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The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., consented in February last to accept the Chairmanship of this Society, making the ninth holder of the post on the following list:

1901-2. General Sir Thomas Gordon, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.
1902-4. Right Hon. Sir A. C. Lyall, G.C.I.E., I.C.S.
1904-6. Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.
1906-7. General Sir Edwin Collen, G.C.I.E., C.B.
1907-8. Valentine Chirol, Esq. (now Sir Valentine).
1908-14. The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E.
1914-17. The Right Hon. Sir H. M. Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1917-18. Colonel Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.
1919. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B.

LIFE IN RUSSIAN TURKESTAN, AND GERMANY'S MENACE TO INDIA

COLONEL SIR THOMAS HOLDICH presided at the first meeting of the 1918-19 Session on October 9, 1918. He said he much regretted the absence, on account of continued indisposition, of the President, Sir Henry Trotter. He was there to introduce Miss Annette Meakin, than whom they could hardly have anyone better qualified to tell them what there was to be known about the remote regions in Central Asia where she had travelled, and into which ladies hitherto had hardly been able to penetrate. He believed Miss Meakin was the first European lady who had been able to study at first hand the domestic life of the secluded women of Bokhara.

Sir THOMAS HOLDICH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Since I last addressed an audience on the subject of Germany's Menace to India—on May 9 of this year, many stirring and important events have taken place within and around the region to which I am drawing your attention this afternoon. The news that reaches us is scanty and often unreliable, but we know without a doubt that the terrible convulsions which tore the mighty Russian Empire to pieces have not spared her possessions in Central Asia.

Not only Caucasia, but Transcaspia and Turkestan have been drawn into the vortex. While the Georgians, the Armenians, the Tatars, and the Khirgiz, are asserting their right to self-determination, the Mohammedan subjects of the Amir of Bokhara are struggling to establish a constitution of their own. Even before the war, in 1910, the people of Bokhara, exasperated by heavy and unjust taxation, rose against the tyranny of their Amir, and much blood was shed before the rising could be quelled. At the present moment the *Russians* in Turkestan appear to be as divided among themselves as the Russians in Russia.

As you know, an Anglo-Indian force under General Dunsterville reached Baku from Persia in August last, but had to withdraw, on September 15, after severe fighting, owing chiefly to the conduct of the 7,500 unhappy and helpless Armenians whom they had come to assist.

Turkey's defeat in Palestine has been felt in the Middle East.

Bulgaria's capitulation to the Allies has cut the direct communication between Germany and Turkey. But the routes by way of Russia and the Black Sea are still at the enemy's disposal.

Germany's menace to India by way of Southern Russia was threefold—military, political, and economic. We must see to it that the last of these—the economic menace—shall not raise its invidious head after victory and a just peace have been obtained.

The Moslem States of Central Asia lie between Germany and India—India, which was to have been the prize of the great World War. Germany's recent subjugation of Russia has brought her into close touch with these States. But the whole of the Transcaspian Railway, from Krasnovodsk and Andijan, from Merv to within a few miles of Herat, is, according to the *Kreutz Zeitung* of October 2, "in British hands to-day."* I hope this is true.

Bulgaria's defection is a nail in the coffin of the Pan-German scheme of a *Mittel Europa*, comprising, in one great central block, Finland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, united by one gigantic system of canals and one customs union. Germany hoped by this means to draw to Hamburg the trade of Russia, of Persia, and of Central Asia, and she was already talking openly of India.

Pan-Germanism, still an economic menace to the future peace of the world, is to-day confronted by another great movement, Pan-Slavism, which has recently appeared like a cloud on the distant horizon, no bigger than a man's hand. To-day the South Slavs, with the Serbians and the Czecho-Slovaks, confront Germany's dream of world-power. It is for us to help Russia, the greatest of the Slav nations, to regain her feet, that, by fighting shoulder to shoulder with her brother-Slavs, she may once more become the captain of her own soul. Bulgaria, the corridor State, is now at our command. We must at once use the corridor as a way of communication between ourselves and the Ukraine.

There are loyal and true allies of the British in every corner of the Ukraine. Let us, without an hour's delay, put ourselves in touch with every intelligent and educated Russian in South Russia, taking care to steer clear of those Russians who advocate Bolshevism—the worst and most degrading form of slavery—slavery to a foreign Power! and we shall find it everywhere in South Russia. It is for us to separate the wheat from the tares. Bolshevism is the dry-rot in the Russian wood. We must see to it that there is none of this dry-rot, this poisonous fungus of foreign origin, in the new edifice of a free and independent Russia we are helping to build. It is for us to inaugurate strict order and discipline in each Eastern province as it comes under our control. It is for us to show that we know how to govern. It will be time

* See *The Times*, October 4.

enough, when peace comes, to hand the government into native hands.

The Pan-Turanian movement, beneath its cunning *camouflage*, was the Kaiser's mailed fist grasping at the trade and the wealth of the Moslem States in Asia. The Sunnite Mohammedans of Russia, the biggest group of Moslems in the world, are for the most part of Turco-Tatar origin, like the Turki tribes of Persia and Turkestan. As far back as his visit to Jerusalem in 1898 the Kaiser already aspired to the leadership of the Mohammedan world. When the late Sultan of Turkey, whose ancestor* gained Constantinople by the sword in A.D. 1453, was striving to become the political head of the Moslems under the cloak of Pan-Turanianism, the Kaiser saw his opportunity. By all means let Constantinople become the new heart of Islam as long as Turkey remains an obedient vassal of Berlin. The Sultan's aim was a *political* Pan-Islamism—a very different thing from "the right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Mohammedan belongs"—"the spiritual brotherhood and unity of the children of the Prophet," which is thus described by one of themselves: "charity and good-will towards fellow-believers everywhere, from China to Morocco, and from the Volga to Singapore; an abiding interest in the literature of Islam, in her beautiful arts, in her lovely architecture, in her entrancing poetry;" "a true reformation, a return to the early and pure simplicity of the faith, to its preaching by persuasion and argument, to the manifestation of a spiritual power in individual lives, to beneficent activity for mankind"†—a Pan-Islamism to embrace the Turk, the Afghan, the Indian, and the Egyptian.

Nearly two years ago Germany's "Society of Eastern Civilization," or the "Turanian Society," began to publish a review called *Turan*. Its object is to facilitate the penetration of the East by Hungary *after the war*. One contributor is of the opinion that it is not so much a question of race as of geography; other contributors are trying to prove that the Bulgarians are of Turanian origin, and not Slavs. Their object, of course, is to weaken any sympathy that Bulgaria may feel for the Pan-Slav movement. Other German writers, with a similar object, are claiming that the Lithuanians and Letts are Turanians descended from Genghis Khan and Tamarlane. Yet, according to the greatest experts on the subject, the Lithuanians and Letts are one of the oldest branches of the Indo-European family of nations, and the language they speak is akin to Sanscrit. Thus we see Germany attempting to control and guide the sympathies of smaller nations by means of cunning *suggestion* as to their origin!

A German-Persian Society has been started in Berlin. Here

* The founder of the Osmanic Empire was not a descendant of the Prophet of Islam.

† "India in Transition," by His Highness the Aga Khan.

again, the object is to sow discord between Persia and ourselves. Tatar children are being taken from Russia to Berlin to be educated. No stone is left unturned to strengthen German influence in Mohammedan countries. Last spring inspired articles in the leading German newspapers were promising Turkey that at the conclusion of the war she should find herself in undisputed possession of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt! In July last even America (after Turkey had massacred 700,000 of her defenceless people) was promised independence and a constitution. "Will you walk into my parlour?" said the spider to the fly.

For months past there have been open allusions in the German newspapers to Germany's designs upon India by way of Central Asia. A few days after I had given my first lecture (at Wigmore Hall) on the subject of Germany's Menace to India, Herr Richard Hennig, who visited Central Asia for Germany in 1915, did me the honour of quoting some of my very words in *Deutsche Politik*, and remarked that "Hamburg-Herat" was a better description of the German project of expansion through Lithuania, the Ukraine, Caucasia, and Persia to Afghanistan than "Berlin-Batum-Bokhara."

Even the newspapers of neutral countries have been warning us that, although the frontiers of Northern India are no longer menaced by the *creeping Russian bear*, the German eagle has taken the place of that bear—and the eagle can *fly*.

Herr Hennig not only did me the honour to quote my words, he acknowledged the truth of what I had said, and then he proceeded to urge Germany to develop her existing railway projects, in order to reach "the heart of Asia" on the Afghan frontier, "almost in view of Herat." Why Herat? Herat has been known for many a decade as "the Gateway to India." Herat is approached from the north by a Russian railway starting from Merv.

In his most interesting and instructive book, "India in Transition," His Highness the Aga Khan supports my contention that "Germany has become an *Asiatic Power" independently of the fate of Mesopotamia and Syria—and, we may now add, Bulgaria.* Fully awake to the danger which this implies, the Aga Khan urges us to build up "a United States of India within the British Empire, as the best and only practical bulwark we can raise against Germany's military, political, economic, and territorial encroachment. Persia and Afghanistan, he urges, "are the most vulnerable part of India's great land frontiers." "Our influence must be exerted to the full to make Persia and Afghanistan independent national entities." "The problem of Central Asia and of the Caucasus is not solved, but takes a new and far more disquieting aspect" than it wore in the days of Russian Tsardom." This writer says: "It is for the Indian patriot to recognize that Persia, Afghanistan, and possibly Arabia, must, sooner or

later, come within the orbit of some Continental Power, such as Germany . . . or must throw in their lot with that of the Indian Empire. . . . The world forces that move small States into closer contact with powerful neighbours . . . will inevitably make themselves felt in Asia." This writer then proceeds to unfold his scheme of a "South Asiatic Federation," and I strongly recommend his book to all who are interested in the subject.

Two omissions I notice. He says not a word about the possible effect of the important railways via Russia, which were so near their completion before the war, and which, sooner or later, will bring Bombay within seven days' journey of London. Nor does he speak of the immense possibilities of India as a cotton-growing country.

I could devote a whole lecture to the subject of Germany's economic menace, and another to the subject of cotton alone. When the war began, Turkestan—which only turned its attention to cotton-growing thirty years ago—was supplying Russia with three-fifths of her raw cotton.

What was the use of keeping cotton from entering Germany on the west if the enemy could command the cotton-fields of Turkestan?

If the German road through South Russia to India is assured, Germany's economic penetration, writes Mr. E. P. Stebbing, is in itself a victory far greater than could have been won by military subjugation.*

I shall now show you a map indicating the railways that approach India from the north, and the gaps that remain to be bridged between them and the railways of India. This map has been specially prepared for my lectures. We shall then turn our attention to some pictures illustrating life in Turkestan, all of which I brought with me from that country on the occasion of my second visit. Many of them have been prepared from my own photographs.

NOTE.—The Pan-Turanian question, after being very fully and very ably handled in the *Round Table* of December, 1917, is also touched upon here. Miss M. A. Czaplicka, whose excellent lecture on "The Cossacks" appeared in Part II. of the CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL for 1918, has just published, through the Clarendon Press, "The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day: An Ethnological Enquiry into the Pan-Turanian Problem." Miss Czaplicka is Lecturer in Ethnology in the University of Oxford.—A. C. M.

