there is no doubt that she has gained something during these years of change. Not long ago I heard a young Chinese speaking on a public platform upon the future of his country. In spite of the reaction of the past two years, he said, in spite of much that was discouraging, one thing seemed certain—that under a crust of paganism Christian virtues were accumulating like anthracite. However that may be, all are agreed that China has started climbing, and has more than commenced a new era. The very language bears witness to the changes that have taken place in the minds of the people. New words have been coined to represent new ideas—words such as *ideal*, that the Chinese never had before. A new spirit is abroad in the land—a general awakening of the moral sense it has been called.

Every now and then one comes across a new type. The soldier used to be looked upon as the scum of the earth—and very rightly so, *in China*: but now just occasionally one meets with one like the Bayard of old—not only "sans peur," but "sans reproche." More and more often does one find an educated wife and mother whose sphere of influence is even wider in China than in European lands; and now

and again a Western trained official appears on the scenes, a man who rejects bribes and seeks not his own welfare, but the welfare and the honour of his country.

I am not a missionary, but I have seen a good deal of mission work in many lands, and I feel that the missionaries of China have much in these days to be proud of, or, as they would say, to be thankful for. A leading American asked one of the Republican Generals to what he attributed the comparative bloodlessness of the revolution, the way in which city after city passed into the hands of the republicans without a shot being fired. He gave this rather striking answer: that he "attributed it to Christianity more than to any other single cause, for Christian ideals," he said, "had largely pervaded China."

Most Westerners would, I think, consider this rather an exaggerated statement, for still to the majority it is the material advantages of the West that make the strongest appeal.

China's conservatism is crumbling beneath the weight of the dollar. Railways, machinery, factories, and other "foreign abominations," as they would once have been called, she is now convinced mean money, and these things she is determined to have. Unfortunately, after sitting still for hundreds of years, she now wants to do everything far too quickly and too superficially; hence the disappointing results known to every traveller in the country.

It is to be hoped that China's friends will not be too pressing in their attentions in these critical days of change.

German influence and German trade in the East has grown greatly during the last few years right up to August, 1914, and even a bit beyond. German money has been lavishly spent, German commercial men have had the wisdom to study not only the customs of the land, but also to acquire a good working knowledge of the language which has been of untold use to them whilst trading in inland cities. German funds have purchased the control of various Chinese newspapers which have helped to give the Chinese a very rose-coloured view of the part that Germany was playing in the European War, and would play in the future.

But while German influence and trade has waned considerably of late, that of Japan is increasing by leaps and bounds. The Japanese are making themselves very useful to the Chinese, but China, remembering Korea, looks upon Japan with suspicion. Three Chinese provinces, with a view, no doubt, to possible complications in the future with their dangerous friend, are at the present time seriously contemplating a scheme of compulsory military service.

Japan is quickly and surely enlarging her borders. The Japanese colony in Shanghai alone has increased during the last few years from 3,000 to over 7,000. In almost every inland city of importance they

have found a niche somewhere. They teach in schools, open new shops, start factories. In Ningpo, at the end of 1914, they were beginning to make excellent German beer; and by now have no doubt absorbed a bit of the gigantic dye trade which was a German monopoly.

They are engaged as military instructors, as mining and railway engineers; they are clever, quick, and capable, besides which their services are distinctly cheap. Above all, they leave no stone unturned. They run steamers to places on the Chinese coast and on the Chinese rivers that other steamship companies have not thought worth while; but to the Japanese every effort is worth while, and the prize is great, for Japan knows better than many of us the enormous possibilities of this great land of promise.

The CHAIRMAN said that the lecture had been the more interesting because Mrs. Roe had dealt with features of Chinese life of which they heard singularly little. Instead of dealing with high political themes, she had told them of the changes that had been wrought in Chinese social manners and customs through the throes of the revolution. No book he had ever read, no story that had ever come from China and found its way to the papers, had ever impressed him so much as to the real state of Chinese social life. He much regretted that his travels never took him very far into China. When doing boundary work on the extreme western borders of China, he had on one occasion to make a small excursion in the country with results that were not altogether happy. It was necessary to discover the proper boundary in the extreme north of the Pamirs, and to know what China was doing and thinking. The representatives of the other countries, including Great Britain and Russia, were assembled and agreed to a programme of work day by day; but the Chinese made no sign and took no interest in the proceedings. He was therefore called upon to cross the border to find out what was happening. He had not proceeded more than two days on his journey when he met a detachment of Chinese cavalry. He might mention that they were some of the smartest and best-turned-out frontier cavalry he had ever seen. Their uniforms were not in the modern style Mrs. Roe had shown on the screen; but they were much more picturesque. They had to cross a deep and rapid river to get to him, but they did not hesitate for a single moment. They plunged in like water-dogs, swam their horses across, and surrounded him. They made a very efficient escort, and proceeded to march him back to the place he had come from. This, his only experience in China, hardly qualified him, they would agree, to talk about Chinese manners and customs.