The CHAIRMAN said he did not think anyone could have heard Miss Meakin's excellent paper without learning a great deal from her vivid description of social customs and manners in Bokhara. He did not think he had heard from any traveller a story of domestic life in Central Asia so clear and well illustrated as that by Miss Meakin.

* See review of "From Czar to Bolshevik," *Morning Post*, October 4, 1918.

Where he did not altogether agree with her was when she wandered into the great field of world-politics and discussed the problem of Germany's intentions toward India. There was a time, as she said, when we were accused of suffering from "nervousness," when Russia appeared to be making deliberate steps in the direction of India. Knowing the Indian frontier, and both its strength and its weakness, as well as he did, and having superintended the carrying of surveys right across Northern Afghanistan and over the Hindu Kush, he confessed he had never suffered from that form of nervousness. He was always confident that Russia would think a very long time before she undertook so gigantic a task as that of advancing toward India by way of Afghanistan, and carrying her railways to the Indian frontier. As Miss Meakin had pointed out, there were two gaps between the Russian railway system and our own—one on the east between Samarkhand and our railways round Peshawar, the other on the west between Herat and Quetta. As regards the latter, he had always been of opinion that the sooner the gap was filled the better. He had never considered that it would be dangerous, from a military point of view, to India. He had seen no evidence to convince him that Russia would ever be in a position to make any particular use of that railway in her descent upon India. As regards the other gap, it was new to him that, according to an American opinion, it would be practicable to make a thirty or forty miles tunnel through the heart of the very elevated system of mountains known as the Hindu Kush, and then to carry it on through Afghanistan. He did not consider that this was a practicable proposition, and in any case it would be a most costly business. To his mind the idea was ridiculous to suppose that it would ever be seriously attempted in war-time.

Our nervousness as regards Russia had passed away, and of late years a new nervousness had seized us as regards German intentions toward India. It had only blossomed into being since the war began. But just as he failed to see in the past how Russia could really make any sort of advance toward India which would promise successful invasion of that country, so he failed to see how Germany could do so either. He had always looked upon it as a German dream, and one that was impossible of realization, but one that was very useful to the Prussian military party in tickling the fancy of the German people. Even if Germany were still in a position to make full use of Bulgaria and Constantinople, and carried her railways to the Persian frontier, she would still have a very gigantic task before her in traversing Persia and descending upon the only vital part of our North-West Frontier. He did not think that any German general of real insight was ever ready to contemplate such an idea. Now that the dream of passing through Bulgaria had been shattered, he thought the alternative of a route through Russia was even more difficult and more

impossible of realization than ever. He did not think they need trouble themselves in the very least on that score. It would be very many long years before Germany was in a position to undertake serious operations in the direction of our Eastern Empire. We might now look upon that menace as passed away, like that of Russia.

The problem before us requiring very careful consideration, however, was that of the future of Persia. Now that, so far as we could see, Russia and Germany were both unable to make any direct use of Persia in their schemes of Eastern triumph, the responsibility of assuming sponsorship for Persia would rest upon our shoulders. He did not see how it could be placed on anyone else. If that was so, it was to be hoped that the responsibility would be safeguarded by being under the control of a department which knew something about Persia. He had seen a most amazing suggestion in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the previous day that the Secretary of State for India, who was rightly described as an amateur in Indian matters, should be paid from British instead of Indian revenues so as to bring him under the direct control of our Westminster politicians, and that the Council of India, which was justly described as composed of men well acquainted with India, should be swept away as a cumbersome appendix. That was to say, the one chance that an ignorant Secretary of State had of acquiring a little knowledge at second-hand of the country for the government of which he was responsible was to be relegated to the dustbin of party politics. It might be said that that was only a piece of journalistic suggestion. But it was to be constantly noted that newspapers played the tune that they hoped the public was going to dance to, and that they claimed to be leaders of public opinion in this country. If the suggestion referred to was going to be carried out, he for one was exceedingly sorry for the prospects of Persia as well as for India. He trusted, however, that it was not a serious suggestion.

He must confess to some lack of sympathy with Persia because she had so constantly omitted to make use of her opportunities for helping herself. When they saw what was being done by small nations in the war, such as Serbia, to recover their national independence, it seemed amazing that Persia, with all her great wealth in man-power, with her admirable frontiers, and her other means of resistance, should be so entirely apathetic and disregardful of any ambitions to make her own position good. She seemed to lie like a helpless log at the mercy of any adventurer, whether German, Turkish, or Russian, who chose to come along. He saw no sign of her setting to work to create a strong Government of her own, and to protect her own integrity.

Subsequently, in answer to a question as to whether he took the same view of the economic as of the military menace of Germany

toward India, the Chairman said that he had always regarded the economic position as dependent on the military. Trade followed the flag all the world over. Any difficulties which might have existed as regards the interchange of commodities between Germany and India were certainly not likely to have been modified by the present war. His own opinion was that those difficulties had been so greatly increased that interchange between Germany and India would almost cease to exist.

Sir DENISON ROSS wished to say how much he had enjoyed the wonderful photographs thrown on the screen. Anyone who had studied books on Central Asia would find that the same photographs were repeated in every book in every language (laughter), and very poor and unconvincing they were. For the first time they had seen that afternoon some original pictures of the inhabitants of Bokhara, and he hoped before the meeting closed Miss Meakin would show them her photographs of Samarkhand, where was to be seen some of the most beautiful architecture in the whole of the East. (Cheers.)

Sir EDWIN PEARS said that he had enjoyed the photographs and the paper, and he had found himself in entire sympathy with the observations of the Chairman. The political aspirations of Germany in Central Asia did not trouble him greatly. As to Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism, the whole thing was rubbish from beginning to end. In the current *Contemporary Review* he had done his best to expose the absurdity of these movements. He saw the birth of Pan-Turanianism, which was expounded in a well-known French book by M. Noel Cahun, who was of the Jewish persuasion. But it was incomprehensible to him that any section of the Turkish people should have taken that book and sought to form from it a sort of religion for the Turkish race that should supersede the great Semitic religion of Islam. Islam was one of the three great monotheistic faiths, and he knew no country that had ever been monotheistic that had gone back on the great central idea of the unity of God. Such an idea marked an advance in civilization. A friend of his had seen the working of Islam on the West Coast of Africa, and his testimony was that of other observers—that when a tribe embraces Islam it rapidly advances in civilization in comparison with the other tribes retaining their old superstitious ideas. We might not admit that it was an advance equal to that which Christianity made, for that was another matter altogether. But to suppose that the Arabs and other Moslems of Turkey were going to abandon what the Pan-Turanians called the Semitic creed in order to take up the Turanian was unthinkable.

As to the project of Germany getting through to India, it seemed to him an idle dream impossible of accomplishment unless some unforeseen misfortune should occur, especially now that the notion of making Bulgaria the corridor for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway had

been shattered. The fact was that the Bulgarians were driven into taking up arms on the side of Germany by their King. Many of the best men were got rid of because they rebelled. Happily, the people had come to their senses, and King Ferdinand had found it convenient to leave his country. Might he never return to it! (Cheers.)

By special request, Miss Meakin showed the remainder of her photographs, and she was accorded a hearty vote of thanks moved from the chair.

ADVENTURES WITH ARMOURED CARS IN RUSSIA AND THE EAST

On November 23, 1918, Commander O. Locker-Lampson, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O., gave the Society a most interesting address, illustrated by lantern slides, on his experiences in Russia, the Caucasus, Armenia, Anatolia and Galicia with the Corps of Armoured Cars which he took to Russia *via* Archangel, in 1916 and 1917. Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., presided, and in a few words introduced to the audience the lecturer, who, as the Chairman appropriately said, " scarcely required an introduction."

The address opened with a description of the voyage of the Armoured Car Contingent round the North Cape, their destination being Archangel. But Archangel they did not reach owing to adverse weather. Commander Locker-Lampson put into Kola, a place, the name of which, since the completion of the Murmansk Railway, has become familiar. The post reached Kola in reindeer sledges over a distance of 300 miles, and the same means of transport fetched a priest for Christmas services, christenings, and the burial of five months' dead. It has, the lecturer pointed out, changed names two or three times during the war, and there seemed no reason why it should not ultimately settle down to the name of the British sailor who first landed troops and cars there to help the Russians. Of the intense cold and consequent frostbite he drew in few words a telling picture. Finally the British Armoured Cars found their way to Archangel, where they were effusively greeted by the citizens, the Mayor fervently embracing him. " I have been embraced by more Russian Mayors than any Briton," he observed; " in fact I had to depute one of my officers to attend to these matters, so that I should be free to carry on my military duties." Thence they proceeded to Moscow, where the party was received by the Grand Duke Nicholas, of whom he spoke in a highly appreciative manner. " He stuck loyally to his cause, and was the best friend in Russia that the Englishman ever had, and while we had a wholesome fear of him, there was really no need for this, so long as we did our duty." Via Vladikavkas and Tiflis, the Chef-lieu of the Caucasus, they worked on to the Russian front in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Anatolia, and bore their share in the contest with the Turks. Speaking of the Armenian atrocities, the lecturer

said they found, among other horrors, churches broken up, and in a nunnery all the nuns lying dead. The Grand Duke Nicholas, who, after gallantly leading the Russian Army against Germany and Austria in the early part of the war, was deposed by intrigue and relegated to the Caucasus as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, was there, as elsewhere, a tower of strength to the Russian cause. He had been seen to mete out justice personally to an intoxicated Russian officer. He was a true friend to England. His magnificent stature, 6 feet 7 or 8 inches, alone made him a man of mark.* Of the Turk, Commander Locker-Lampson spoke with respect, but of the Kurd with horror and contempt, and he drew a sombre picture of the atrocities perpetrated on the Armenians.

When the Russian Revolution broke out, the British Corps of Armoured Cars—there were 32 in all—fell back through the Caucasus and traversed Southern Russia to Roumania and finally into Galicia. It was there that they came into contact with the disorganized and mutinous Russian troops. It was there that terrible scenes, of the murder of officers by soldiers, of whole regiments and divisions throwing down their arms and fleeing, and of terror-stricken Russian infantry clambering blindly on to the cars, until they broke two of them down, were witnessed. The camera illustrated all this with pictures—admirable and most telling pictures—taken on the spot. Baron Gerard, a gallant Russian, was seen stemming, and by his sheer personality stopping, a mob of panic-stricken soldiery. Not the least interesting figure in several of these pictures was the mascot of the Corps, a bear which, a cub at the outset, became before the end full grown, and was shown wrestling with one of the officers. He had finally to be sacrificed after killing twenty pigs, and then a little stray Armenian boy, picked up homeless and parentless, stepped into the brown bear's shoes, until he too was unexpectedly identified and claimed by a lost sister. Commander Locker-Lampson's story of how he exchanged his sword—not quite of his own free will—in the Caucasus for two horses, and how he borrowed a German prisoner's helmet, having none of his own, to the imminent peril, as he soon found, of his life, can only be alluded to, not told as the lecturer told them, here.

This is but a poor effort at rescuing from oblivion a lecture brimful of incident and romance. In concluding it, Commander Locker-Lampson earnestly assured the audience that the Bolshevik was not the type of the Russian, that the day must come when the right sort would once more be "top dog." While he fully admitted the

* In this he rivalled the famous Major-General Sir Henry Lindsay Bethune, a cousin of the late chairman, Sir Henry Trotter, whose height was 6 feet 8 inches in his stocking-soles, and who commanded the Persian army for a considerable part of the first half of the nineteenth century.

immensity of the harm which Raspútin had brought upon the Court and upon the Noblesse of Russia, he maintained that much of the scandal linked round the name of Raspútin was quite unfounded. He had met Raspútin. It had been said that he was a German spy. He thought this unlikely. The monk was vain and out for a good time, and, as he was in receipt of large sums of money from Russian officials, there was no need for him to go to Germany for funds. Raspútin was certainly the cause of the Revolution.

Many prisoners were taken during the campaign, the Austrians very often coming over in large numbers. In one instance a large party of Austrians, headed by a band, marched over to be captured, and were then anxious to join the Russians. He told them they would not be able to do this, but, as they had come over with a band, they could act in that capacity. "Once," he remarked, "our men were thirty hours getting the fleet of cars across a river. As soon as the last car was over, an order came from the General Staff to return at once." The Russian plans were always being altered. "I remember great preparations had been made for an attack; but some officers were so pleased to meet me that they made merry all night, and the attack was put off for a fortnight." In Asiatic Turkey one of the drivers of an oxen-cart was seen to be wearing a blue tail coat. On closer examination it was found to have the buttons of the Conservative Club on its somewhat tattered front. As a Conservative member of the House of Commons, the lecturer said, he was pleased to see a supporter so many miles away. He expressed the strongest admiration for Russians not of the hooligan class, and stated that he never saw greater bravery than that displayed by the "Black Death" in their last stand.

On the conclusion of this address, which was listened to with unfaltering attention, Sir Frederic Fryer invited any member of the audience to make remarks upon the lecture.

Lieut.-Colonel A. C. YATE then said that he desired to tell the audience that it was the enthusiastic report of an Eton boy, who heard Commander Locker-Lampson lecture at Eton, which led to an invitation being sent to the Commander to lecture to the Central Asian Society. That invitation had, thanks to the kindly offices of Sir Frederic Fryer, resulted in the pleasure which all had just experienced. Colonel Yate added some of his own experiences of frostbite, notably the case of an Afghan from Farah who lost both his feet from well above the ankles in the retreat from Panjdeh in March, 1885, and whom he (Colonel Yate) met some years later in Sind returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The CHAIRMAN said he had much pleasure in asking the audience to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Commander Lampson for the very interesting and entertaining lecture he had given them. They all

regretted that time had not allowed him to tell them more about the Revolution and about Raspútin. It would afford them great delight if Commander Locker-Lampson would give them another lecture, as he had half promised, and tell them more on this subject. (Cheers.) One of the things which they might congratulate him upon most was that he and his party had, many of them, safely returned, for they had passed through so many dangers that it was a wonder that any of them had reached England again. The armoured cars from this country did a most useful service for the Russians, and it was a matter for deep regret that the Revolution in Russia had deprived us of those formerly staunch Allies on whom, in the earlier stages of the war, we depended so much. They might hope that in course of time the real Russia would come to itself, and that the country would again be well governed and prosperous. There would then be a prospect of the Russians once more becoming our firm Allies. The Revolution was a great misfortune, and he could quite understand that, as Commander Locker-Lampson had shown, it was the work of a very inferior set of hooligans and rascals who had seized power and had exercised it in a manner most injurious to the good of the country.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and the meeting closed.

SIBERIA

At a meeting of the Society on November 13, 1918, with Sir Evan James in the chair, Colonel H. Swayne gave a lecture on "Siberia." He said:

Preliminary Remarks.—Before beginning this lecture, I should like to say that I have not been in Siberia since June, 1914; and my chief claim to come before you to-night is that I have approached the subject from an Asiatic point of view. I went there first in 1903 and again in 1914 as a result of long-laid schemes matured when on extended shooting trips in such Southern Asiatic countries as Ladak, Gilgit, Tibet, Upper Burma, and Arabia, when my imagination always turned to the north in anticipation of some day going there.

General Features.—Western Siberia, including the black-earth plains of the Irtish and Obi Rivers, is the granary of Siberia, and its registered and classified agricultural area is a quarter larger than all France; behind, to the north, is the forest kind of region which is known as Taiga, merging into the swampy Tundra scrub nearer to the Arctic. These latter lands are mostly unexplored save by migratory hunters and fishermen from the great rivers.

To the south-east the land rises to the Altai, a highland region which, with the ranges near it, covers an area about ten times as large as all Switzerland, and culminates in the Bielukha Range, at between 11,000 and 12,000 feet, say about as high as the Swiss Jungfrau. The Altai is rich in silver, lead, copper, iron ore, coal, and gold.

East Siberia, including, before the war, some eight Governments, has a registered agricultural area a third greater than France, and also it is very mountainous, having many ranges and high plains and ridges rising to about twice the height of Snowdon, rich in all the minerals already named, with the addition of graphite, and its chief resource is gold.

The agricultural areas would presumably be capable of extension as time goes on.

To be specially noted are the great rivers, twice whose combined navigable length would about encircle the earth.

Now by looking at the map you will see some of the places which will be mentioned when the slides are thrown on the screen.

Here is the great railway, and here is Ob station, and town of Novo Nicholaewsk, in Mid-Siberia, the point of departure for the Altai.

THE CHUYA ROUTE.—In going by the Chuya track to the Mongolian border through the wooded Siberian Altai, you steam up the Obi River to Barnaul, a mining town; and thence on to Bisk, the limit of navigation at the head-waters of the Obi. Then you drive from Bisk by Altaiskoe, Tenginskoe, Ongudai, Kouaktenar, to Kosh-Agatch. You then take to pack ponies, and crossing the desolate Chuisaya Steppe you come out on the Mongolian Altai, the open downs, rising to about 9,000 or 10,000 feet, which separate the Chinese from what was the Russian Empire. Here is the mountain called Muss Ta, a very distinct landmark in that treeless country.

THE FILLING UP OF SIBERIA.—While Europe had since Crimean days been watching and restricting Russia at her natural front doors, at Constantinople and in the Baltic, and while India had been carefully watching her doings in Turkestan, Russia had by the end of last century, by building the Great Siberian Railway, put the finishing touch to the slow advance, through three hundred years, of her Cossacks and peasants, who had swept across Asia, colonizing from the parent stem; and so latterly, while Europe was busy staking out small healthy plateaux of limited extent in a somewhat unhealthy Africa, Russia, almost unnoticed, had finally secured for her people the last great space on the planet which was still left empty though available for producing wheat and obtaining minerals.

At the same time the last quarter of the century saw the filling up of the old Roman maps, till Siberia became not only the dim eastern edge of the old European world, but also the western edge of the American world, and for the first time the nations woke up to find that there was no unknown place on the planet, which had shrunk together and was girdled by a continuous belt of fast steam transport. Japan had become a first-class Power, and the countries bordering the Pacific accelerated their development like a long-stored negative. To-day Asia is regaining her old position, and nearly every Asiatic State has been helping the fight for civilization.

We know that in the river-basins of Siberia there are signs of prehistoric settlement but, for all intents and purposes, Siberia had up to the end of the nineteenth century been a sector of the planet lying green under heaven, its surface scarcely scratched by human settlement, and its population, including both the Russian settlers and the scattered Turki, Mongol, or Finnish tribes, would have gone to make up about half a dozen good-sized English towns.

THE ALTAI REGION.—The Altai region is worth some description because not only is the scenery quite remarkable, but it has been visited by few non-Russians, except mining engineers or British

sportsmen like myself, who now and then penetrate there looking for the Argali rams.

But very shortly, with rapid transit and aeroplane posts, we shall be thinking of Siberia in a commonplace way as we already think of Essex or Kent.

My best memory of the Altai is a pre-harvest one, when, travelling along a hillside flanked on one side by standing corn, and on the other by a sheet of wild-flowers, I met a column of country carts and of farm horses ridden by Russian peasants, astride, men, women and children, in twos and threes, going to their work in the fields.

When I first went to Siberia, I went there straight from residence in the famine districts of Southern India, and the white man's prosperity of Siberia was somewhat of a revelation to me.

At every post-house there were turkeys, geese, real butter, and excellent tea to be had. Outside, at timber-work in the forest, would be the owner and his sons; men educated by their real experiences, depending on no master; better housed than many of our farm labourers in a Midland county.

The huts, generally single-storied on short piles, had two rooms. They were well built of sawn planks with dry moss or felt stuffed into any crevices, and the windows were double-shuttered. There would be a flat-topped built-in stove on which people could sleep in winter, and plank beds fixed along the walls, above which, on pegs, hung the family winter furs.

There were large numbers of children about. Warm, sunlit, forest-covered hills rose everywhere, recalling Kashmir or Switzerland, but not so steep, and wheat was growing in the level patches.

Each important hamlet has a bath-house, where people can bathe periodically and air their clothes.

Here is a thing which strikes one in South and West Siberia; it is better than Russia; the social standing seems better, and there is a Colonial independence; and it did not in the least surprise me to hear that Siberian troops had distinguished themselves in recent campaigns, or that Siberia is taking a political line of its own in the upheavals of to-day.

On my first journey of 1,500 miles without the aid of the railway line I left the Great Siberian line at Ob. The distance to be traversed up to the last Russian post, Kosh-Agatch, near the Chinese-Mongolian border, is about 750 miles: of this distance the first 400 miles were got over by the regular steamer, ascending the Obi River to Bisk; thence on for another 350 miles, by sitting in a tarantass drawn by three horses, galloping over the rough Chuya cart-track, and changed at the peasants' huts which were improvised as posting stages.

At that time the track was incomplete, and so one had to ride, for

the latter half of the distance, transporting the baggage on Mongolian ponies led by mounted Kalmuks.

The southern part of this track by the Katun River gorges and thence along the Chuya is through the best Altai scenery; and a few Russians from the larger Siberian towns were summering in these valleys as other people do in Switerland. The whole Altai region was the private property of the Tsar, administered by officers of the Imperial Cabinet.

Novo Nicholaewsk, or Ob, the starting-point, is in a fine position for future trade, standing as it does where the great railway line meets the Obi, whose navigable waters at certain seasons are in communication with the world's oceans by the Arctic. Fortunes were being rapidly made at the time of the coming of the railway. Incomers who had been needy peasants in Russia were already prosperous in 1903, or had taken to trade or hotel-keeping.

There was a thriving export trade in butter to Denmark and England.

It was in this town that I was most kindly made welcome by Mr. Cattley, whose family has been well known in Russia for a great number of years.

THE RIVER JOURNEY.—The river journey up the Obi to the Altai was an experience full of interest. Here one saw Russian peasants at close range. The upper deck contained cabins, but the well of the steamer was crowded with peasants exactly as they had come from their farms; and in steamer travelling at least they had little comfort. Men and women slept in their day clothes, packed close together, the men sometimes not taking the trouble to remove their long boots; women struggled with children and untidy bundles.

If you went on deck of a morning you saw the powerful boat forcing itself southwards against a river as wide perhaps as the Thames at Westminster, running on its journey of over 2,000 miles to its estuary in the Arctic; first between open, lonely, green pastures, farther north by half-explored forests and Tundra tracts. The brown muddy stream flows in a swift smooth sheet, shining like burnished copper.