Sir EVAN JAMES joined with the Chairman in expressing very great appreciation of a most interesting lecture. It was thirty years since he travelled in China, and then only in a corner of it. He could never

have believed that so conservative a people could have made such an immense *volte face* as had been described by Mrs. Roe. How it had come about he could not understand. He recognized that missionary ideas had done a great deal in improving the *morale* of the Chinese in certain directions; but the great mass of the people were still worshippers of Confucius, and it was wonderful that they should have given up their habits and customs, their opium-pipes, to be followed, perhaps, by tobacco. Apparently it was due to a breath of Western idealism that had spread over the country. But to those who had seen the time-honoured conditions of China the change seemed miraculous. He hoped that Mrs. Roe would some day tell them what she thought was going to be the end of it all. Apparently, notwithstanding the revolution, the Manchu dynasty was still in the old palace in Peking. Yuan Shih Kai was dead, and they heard that different provinces were in revolt from the Central Peking Government. But that Government was a very powerful one, and its influence had been strong enough for the Stock Exchange to be willing to lend it large sums of money. When the provinces broke away from the Central Government, would that Government send its troops and attempt to coerce them? Would the War Office in Peking retain control over the military forces of China, or would each province support a military organization of its own? All those were very interesting questions which some day, he dared say, Mrs. Roe would be able to tell them something about. It seemed to him unlikely that the vast Chinese Empire could ever quietly settle down and enjoy a real delivery from anarchy until some great military leader arose from among its people and was able to impose his will upon it. They could only hope that, in the interests of humanity, some decently organized Government would arise to lead the country to peace, and to prevent its being broken up into contending fragments.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE said his visits to China scarcely entitled him to speak, but one curious incident he might mention. On arriving at the Astor House at Tientsin, in March, 1898, when he sat down to dinner, a card was brought to him. It was that of Herr Eugen Wolf, who had accompanied Major von Wissmann to East Africa as Commercial Adviser, when Prince Bismarck decided to establish a German colony there thirty years ago. From East Africa Wolf came to India, probably in 1889, dangerously ill. It was then that he (Colonel Yate) showed him some attention, and friendship resulted. In March, 1898, Wolf had just returned from the interior of China. His travels are described in his book, "Im Innern Chinas." Naturally Herr Wolf's movements in China had been watched with anything but friendly eyes at the British Legation at Peking, and when he (Colonel Yate) arrived at Peking, he found that his intimacy with Herr Wolf was regarded with little favour. Meantime Wolf

had started from Tientsin across Shantung, the province which Germany designed to make its sphere of influence, towards Kiaochau, the port which Germany had seized, ostensibly in requital for the murder of German missionaries. Some months elapsed, during which I heard nothing further of Herr Eugen Wolf. One morning in July or August, 1898, when I was in Scotland, I took up the *Scotsman*, and saw quoted from *The Times* the most extraordinary account of Wolf's conduct as he passed through Shantung. It was stated, on the authority of the chief German missionary authorities, including the Bishop, in Shantung, that Herr Wolf had arrived at the place where the Chinese murderers of German missionaries were being tried, that he made his way into the Court, unseated the Chinese judge and set himself in his place, put his dog, "Herr von Schuster," on a chair beside him, and acquitted the murderers. I wrote at once to Wolf in Berlin, and said, "What means this?" The answer I got was, "Er ist ein Lümp, der keine Feinde hat." The incident blew over. I wrote again and said, "I must have a photograph of 'Herr von Schuster.'" I got one, and if anyone would like to see what that dog looks like—and his picture paints his character—I refer him or her to "Im Innern Chinas."

I spent a very pleasant evening with Wissmann, Wolf, Bömeler, and others of the German East African group, at the Café Pschorr in Berlin in October, 1890, on my return from Tashkent. I heard of Wolf ten or twelve years ago, "up in a balloon"—*i.e.*, in a Zeppelin. He may be up in one now. He was essentially a man of adventure. I have, however, lost touch with him of late. The Emperor William II. in 1899 conferred on him the "Red Eagle Cross," and the Bavarian Academy of Science its Gold Medal, in recognition of his services.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE annual meeting of the Society was held on June 21, 1916, when Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich took the chair, in the absence of Sir Mortimer Durand.

The Report was read as follows:

The session of 1915-16 has been very full and interesting as regards meetings. The greater number of papers have dealt with countries of the Near East affected by the war.

The session opened in November with a paper by Mr. Charles Woods on the Dardanelles Campaign, and was followed in January by Mr. Perceval Landon, whose subject was Central Mesopotamia.

The lecturers in March and April also dealt with different parts of Mesopotamia. Mr. Edgar Wigram's paper was on the Ashiret Highlands of Hakkiari, and Mr. W. J. Childs chose as a subject Asia Minor and the War.