The banks are boundless pasture, rising here and there into low ridges, and herds of cows, sheep, and horses are scattered about. Four hundred miles of a river journey like this, and the same distance back, are a great experience of pure, spacious air from the prairies.

Rarely, there is a hamlet with a diminutive wooden church whose little spire of copper green, crowned by a bulb of gold, reflects the sun, and a huddle of brown deep-eaved chalet-like log houses, like those of Kashmir, overhangs some scarped river curve; and you will find this sort of village, with the little Byzantine gold cupola, a standing feature of the landscape, which you will carry with you, repeated all across Asia.

Sometimes an island covered with a colony of white river-gulls appears ahead of the steamer; or a line of darker forest in the grey distance seems to bar the path. In June, the air is that of early summer at home; the sky at times cloudy and English-looking with showers of rain.

At the halting-places wood fuel is stacked, and rafts float in the back waters; men detach logs and carry them to the bank on stretchers. Large timber rafts come down in mid-channel, each steered by four men, making for the Imperial saw-mills at the Ob station.

On moonlight evenings, in summer, the river shimmers grey and white like a silver salver against the olive-green background of pine forest, under a pale yellow sky.

On tying up at Barnaul, you used to call on the representative of the Imperial Cabinet, who held General Officer's rank, and lived in a fine house with a very large ball or reception room, parquet-floored; there were full-length portraits in oil of the Tsars, rows of chairs, and palms in painted tubs: everything on the grand scale. It was here you received your letters to the Altai police authorities.

On the river reaches, towards the head of navigation at Bisk, woods rose to view everywhere, the steamer threaded glassy flooded water-lanes, full with snow-water from the heights of Bielukha, the "White Mountains" of the Altai, streaks of old snow began to appear in the gullies of the banks overlooking the river, showing the extremes of climate; for the days were, in June, already giving an Indian heat, and the nights only a summer coolness.

As the river narrows near Bisk, distant snow-capped ranges are seen; we are in some of the richest pastures in the world, with herds of cattle and ponies grazing everywhere.

In the heart of Asia, Bisk is very civilized. It had many well-to-do residents, a club with a band, which courteously played "Rule, Britannia!" when we visited it, and many two-storied hotels and stone houses. There was a big trade in butter and Mongolian products, chiefly wool, camel-hair, and hides.

On a rainy night these Siberian towns are dreary places, the soaked wooden footpaths are unlit, the streets a black quagmire, and large savage dogs, like those of the Tibetan breed, bark from houses and rattle their chains, while the traveller has to feel for the slippery planks with his feet. You will only find the counterpart of the Siberian mud, duck-walks, holes, and darkness, if you go to Flanders at the present time.

THE DRIVE THROUGH THE SIBERIAN ALTAI.—From Bisk you drive to the Mongolian border, first along the valley of the swift Katun, remarkable for its deep geological terraces; and later you will enter the gorge of the rushing Chuya torrent.

You sit in a tarantass, a strong, springless, black wicker phaeton,

shaped like a double-ended punt, on four low wheels which are placed wide apart, inadequately sheltered by a low hood from the black sheets of Siberian mud which is thrown up from the horses' feet. There is a seat for the driver in front, and for two passengers under the hood. This is not exactly a Rolls-Royce for comfort, especially if it is the baggage telyeshka, and it is not even an improvement on the Himalayan tonga. The troika team, of three pretty little horses, with Arab heads out of a Roman fresco, drags it over everything, on rough cart-tracks along the mountain sides at the trot or gallop, the outside horses freely moving in traces, while the centre one is between shafts which are joined overhead by lofty hoop and bells.

As in the Kashmir mail-tonga trip, your arrival at your destination is a matter of pure luck; one of my tarantasses, at night, was turned over with its three horses by a boulder as large as a piano, over which the centre horse decided to take a flying leap, another tarantass was bogged, and we had to work at the wheel at midnight to get it free.

On another occasion we met an active flock of tame sheep coming down on to the road, which road was clinging to the hillside, and every third or fourth sheep insisted on jumping clear over the team.

There are dilatory pontoon ferries, on which miserable ponies are flogged round on a slippery wet deck turning a paddle-wheel. The ferryman is often drunk, and fifty Russians, with their children, will cheerfully camp out for a whole night on the shingle, cooking and chatting in the lee of their carts, in the rain, while the ferryman returns to sanity and decides to work. They are naturally a democratic people, more so than we are, patient and easy-going, and in Russia you learn the meaning of the words "sichass" (directly), "skari" (look sharp), "nichevo" (never mind), and what a bribe of ninepence can do for you.

The land as you approach the foothills of the Altai looks green like the Central Provinces of India after the summer rains, and is black cotton soil. Much flax and hemp are grown.

When, later, you get into the more Alpine scenery, the valleys are gorgeous with wild-flowers, purple iris, bull's-eyes, cowslips, wild pea, orange marsh-marigold, and flowers looking like blue and white forget-me-nots in broad mile-long masses. You wish for a botanist companion when in Siberia and Mongolia; you can go for many hour's ride with your pony's feet brushing through massed wild-flowers such as the world can surely not show elsewhere. They beat the English meadows, the valleys of Switzerland, or even Kashmir in May and June.

We lodged with a trader who kept Maral stags in a deer park, and I found him shutting a stag into an iron cage, and sawing off the horns while still soft, "in the velvet," to be sold in China as a valuable medicine.

Driving through these forests after dark we heard wolves; but it is said that, as is the case in most countries that contain game, they do not molest travellers.

As you enter the Tenginskoe depression, you are driving over glades brilliant with flowers, over flat, smooth, natural lawns which are overshadowed by clumps of cedar and pine. A valley-bottom shelves to a small circular lake, where cattle are being driven about by Kalmuks or Kirghiz, galloping dots; and there are clusters of huts shaped like North American Indian tents, and rough timber stockyard enclosures. Beyond Ongudai we ferried over the Katun, and here I found Russian peasants boarding in a house owned by a Kalmuk, working for him, his wife acting as hostess. This situation would have been impossible in India, where there is practically no European labour. There were two high passes giving fine views over snowy ranges; and after crossing the Katun finally you enter the famous gorge of its tributary, the Chuya. You now go deep into the Kalmuk country, where Russians are seldom met with, except at a rare police camp. In some glade you may come across a gruesome relic of Northern Shaman superstition, where, waving in the wind on sloping poles, are the skins of ponies which have been sacrificed by being torn asunder.

Besides the rare posting-huts entrusted to the care of Russianized Christian Kalmuks, you pass groups of round Kalmuk huts, made of larch pit-props, with circular walls and conical roofs; or the better Yurtas or portable semi-rigid huts covered with thick grey felt, which are used by the richer nomads.

Along this Chuya gorge you ride day after day on smooth valley floors or on the wonderful deeply sculptured natural river terraces, under pine-clad pinnacles like the bear and ibex haunts at the mouth of the well-known Sindh valley of Kashmir, and this particular kind of scenery was always a joy to me. The rocks fall sheer for hundreds of feet to quiet wooded slopes, with golden grain standing in the flats below. Such a place was Kouaktenar, where on the hills I found some thirty-eight inch Ibex horns buried in the débris of a landslide.

Another point, where the road, with posts and rails, climbed a forested hill, reminded me of our own Simla, grazing cows in this rather gentle scenery giving a touch of Wales or Switzerland.

There were defiles choked with a tangle of fallen pines, the result of wind, avalanche, or fire, choking the torrent channels; and now and then the smooth green valley floor was dotted with scattered rocks as large as an omnibus, half buried in the soil, where they had fallen from cliffs or been swept down in past ages by ice or water. Hourly and daily the scenery became grander as the gorge narrowed.

A picturesque outfit was that of the Ispravnik or District Superintendent of Police, who, with his other duties, and assisted by

engineers, had to make the Chuya track. The officers were in carriages and wore neat uniforms, but the mixed crew of Russian foremen and Russian and Kalmuk navvies were dressed anyhow, mostly in big black felt hats, blouses, and trousers tucked into long boots; the darker, browner Kalmuks wore loose coats or sheepskins and Chinese snow riding-boots, of raw leather or of the felt kind which we call "Gilgit boots" in India. It was a rough-looking assembly, and called to mind the migrations of pilgrim fathers in the story books. In his camp the Ispravnik was very comfortable, in good felt tents with his retinue of engineers and surveyors camped round him.

Another interesting scene is the group of natives taking the road; among the Altai tribes most people ride, and you see some of the men with their families. They pass you on fast-pacing ponies, the little people of Turki or Mongol descent, including the women, sitting astride, knee up to the pony's neck, jockey fashion, with high Tatar heels in the stirrups, the men carrying strapped behind them long guns with the two-pronged toasting-fork gun-rests pointing like lances to the sky.

The greeting seemed generally to be no longer the "Salaam-Alaikum" of the Arabs or "Asalam-Alaik" of the Kashmiris, but "Aman-Dai" or something that sounded like it. There were, speaking loosely, Kirghiz, Kazaks, Kalmuks; and their faces told of Turki, Finnish, or Mongolian strains of blood. Their religions are said to be forms of Mahommedanism, Shamanism, or Buddhism.

At Kosh-Agatch, we emerged from the Chuya gorges and had reached the outermost Russian police post, where live a Customs official and half a dozen families of Russian and native traders. They trade over the Chinese border with Kobdo in Mongolia, to which place there is a cart-track over the mountains.

There was nothing whatever between this little village of Kosh-Agatch and the first Chinese Amban's post about forty miles away, beyond the Mongolian divide, which appears to be one of the lesser backbones of Asia, though not difficult to cross.

By now, the Chuisky cart-track from Bisk is a regular post road, and it has brought the Chinese-Mongolian frontier near Kobdo to within ten or eleven days of the Great Siberian Railway at the Obi; or, say, three weeks from London. I am not taking into account any recent railway extensions that may or may not have been opened to mining towns near the Obi.

At Kosh-Agatch, wool was collected in parcels, washed, and exported by Bisk to Russia; also raw hides and long camel-hair, used, I am told, in the manufacture of machine-belting.

THE MONGOLIAN ALTAI.—So far, we have been passing southward through the wooded Siberian Altai, which cannot be far from the centre of Asia; we have reached the limit of all things Russianized.

Twenty miles south is the Mongolian divide and the green hills, rising to 8,000 or 9,000 feet, are very sparsely inhabited by wandering tribes, among them Mongolian shepherds and Lamaist monks.

As you stand ready to start from Kosh-Agatch, you have round you your half-dozen Kalmuk mounted men, each leading a pack pony. They wear woollen coats or sheepskins. The coat-sleeves are a foot longer than the arms, so that when the wearer has to sleep out on the plain on a cold night he can cover his hands with his sleeves and bury his head in his arms, rolling himself into a ball, like a human hedgehog.

Your Kalmuk hunter has the distinction of wearing your field-glass over his shoulders, which he uses with great skill, and he and you may converse in broken Russian, helped out by the language of signs.

Between you and the Mongolian hills is a flat shingly plain, the Chuisaya steppe, about 5,000 feet above sea-level, probably an old lake-bed. It is forty-five miles long by twelve broad, its length running nearly east and west. It is shut in by snow-streaked mountains; and if you were to drain the Lake of Geneva in winter you would get a good idea of how it looks and feels, cheerless, and swept by bitter winds from Mongolia. It is a great contrast after the comfortable wooded country of the Siberian Altai which you have now left.

Behind you is the little spire of the Kosh-Agatch Church, and when you have lost sight of that you feel that you have said good-bye to civilization.

The routine of a few weeks' wandering in Mongolia is simple; you have a shelter tent four feet high and your men another; and they collect horse-litter in saddlebags for the fuel with which your cooking is done. Your food is tinned, or anything you can fish or shoot.

Before dawn you ride out alone with only your hunter, each of you taking field-glass or telescope, blanket, water-bottle, and food; and you trot about spying for the great Argali rams, which you must see while they are from one to three miles away, or they will see you first. There are hours of lying behind rock outcrops in the windy uplands, or crawling over the open; and when it is dark your hunter gives the signal that he has had enough by saying "Chai Pit" (to drink tea)—so like the "Cha Pina" of India. Then you dismount and lead home your tired ponies over hill and dale, or skate down great landslides of gravel.

Sometimes your companion will whisper "Volk" and significantly grab at your waistcoat, and you stop for a moment to listen to the music of the small parties of grey Siberian wolves which take up the hunt after dark. The wild sheep have been persecuted by them since the dawn of their mutual creation; there are no trees for hundreds of miles southward, only elevated downs, breaking here and there into

precipitous gullies which harbour Ibex; and the wild Argali, as a result of this persecution, is one of the most alert and long-sighted things on four legs. He is not protected by game-keepers and Justices of the Peace, and has developed a proper independence; and the inroads of a few British sportsmen in quest of something difficult to shoot, who fire a dozen shots every other year or so and then go home again, are nothing compared with the mortality from wolves.

Conspicuous objects are the skulls and skeletons of the great rams lying about under the caves and precipices where they have been hunted down by wolves or half buried in shingle and driftwood brought down by the torrents.

In the Chuisaya plain a few Prejwalsky's gazelles also know how to take care of themselves, for when you first see them they are already half a mile away and making off at full speed.

In the valleys you gather pony-loads of wild rhubarb, growing thick, exactly like, though sweeter than, that our English gardens produce. The easy passes through the divide are snow-bound in winter. When in summer you get over them, you take care to have with you your black-and-red Chinese passport engrossed by Downing Street; you look southward over hundreds of miles of the same rolling down country, apparently devoid of trees; and the higher pale green downs are streaked with snow, an occasional peak among them, such as the Matterhorn-like peak of Muss-Ta, some thirty miles to the south, rising to eternal snow at about 11,000 feet, looking remote in the bright, cold sunlight.

Even at 9,000 feet, mosquitoes are terrible at spots where crocuses are springing up under melting snow-patches, or in the reindeer-moss on the margin of some tarn. Unlike tropical mosquitoes, they bite in the warmth of the afternoon and go to bed at night.

It is said the nomads here owe no real allegiance to any civilized Power, Russian or Chinese, and they skip across the border as they please. The nearest Chinese post is Suok-Karaul, under an Amban, who takes your visiting-card, and sends you a nice message, but may be touring many miles away—anyway his abiding-place is about forty miles from Kosh-Agatch as the crow flies. Between, only rare tents and flocks of nomads or rarely wild game; and though you can see the valley where the Chinese post lies, and many miles beyond, there are no dark or light patches which would indicate trees or cultivation, though the latter may exist in the hollows.

In many places in the Mongolian Altai, as in the Siberian Altai, are luxurious displays of wild flowers. The rocks, where they outcrop from the grass, are flecked with lichenous growths, hot burnt sienna, bright rusty red, pale green, and lemon-yellow. Marmots scuttle to their burrows as you pass by, or snow partridges run about with their chicks.

In these regions there is the freedom and fascination common to high Alps, veldt, prairie, or desert. The weather changes every few hours, and within a few weeks of summer you will get a little of everything, rain-showers, hail-storms, thunder, and flurries of snow; you may look over a bank of flowers in July, in sunshine, to freshly snow-sprinkled slopes, gleaming white against an inky cloud.

On one of these days, after a week during which a hundred miles or so were covered riding about looking for game, without a solitary human being having been sighted, we saw the first natives on the Chinese side, a long line of dark cloaked figures on horseback, defiling from a sandy river-bed in a fold of the hills. Anyone who has been in Tibet will remember the sort of thing. As a precaution Powar and I kept quiet behind our rock; but next morning, after returning to our bivouac, we found a large camp—great herds of long-haired black or piebald yaks, sheep, and horses—being moved about by mounted Kalmuks. There were many big savage dogs protecting the encampment.

The purchase of a sheep opened relations, and three Mongols rode back and took me over; and I found them smiling fellows in red cloth caps, with red saddle-cloths, looking half shepherd, half monk. They offered snuff from a jar with a long-handled spoon, and cheese made of mare's milk.

Our own camp was always a mere bivouac. Yembai, the cook, had one curious talent, which consisted in tiring out fish by chasing them on foot along the shallow streams, and when they sulked in the weeds he threw himself down, plunged in his hand and brought up the fish.

THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY.—Having seen something of the two Altais, let us now glance at the Siberian Railway, which I revisited so lately as June, 1914, with my wife and daughter, after having spent the summer in Japan.

We went by sea from Moji in Southern Japan to Dalny, and by the Manchurian Railway, controlled by Japanese, to join the Trans-Siberian at Kharbin.

At Chang Chun, the frontier station, you leave a Japanese railway world and enter a Russian one, by walking across fifty yards or so from one platform to another; Russian escorts and sentries were substituted for Japanese ones.

The train was full of Russian business men and farmers and German business agents. Failing Russian, German was the most useful language, not French, and if in the coming days Germans are not again to have it all their own way in Russian business a great, special, united, and organized effort will have to be made to compete with them. It is a most important matter, because in the strong Siberia of the future with probably a strong Russian Government of its own,

there will arise a great market for the import of machinery and manufactured articles which the settler needs.

The cultivable areas alone, without the mining districts, should eventually be able to support at least 70,000,000 people, at a very low estimate.

From the published news of the day one may judge that the future States of the Russian system are likely to have a greater independence than they have hitherto enjoyed, and East Siberia is likely to have its front door at the Pacific where so much is happening; and Arctic Russia and the estuaries of the rivers in the Arctic are likely to grow in importance.

The future importance of Siberia is likely to be enhanced by the fact that the whole of Asia is rapidly waking up to new energy; nearly every Southern Asiatic State is doing modern work for civilization to-day, old routes of ancient civilized Asia will be reopened by steam, and through Mesopotamia and Persia and Turkestan there will be exchanges by indirect steps between Siberia and Southern Asia of those northern and tropical products which are suitable for rail transport.

Coming to East Siberia from a sort of sandalwood-cabinet life in safe, orderly, long-settled Japan, the sudden change into the makeshift colonial life of East Siberia is striking.

There are rough cart-tracks instead of roads, muddy carriages and country carts, troika teams with the harness repaired with bits of rope, and roughly dressed, uncouth prairie men and miners of many races; you begin to hear stories of robbery and violence; a bank official carrying money in the streets of a large town had been attacked and murdered when in his motor-car by a gang armed with automatic pistols.

After the polite Japanese, it struck the imagination of a stranger, who was used also to the comparatively more gentle people of India and Central Africa, that this East Siberia at least was an insecure extension of a very cosmopolitan Europe which he had dropped into.

As one went north-west along the railway, one had the Mongolian frontier to the south-west of one. In the train the coming of dawn, followed by hot sunshine between two and three in the morning, disclosed a fine, treeless, prairie country, a wonderful stretch of green to the horizon, herds of ponies and cattle dotted about; and there were small lakes here and there. At a small railway stopping-off place we saw a few big Manchurians in sheepskins, looking like ancient Goths or like the big Tibetans who come to Darjeeling from the Tibet road.

For about thirty-six hours one travelled thus; and on the third morning the prairie had broken up into rolling hills with patches of forest; and at sunset we were skirting Lake Baikal; and steaming through the night round its shores we arrived soon after dawn at

Irkutsk, the capital of East Siberia. As everyone knows, there are several churches, an opera house, and fine modern shops.

Leaving this place and steaming all day, one enters in the evening a southern portion of the continuous kind of primeval forest country called "Taiga," which takes up some millions of square miles of unoccupied Northern Asia, and one passes through it all next day, reaching Krasnoyarsk only to pass into forest again—a forest chiefly of such wood as pine, larch, and birch.

The scene when stopping at a railway station in Mid-Siberia is always one of interest. The station yard is crowded with the usual country carts and carriages, and on the platform, jostling with rough prairie men, white children, Kalmuks, Manchurians, Mongolians, Kirghiz, Turkis, are also well-dressed passengers from Moscow, military and police officers, and German commercial travellers. Small Kirghiz ladies were seen in native dress, carrying gay European parasols.

They all promenade comfortably together, bargaining at the peasants' tables, which are spread under sheds on the edge of the station platform, for cooked turkeys, poultry, pork, eggs, and bread, and the samovar is always ready with hot water on tap; while the passenger carries with him on the ordinary trains his knife and fork and so buys excellent cooked meals and carries them to his compartment.

Milk was abundant at a penny or three-halfpence the quart, with the bottle; cream, butter, jam, and sometimes fish, and every kind of farm produce. I have never got better or cheaper food on any railway journey in any country.

The blonde Russian children run about barefoot, freely going into and round the train offering flowers, melons, and fruit. It is evident the people are making a successful fight in the new country, and it is paying them, for they are better off than those who stayed in Russia; and they will stimulate the old country with new ideas.

As regards the products and articles of exchange which one sees at the stations awaiting import and export, speaking superficially, there are to be observed such things as would come from a wheat, pasture, or mining country, and include grain, butter, wool, and hides; and of imports one sees sheds full of reapers and binders and other agricultural implements and machinery.

From near Omsk, up to the Ural Mountains, about thirty hours' travel, we pass through a great deal of wheat, growing on rich black soil.

Coming from crowded India, the calm of West Siberia appealed to us. It was homely as in a Southern English county; it was quieter and older than East Siberia. The feeling was strong as one slid along under a cloudy sky, past cattle deep in rich grass, or leaving their footprints in soft black earth; cart-tracks deep in mud cross weedy brooks.

This seems just the country for great tractors on the land. The long wheat furrows in West Siberia stretched like an unbroken sea from the railway to the horizon, with occasional dark pine bluffs breaking up the monotony of the yellow expanse. Round the towns were mixed pasture and timber. Though the snow must lie for five or six months, yet the land supports plenty of life and energy, and the people are often settled on their own land, and seem to live a better life, materially, than some of our English country labourers.

As you traverse the Urals on a summer night the climate is like a hot night in England. The rising sun finds you still going westward between finely wooded low hills. There are small lakes with fishermen's villages on their margins.

At Ufa, 200 miles west of the Urals, a halt is made; thence, going on towards Moscow, one passes wide golden prairie, wheat or stubble, or pasture with droves of horses; there are the usual small towns standing, with their stock-yards, like islands in the dips of the plains, with the wooden churches coloured green and red and with golden cupolas.

There swept across these green plains of Russia proper light wreaths of colour—yellow, deep rose, or violet, the distant effect of some wild flower.

In outward appearance Siberian scenery is repeated west of the Urals, but there appears to be a social difference; the people appear to be poorer, worse dressed, worse educated, than in West Siberia.