Other lecturers dealt with more distant regions: Miss Ella Sykes, lately returned from Turkestan and the Pamirs, gave on February 2 an account of her travels in a paper, "Seven Months in High Asia." A second lecture was also arranged for February, and on the 16th of that month Sir George Scott lectured on the Red Karens of Burma. The Rev. A. R. Mackenzie, who is in England after a long residence as a missionary in Manchuria, read a paper on that country on May 10.

For the last paper of the session the Society was indebted to Mrs. Roe, another lady traveller in the Far East.

The papers were all printed in the Journal, and those who were privileged to attend the lectures enjoyed the excellent lantern slides made from the photographs taken by the lecturers themselves. These illustrations proved valuable additions to most interesting papers. The meetings were attended, if anything, better than in previous years.

The Society has added to its Members and Subscribers to the Journal during the year:

1. Mr. T. M. Ainscough.
2. The Agent to the Governor-General, Baluchistan.
3. Colonel H. J. de Bernière.

4. Mr. O. V. Bosanquet, C.I.E.
5. The Secretary to Government Political Department, Bombay.
6. The Hon. E. Flower.
7. Sir George Stuart Forbes, K.C.I.E.
8. Mr. George Fraser.
9. Foreign and Political Department, Government of India.
10. Sir John Jardine, M.P.
11. Miss Nina Mylne.
12. The Mysore Residency Library.
13. The Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province.
14. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Alexander Pinhey, K.C.S.I.
15. Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Pritchard.
16. The Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana.
17. Lieut.-Colonel J. A. Wilson, D.S.O.

The Council regret to have to report the loss by death of Mr. Blandy, Mr. T. O. Hughes, Colonel Pritchard, Colonel Showers, and Sir A. Pinhey.

The Society has also lost, by resignation, Miss H. Tayler, Mrs. Cotterell Tupp, and Mr. Alwyn Parker.

The accompanying accounts show that the total expenditure was £137 6s. 6d., and the balance to the credit of the Society was £81 13s. 2d. at the end of the year 1915—less than at the end of 1914 by £10 19s. 3d. During the war it has been necessary to exercise strict economy, especially in printing. It is not a favourable season for still further enlarging the membership or for selling more copies of the Journal, but it is anticipated that before very long the expenditure will be more than balanced by the receipts, and that in addition to the papers printed in the Journal there will be more material of interest printed for the benefit of Members and of the public.

The Statement of Accounts is appended.

The recommendations of the Council to fill vacancies in the Council for 1916-17 are as follows:

Under Rule 12 the Chairman, the Right Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, retires. The Council recommend his re-election.

Under Rule 13 the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Penton, retires. The Council recommend his re-election.

Under Rule 23 Colonel Kelly, Mr. Moon, and Sir F. Fryer retire. The Council recommend their re-election, and in addition the election of Miss Ella Sykes and Colonel Pemberton.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council for the election of officers were accepted, on the proposition of Colonel Kelly, and seconded by Lady Raines.

The CHAIRMAN said they might regard the Report as satisfactory. Of course the Society had to labour under the difficulties which con-

fronted all such organizations. These were not the times in which they could expect any great accession to their strength in numbers; but on the whole he thought they had done pretty well, and financially it was satisfactory to know that at the end of the year they would be about square. The Treasurer told him that they would end the year without a deficit, and he thought that under the circumstances that was about all they could expect. Mention should be made of the advantage the Society had derived from the energy of its staff. Thanks were owing to their officers, and especially to the Honorary Treasurer, Sir Evan James, who had not only looked after their finances well, but who had himself provided at considerable expense the slides for one of their lectures. They must also thank Mr. Penton, whose re-election as Honorary Secretary was proposed; and they owed a great deal to their Secretary, Miss Hughes, for all the trouble she had taken and the work she had put into the affairs of the Society.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1915

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
113 at £1	113	0	0			
5 at 16s.	4	0	0			
2 in advance at £1	2	0	0			
1 in advance at 16s.	0	16	0			
				119	16	0
Journal subscription				0	16	0
Journal sales				5	9	11
Miscellaneous				0	5	4
				126	7	3
Balance at bank, January 1, 1915 ...	92	12	5			
Balance, petty cash	1	10	3			
				94	2	8
				£220	9	11

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent				22	0	0
Salary				37	10	0
Journal—						
Printing	44	15	6			
Reporting	12	12	0			
Press cuttings	2	2	0			
				59	9	6
Miscellaneous printing, stationery, etc. ...				5	2	6
Postage				7	9	9
Miscellaneous, including teas, lantern, etc.				6	15	6
Bank charges				0	2	6
				138	9	9
Balance at bank, December 31, 1915 ...	81	13	2			
Balance, petty cash	0	7	0			
				82	0	2
				£220	9	11

We have examined, with the books and vouchers, the accounts of the Central Asian Society for the year ending December 31, 1915, and find them correct.

HENRY TROTTER.
F. W. R. FRYER.