At noon on the fourteenth day from Dalny, having come by local ordinary trains, we entered the fine masonry terminus at Moscow.

There remain a few more photographs of the series before leaving the reminiscent part of my subject. These slides were kindly made by the Royal Geographical Society from my own negatives, and prints have already appeared in my sporting book "Through the Highlands of Siberia," published by Rowland Ward, of "The Jungle," in Piccadilly; on the earlier journey my travelling companions were Captain H. W. Seton-Karr and Messrs. Patrick and Stephen Cattley.

Siberia's Place in Asia.—After living in England, where nearly every foot of land belongs to someone, and life is a matter of fitting oneself into artificial and conventional surroundings, these spaces of Siberia set one dreaming of the progress of a new race, away from Europe, with its back to the Urals and looking eastward, unhampered by the débris of dying prejudices. For such a future, Siberia has already many initial advantages. The belt along the railway—or not too far from the railway—known to be highly suitable for cultivation and settlement is at the lowest estimate nearly three times the size of France; and its natural communications, as distinguished from its artificial ones, are already there, in its five navigable rivers, the Irtish, Obi, Yenisei, Lena, and Amur, which have together a navigable length of nearly 11,000 miles, not taking into account, I think, the tributaries,

and the possibilities, which are said to exist, of future extension by canalization; and these rivers run for much of their length through country which will some day support prosperous colonies.

Goods and raw materials have access for interchange from north, east, and west; and when railway systems shall have been further developed in the future towards Persia, to the south-west, there will be an outlet from Siberia and Turkestan to India, that great world's reservoir of crowded humanity, of much quick intelligence and cheap labour. Labour appears to be cheap because a poor man can keep a family and give it the little clothing and shelter demanded by a tropical climate at a much smaller cost than can the inhabitants subject to a more northern and more rigorous climate, where high wages have to be asked.

I mean that India is developing before our eyes, and from an almost purely agricultural country it is rapidly becoming partly agricultural and partly industrial, and science is removing the physical barriers between the various races of Asia.

Indians are already working cotton-mills, manufacturing rolled steel joists, and are showing considerable aptitude with motor-cars and other machinery.

I happen to have had some experience of British skilled labour in Flanders and Indian skilled labour on works in the East; and I believe that when mechanical knowledge and technical education have become universal, the Southern Asiatic with his agile brains will in certain modern industries meet the European on equal terms; not that he can do so individually, but there are so many of him and he wants so little. For these reasons it appears likely that manufacturing industries may have a tendency to gravitate slowly towards the southern countries, provided they have a dense population; where brains and labour are cheap and plentiful.

But in order fully to utilize the more northern parts of Asia, where the climate is rigorous, it seems likely that it will be necessary to throw overboard all conceptions of life as lived by Western Europeans in the past. In order to develop the northern lands, so far as they are capable of development, the first necessary idea seems to be the root idea of migratory labour, either for mines or cultivation. There is believed to be rich land far north where wheat, one of the most adaptable of cereals, will flourish, and where the summer day gives some eighteen hours of sunshine.

It would be impossible to live, bring up children, build comfortable houses, supply the people with food, and carry on all the complications of educated civilization with a winter average temperature of many degrees Fahrenheit of frost, the game as we play it in temperate climates would not be worth the candle. But with quick railways and tramways and all kinds of easy transit and haulage,

agricultural machinery, and the plentiful stock of fuel, modern power-stations, well-designed tramway towns and road towns, not to speak of the aeroplane post, there seems to be no reason why suitable localities far north should be left unused because of the cold season. With transit improvements it is increasingly evident that we are doing more and more as the birds and nomadic tribes have always done; instead of sitting in one place expecting our means of livelihood to come to us, we are gaining it more and more in migratory ways.

This is shown by the migration of Italian workmen to and fro across the Atlantic; of labour between India and East Africa and Burma; and lately in the case of coal and iron, which are said to have been found in islands in the Arctic Circle.

Given the possibility at some future time of doing most work by machinery, even farm work, it does not require much imagination to foresee these lands being developed by powerful capitalist companies capable of transporting highly specialized labour to and fro, having summer farms or industries in the north and winter factories in the south at one and the same time. As I see it, the north would then be developed by well-paid, picked, hardy, capable labour, races producing cheaper labour would stay in the easier warmer south and have the food sent south to them in exchange for manufactures. Already the charitable in America have sent assistance in the shape of ship-loads of wheat to stave off famine in the Deccan of South India.

The regeneration of Russia, always supposing things settle down as we hope, is bound to be an event of the greatest importance; and if there arises out of it a semi-independent, though still Russian, Siberia, it may mean, it seems to me, the commercial quickening of the whole of Asia, whose States will most of them be able to manufacture to some extent, constantly dealing with one another and expanding their railway systems.

It is to be noted that the general trend of the river systems in Siberia is north and south, which should be an advantage, for the natural exchange of raw material on land, other things being equal, should be between north and south. As railways extend in South-West Asia, the products of temperate and tropical climates would, by local steps, be indirectly exchanged with those of the north, competing, in those products capable of being carried by rail, with the round-about sea voyage from the Baltic to the Indian Ocean.

Wood is not a very good commodity to quote, as it is generally water-borne; but I have seen the wooden sides of tea-boxes shipped at Reval for Ceylon, eventually to go out to the world full of tea; and I have seen Bokhara carpets in Nijni-Novgorod bazaar brought over-land north-west by people who could speak Arabic, and similar carpets in the Bokhara court of the Allahabad Exhibition which had come from the north-west. I have helped to construct buildings in India, using

light American pine planking in the ceilings, which seems to have come a long way round; and then there are the vagaries of cotton, which grows in India close to plentiful, cheap labour and having a sure market for cotton fabrics in the huge population of India, yet my wife has bought painted Indian cottons in Agra bazaar marked with a Manchester trademark, probably made of cotton grown in America, and these fabrics come back to London as Indian curtains. Again, Europeans in India eat refined white sugar grown in French beet-fields or West Indian sugar plantations when there is sugar-cane growing round nearly every village in parts of Bengal.

It would be easy for business men to cite many instances, and I must speak with diffidence of trade, though I have had much to do with the simple building, water-supplying, or road-making labour of many races. What I want to suggest is that when knowledge and machines have spread equally, raw materials will not travel so far, and trade will be more between north and south, and that this will help the development of Siberia and Southern Asia and those countries of Western and Southern Europe which formerly obtained their tropical raw material by maritime enterprise; and in the Middle Ages before this enterprise was fully developed tropical products reached North-West Europe by difficult and devious ways, including Nijni-Novgorod or Venice, but getting there all the same.

To-day Germany and Austria, and Turkey, since the latter has practically lost Egypt, have no natural road to the south, which gives a great advantage to the States which have the command of tropical products through their hold on the sea.

Siberia will also connect up its railway systems with China, for the mountain barriers are not very difficult obstacles to railway construction.

Taking it all round, Asia and the Pacific, and especially Siberia, are likely to be very much more important in the future than they have been in the past.

[Editor's Note.—Part of this paper has already been published by the Royal Geographical Society.]

Colonel Pemberton said his personal knowledge of Siberia was gained in the now distant pre-railway days, when in the winter of 1890-91 he spent three months there.

It was only in 1892 that the construction of the line was commenced at Zlatoust, the then terminus at the Urals of the Moscow-Samara Railway.

The Siberian Railway was one which only an autocracy would, probably, under the circumstances then obtaining, have undertaken.

He might recall the fact that it was a Russian-American engineer—Prince Khilkoff, who, associated with General Annenkoff, took a

principal part in the laying out and construction of the line—the two had been associated in the building of the Trans-Caspian Railway 1880-88—which, built perhaps primarily for strategic reasons, had the effect of developing the trade and commerce of the then lately acquired province of Russian Turkestan. Deprived from the beginning of time, for governmental reasons, of participation in political life, the Russian people, under the old régime, gave free rein to their imagination, and dwelt with pride on the immensity of their empire, its varied resources, its great potential wealth, and the great future ensured for their nation in the world. In this connection the speaker remembered being present in 1889 at a meeting of the Russian Geographical Society in Moscow, at which a paper was read on the subject of the then projected railway, and the different routes were canvassed, and he could well recall the enthusiasm evoked in the crowded audience by the unfolding of the plans contemplated for its construction and for its possible alignment across Chinese territory in Manchuria, the concession for which was some years later negotiated with the Government at Peking.

Going back to early days it was worthy of note that the Russian penetration into Siberia had its beginning more than three hundred years ago in the reign of Ivan IV.—called "The Terrible"—(1530-84), the first Tsar of Muscovy.

The conquest of the Tatar Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan gave the Russians access to the Volga and opened the way into the lands beyond that river, and the first expedition to enter Siberia was one in 1580 under the leadership of the Cossack hetman Yermak, who, however, lost his life four years later, being drowned in the River Irtish, when the Cossacks—his followers—are said to have abandoned the country, their place being taken by hunters and adventurers attracted, among other things, by the lucrative traffic in valuable furs—Siberia being the home of the sable, still the most costly of furs.

Gradually the new-comers penetrated eastwards, soldiers and officials taking possession of the lands behind them, taxation, when instituted, taking the form of a fur tribute, which it was the duty of the Governors to collect and transmit to the Tsar.

A hundred years later Peter the Great (1672-1725) turned his attention to Siberia, corrected abuses in the administration, and issued various ordinances for the better government of the country. It is said that serfdom, religious persecutions, and conscription were among the chief causes which led to the populating of Siberia—not to mention the common-law convicts, the political prisoners and exiles, whose numbers alone during last century ran into many thousands a year.

Although Russian parties penetrated to the Amur and Pacific in the seventeenth century, the process of settling up the country had been a slow one, the colonization of Eastern Siberia having been retarded

by opposition on the part of the Chinese, who then laid claim to the valley of the Amur; but the acquisition of the maritime province (Pacific seaboard) by treaty with the Peking Government in 1861, the consequent opening of the Amur to river traffic, and, above all, the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway had greatly assisted the development of the country and transformed the situation. It may be remarked that in pre-railway days one of the chief trades was that in tea, which, packed in hides, used to be brought on pack animals across Mongolia to Irkutsk, and thence transported by sledge to Irbit in the Government of Perm—still one of the greatest of world fairs, but no longer so important a tea mart, as, owing to the opening of the Suez Canal, and the increased sea transport facilities, the bulk of the tea used in Russia was nowadays imported from the East by ship to Odessa.

When he was in Siberia in the winter of 1890-91 the railway had not been commenced, except a section at the Vladivostok end, so that he had the advantage of seeing it under the old conditions. In those days the sole mode of travel in winter-time was by sledge, fresh horses being obtained for each stage at post-houses about fifteen to twenty miles apart. Life was by no means unpleasant, the days being often bright and sunny, and conditions for everybody, whether inhabitant or traveller, easier than in Russia proper, distance from the centre of government making for greater liberty in every way; indeed, the contrast between the freedom of speech and comparative light-heartedness of the Siberian in social life and the melancholy and depressed spirits of his fellow-countryman west of the Urals was marked.

The town in which the speaker stayed longest was Yeniseisk, on the Yenisei River and outer borders of a mining district where there were considerable washings of gold, but no quartz-crushing, for the reason that machinery for the purpose was too heavy for profitable conveyance by road. In winter-time the placer industry ceased, which brought the miners into Yeniseisk for some months and livened up social life in the town.

When later he visited the mining areas he was interested to find many of the managers and engineers to be Poles, many of them elderly men banished under Nicholas I. after the Polish insurrection of 1863, who, though long since free to return to Poland, preferred to remain in the land of their exile, where they had made their homes and where, be it observed, their labours had in no small degree contributed to its development.

He might add that having visited Siberia on two occasions since 1891, spending several weeks in the country, he was fully able to share the lecturer's view as to the large population which it would be likely to support in the future.

In Western Siberia—notably in the Minusinsk district—there were

great grain-producing areas; and round Tomsk vast expanses of fine pasture, where Russian horses were raised in great numbers, and whence there was now an ever-increasing trade in dairy produce exported to Europe. But for the full development of the country yet more railways would be required, and it would, doubtless, not be long before the Trans-Caspian and Trans-Siberian lines were linked up through Semipalatinsk.

It might also be possible in the years to come to establish sea routes to the mouths of Siberian rivers, which flow into the Arctic Ocean.

The late Captain Wiggins succeeded in the eighties of last century in navigating ships with merchandise through the Kara Sea to the mouth of the Yenisei, whence the goods were conveyed up the river to the town of Yeniseisk, distribution being made from the depot established there to different parts of Siberia according to the demand for the different wares.

The venture was well supported by the British Foreign Office, and by the efforts of our Ambassador, Sir Robert Morier, a concession of free imports for a term of years was obtained from the Russian Government; but it was not subsequently renewed, and the venture did not, unfortunately, prove to be a profitable one.

Mr. E. R. P. Moon said that his experience of travel in Siberia lay between the pre-railway days of which Colonel Pemberton had spoken and the period described by the lecturer. At Tomsk he had a rather interesting experience. He had read conflicting accounts of the Siberian prison system given by de Windt and Kenman. When the Governor returned his call and asked through his secretary what he could do for him, he said with some diffidence that he would like to see a prison. The secretary readily agreed, and in the afternoon at three o'clock Mr. Moon went through one of the prisons. The governor of the prison was friendly and communicative, and he came to the conclusion that the accommodation was as good as could be reasonably expected, having regard to the general standard of living in the country; and indeed that to make it any better would be putting a premium upon crime. It reminded him of the story that men had been known to kill their mothers in order to get duly transported to Siberia. From this and other first-hand observation he came to the conclusion that hardship was not inherent in the system and that, as was the case with our prisoners of war in Germany, a very great deal depended upon the temperament of the commandant. Mr. Moon went on to describe some of his travelling experiences, and mentioned that special facilities in the shape of horse passes were provided to enable him to travel without the vexatious delays that were common.

Colonel A. C. Yate said: We are indebted for the excellent lecture which we have heard to the late Chairman of this Society, whose absence we all deeply regret, Sir Henry Trotter, who—and I feel sure

that the lecturer, a renowned sportsman, will hear it with interest—believes himself to be the first European who shot an *Ovis poli*. Colonel Pemberton, who has just spoken, referred to Prince Khilkoff, under whose auspices the Trans-Siberian Railway was constructed. It so happened that in September or October, 1890, I met at Amu Darya both General Annenkoff—who had just completed the Trans-Caspian Railway—and Prince Khilkoff, who was about to undertake the Trans-Siberian Railway. General Sir James Hills-Johnes, a member of this Society, and I had just been to the Tashkent Exhibition and were returning to Europe. General Annenkoff not only showed us round the barracks, etc., but hospitably entertained us at lunch. All who know anything of the Indian Army know how gallantly Sir James won, as a R.A. subaltern, his Victoria Cross, in front of Delhi; but not so many know that the lameness which he carries and will carry to the end is due to a wounded wild boar which he followed up on foot into a patch of sugar-cane. Whether he found the wild boar or the mutinous sepoy the unpleasantest fellow to tackle we must leave Sir James to decide. It is my business to tell you how I saw him face a third ordeal which I am inclined to think he found more trying than the other two. General Annenkoff, at the close of lunch, made a kind little speech in French, welcoming us to the banks of the Oxus. It was incumbent upon Sir James, whose career had familiarized him more with war and sport than with the "parlez-vous," to reply in the same language, and I can but say that the courage with which he faced it was eclipsed neither on the Long Ridge nor amid the sugar-cane. He issued triumphant from the trial, and, were "bars" awarded for such triumphs, a "bar" would justly have been his.

Apropos of the exploration and colonization of Siberia, Colonel Pemberton will doubtless remember a book which I picked up at Cambridge last August.* That book taught us that the enterprise foresight, and energy which individual Britons had shown in building up the great British Empire, individual Russians had equally shown in annexing Siberia and opening up trade with China. Furs and rhubarb had alike been mentioned in the lecture and discussion as great articles of commerce. The Rev. W. Coxe concluded his volume with a chapter on "Tartarian Rhubarb," which he contends is superior to Indian. My knowledge of wild rhubarb is confined to that which we found on Afghan hills and which we relished in a measure as a relief to commissariat rations in the second Afghan War.

As regards the future of railways, connecting Siberia with Central Asia and, through Central Asia, with Afghanistan, Persia, and India,

* "Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, and the Conquest of Siberia," by the Rev. William Coxe, Rector of Bemerton. Fourth edition. London, 1803.

it is a large and lengthy subject which can only be glanced at. Omsk will be united via the Irtysh valley and Vernoe with the Trans-Caspian Railway system, and so with the Caucasus and Orenburg. Afghanistan cannot go on indefinitely resisting the introduction of railways—such a policy is suicidal. The Russian danger on the Oxus is no longer an incubus, and as aeroplane services are about to permeate the entire globe, a veto on railways is absurd. The Nuskhi-Mirjawa Railway will soon dive deeper into Persia and not improbably link up with the Trans-Caspian, as also, of course, will the line which must, sooner or later, connect Merv via Herat and Kandahar with the railways of India.

We have this evening listened to a lecture and been shown illustrations which set before our eyes the scenery of Siberia and its life and industries, subjects of which most of us know little or nothing. We owe a debt of gratitude to the lecturer for coming here to enlighten us.

A Member of the audience said that his observation of the prison system in Siberia did not confirm that of Mr. Moon. He saw prisoners in cages surrounded by sentries with fixed bayonets and herded like cattle. He visited a central prison where the crowding and insanitary condition was indescribable. The officer who took him round begged him not to go nearer to the groups of prisoners than a few yards because they were dangerous people. The reports which were made by earlier writers on the prison life in Siberia seemed amply confirmed to him. On the other hand, at another place where he was taken round the prison by General Kropatkin he found that the sanitary and other arrangements were on a modern basis.

What struck him more than anything else in travelling through Siberia was the independence of the people, the high state of culture among the better classes, and the eagerness for education. Peasants who had settled in the country were sending their children to European Russia for education at the high schools and universities. These young men and women went back to Siberia highly educated, and it struck him at the time that if Russia was ever to be regenerated it would in all probability be regenerated from Siberia, where the people were advancing by leaps and bounds. He felt certain that Siberia would become a distinct nation.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of thanks was accorded to Colonel Swayne for his lecture.

CHINA

A MEETING of the Society was held on December 11, 1918, at which the Chair was taken by General Sir Edmund Barrow, who was General Sir Alfred Gaselee's Chief of the Staff on the Expedition to Peking in 1900 to relieve the Legations beleaguered there by the Boxer Rebels.

Mr. J. O. P. BLAND gave an illustrated lecture on "China," the excellence of which makes us regret that it was delivered extempore, and cannot, therefore, be reproduced verbatim. "The lecturer held his audience well for sixty-five minutes, with an address fluently and admirably delivered, and showing a thorough grasp of the subject. It were to be wished he could speak to a wider audience."* Private letters from one or two of the members of the Society present definite features of the lecture which admit of reproduction here. The period treated was from the Suppression of the Manchus to the beginning of the World War. The lecturer anticipated that he would be running counter to the opinions of many present when he applied to the China of to-day the recognized principle that representative institutions were not fitted to backward peoples, especially when such backward peoples were non-European. He illustrated the impossibility of Chinese methods of procedure by sundry stories, of which the most tangible, as reported. is the following:—

The opposing artillery commanders at the siege of Nankin came to an arrangement by which firing only took place at certain times, when the opposing artillerymen could be securely protected. When an energetic officer on one side contravened this arrangement, he was cut in pieces by his troops.

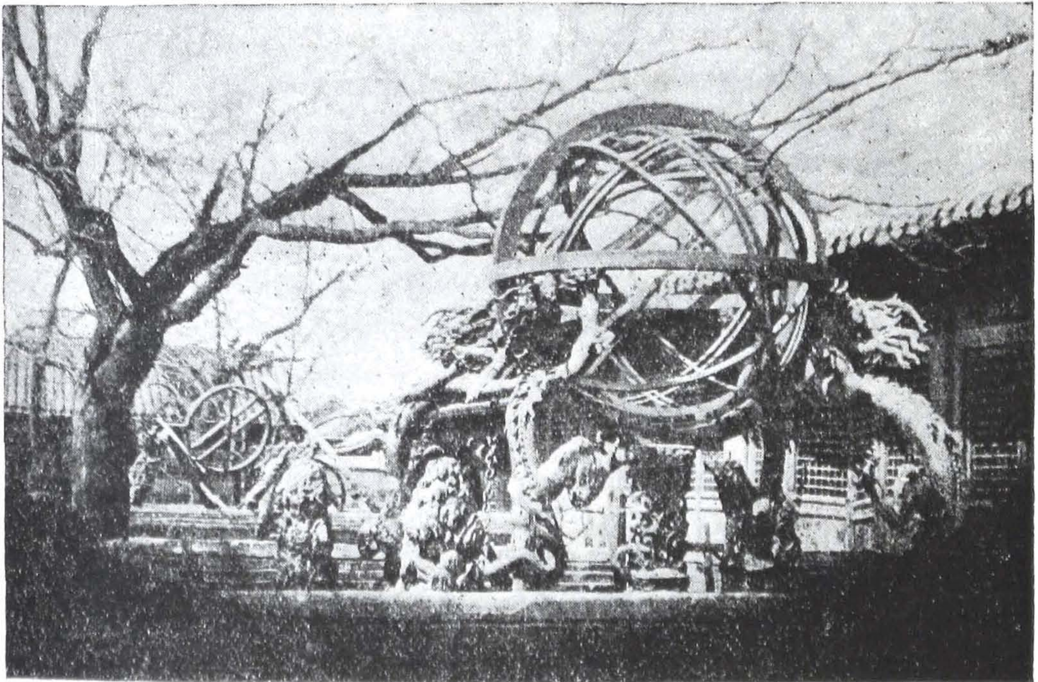
This meagre note of the lecture is recorded merely as a peg upon which to hang a discussion which proved to be of decided importance.

The CHAIRMAN said the interesting lecture they had heard contained not only a great deal of information, but a very considerable substratum of truth as to the evolution and prospects of China in the future. He thought that the audience would agree with him that the lecture had been too short. Mr. Bland's time might have been exhausted by the clock, as he told them, but they could very well have listened to him for another half-hour. He hoped Mr. Bland

* Private letter from Sir Edmund Barrow, December 11, 1918.

would put his views in a shape that could reach the public generally, which required education not only about China, but about democracy generally. He had thrown quite a new light on the position of China since 1911. He (the Chairman) had no idea before he came to the lecture that China was in such a state of desolation at the present time, and that there had been such a terrible loss of life. In fact, as often happened in life, his ideas of China were limited in large degree by recollections of the China he knew, and that he had not been in the country since 1902.

Mr. H. B. MORSE* said he had known China longer than Mr. Bland had. If there were points on which he disagreed with him, he must acknowledge that he had given him seriously to think upon them.



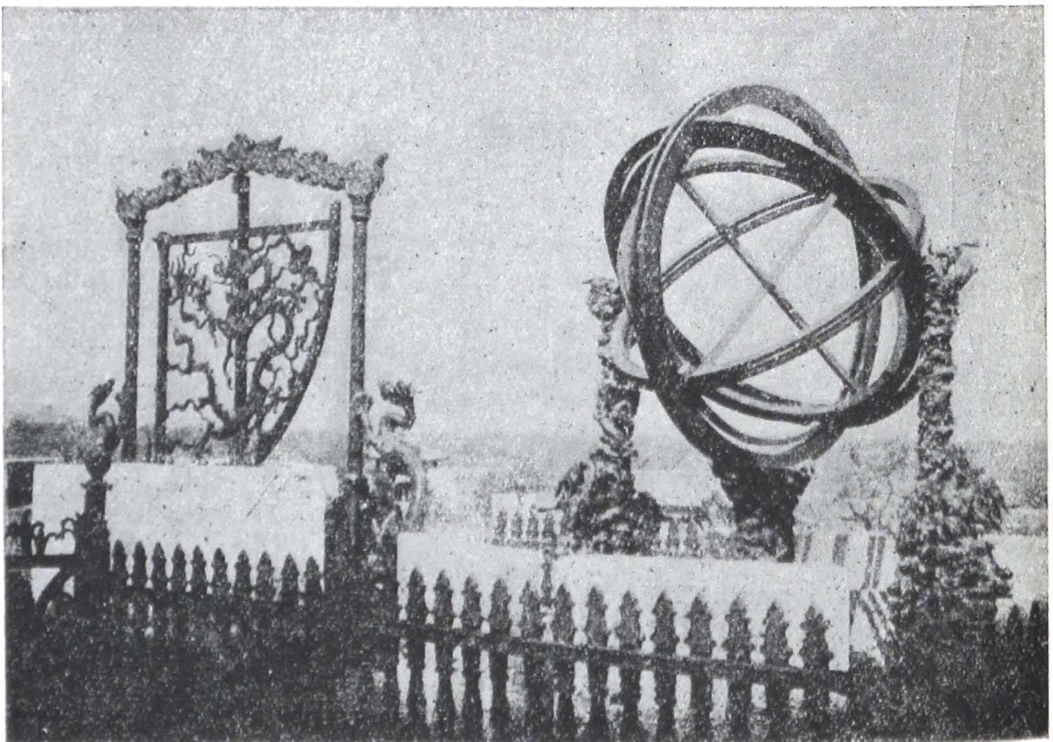
ANCIENT MONGOLIAN ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS.

With most of the opinions Mr. Bland had expressed he was in full agreement. He wished to assure the audience that the situation was to the full as serious as Mr. Bland had indicated.

Colonel PEMBERTON said the lecture had been one of consummate ability, and informed by long sojourn in China and considerable acquaintance with the people and general features of the country. Mr. Bland had been a messenger of despair rather than of hope. He would be sorry to think that there were not elements of hope in China to a larger degree, perhaps, than the lecturer had suggested. Of course, China had suffered from political weakness for hundreds of years past. The Manchu dynasty was effete, but there could be no

* Author of "The International Relations of the Chinese Empire."

element of permanence in a policy of leaving the people alone so long as they paid tribute to the ruling dynasty. In so great an empire, as Mr. Bland had pointed out, a strong executive was necessary. Without such even democratic government was impossible—it became the mere plaything of the more violent party which always arose in such circumstances. But surely it was inevitable that the Manchu dynasty should have had to give way to something else. With the Manchus in power in 1900, it was the merest chance that the greatest tragedy in the world's history did not take place; that the Legations were saved at the last moment; that such elements of civilization as there were in China were not swept bodily away, to be replaced by blood-



ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE JESUITS.

shed and retribution which would have set the hands of the clock back for years. It seemed to him that there was no justification for the continuation of the Manchu dynasty, and that being the case, surely something had to take its place.

They could depend upon it that it was better, rather than to retain the dynasty, to go through the troubles of the Revolution, with all the suffering thereby entailed. Nations must suffer like individuals in order to arrive at better conditions and more peaceful conditions for the world at large. Would any of them in that room wish that Russia should return to the condition of things as they existed a year or two back? They all deplored Bolshevism, which was the negation of

government; but this was one of the perils encountered in striving for better things. Reaction would surely come, and a more stable form of government would arise on the ruins and wreckage of the present revolutionary movement.

He agreed with Mr. Bland that social regeneration must go hand in hand and must almost precede the increase of political power for the people of China. It would have been a happy thing if China, under a strong executive government, had been building up a regenerated social system. But this had not been done, and China, like all great nations, would have to work out her own destiny. The Chinese character being what it was, this would be a matter of time, and we must have patience. The results would work themselves out slowly, and they must be hopeful, whatever the form of government to be evolved. They all knew the drawbacks of democracy. It might be theoretically a fine form of government, and at any rate it was a form which had come to stay. We must in any case make the best of it and educate the masses, and then it might indeed become the best class of government. Certainly in China some other form of government than that of the revival of the Manchu dynasty was necessary.

As regards the feeding of the people, China was a country full of resources. Its wheat areas were very extensive—almost, if not quite, equal to those of Canada or the United States. They had been shown pictures of famine conditions such as are stated to exist from time to time in China; but, this being the case, he asked, Was it right, when such conditions obtained, that corn should be exported from the country? Surely if the population was suffering from lack of food any government, to put it mildly, would be within its right in prohibiting such shipments. Such, at least, would certainly be the step that would be taken by any government with public opinion behind it. But no government, such as was that of the Manchu dynasty, would dream of interfering, and rather would it just allow the deplorable economic conditions to take their course.

Finally, he wished to say what a pleasure it was to the members of the Society to see General Barrow in the chair that afternoon, and he would conclude by saying that their Honorary Secretary, Colonel Yate, had asked him to express his great regret at his inability to be present. He had also asked him to say that he was strongly of opinion that as a result of the Peace Conference the astronomical instruments of great value and antiquity which were taken by Germany from China in 1900 should be returned. He (the speaker) might add that, when passing through Germany in 1908 on his way to the Far East, he saw these instruments as set up at Potsdam in the vicinity of the Kaiser's Palace. Going on across Siberia to China later in the year, he saw the void spot on the walls of Peking where

the instruments had been for so many centuries. He entirely agreed with Colonel Yate that restitution should be made.

The CHAIRMAN said he was glad the last speaker had referred to the astronomical instruments taken by the Germans from Peking, for he happened to know as much about the subject as most people. He was Chief of the Staff in China during the Boxer Expedition, and most of the discussion on the subject went through his hands. He was directly engaged in negotiations with the various authorities of different nations there assembled. The Germans and the representatives of other Powers, some of whom were now our Allies, drew up between them a scheme for the distribution amongst them of these marvellous astronomical instruments which adorned the walls of Peking. They were beautiful specimens of art, and were understood to be also very good for their immediate scientific purpose. The proposed distribution did not commend itself to the British and American authorities, and the commanders of the forces of those two Powers put in a very strong protest against the proposal. There were heated discussions on the subject and much writing, most of which he did. The result was that the Allies generally decided not to share the loot. But two or three of the Powers were not at all satisfied with that solution. The next stage was that the Germans shipped their portion, and probably some of our portion as well, to Berlin. The French lodged a few instruments in their Legation, whence he believed they were eventually shipped to Marseilles; but under the orders of the French Government they were at once returned to China. He had lost sight of what happened after that. He entirely agreed regarding the desirability of restoring those beautiful works of art to their proper place on the walls of Peking.

They had been told that the Manchus were bound to go, and that something else had to take their place. Well, the ordinary course in China had been a change of dynasty. If a dynasty was effete or tyrannical, someone else had come along to replace it. That method had served China very well for many thousands of years. What had now happened, however, was to substitute for a dynasty a species of government which was entirely unsuited to the Chinese character. The point Mr. Bland had sought to impress upon them was that democracy was not suitable to China, even if it were suitable to nations nearer home. He thought that everyone who knew China well would agree with that view.

Note by Hon. Sec.—It appears that Germany finally repented of having taken the instruments, which, however, are still at Potsdam. The German offer to return them is said to have been made after a fashion which Chinese pride and dignity could not brook. One thing is certain, and that is that the discussion on December 11, 1918, at

22, Albemarle Street, led to action which at least will enable the Chinese Government to now reclaim their instruments if they want them.

A. C. YATE,
Hon. Sec., C.A. Soc.

P.S.—The two photographs of the astronomical instruments at Peking, which are here reproduced, were taken by Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate in March, 1898.

NOTE.—*The Times* of March 19, 1919, p. 9, col. 2: "The German Government has decided to return to China the astronomical instruments which were transported from Peking to Germany in 1900. Negotiations have been opened for the shipping of the instruments to China."—*Wireless Press*, through the wireless stations of the German Government.

THE NUSHKI RAILWAY AND SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ON WHICH IT BEARS

By Colonel WEBB WARE, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Wednesday, February 12, 1919, at 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., when Colonel Webb Ware, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., delivered a lecture on "The Nushki Railway and Some of the Problems on which it Bears." Lord Carnock presided.

The proceedings were opened by Lord Lamington, who said: Ladies and gentlemen, there is just a little preliminary business before the actual reading of the paper takes place. I have great pleasure, as a very old member of the Society, and I think one of its Vice-Presidents—certainly on the Council—in introducing to you our new chairman, Lord Carnock. We think ourselves extremely fortunate in his answering in the affirmative our request for his services as chairman of this Society. Lord Carnock, better known, perhaps, as Sir Arthur Nicholson, has done such wonderful service in diplomacy on behalf of the Empire, and is so well versed, too, from the fact of his having been for years Ambassador at Petrograd, in all matters appertaining to the Near and Middle East, that I think with him as chairman the Society, useful as has been, I trust, in the work it has done in the past, will be in a position to earn even greater respect, and have its lectures better known and better attended by the outside public than even has been the case in the past. With these words of introduction, I should like now to bring him to your notice, and ask him to accept the position of chairman, and occupy it for the first occasion after his election at this evening's meeting, when, I think, a particularly interesting paper is to be brought to your notice. I regret that I have another meeting to go to, so that it will not be my good luck to listen to that narration of events which is now to be put before you.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, I feel highly flattered by the very kind—I think too kind—words which Lord Lamington has spoken in introducing me on the first occasion of my addressing you in this room. I must say that I felt very considerable hesitation, and

certainly very great diffidence, in accepting the post with which the Council was kind enough to honour me, as I felt that I should very inadequately fill that post, in which I have had predecessors with far more intimate and far more direct knowledge than I have of the subjects and questions which are usually brought before you, discussed and debated in this room. Still, I felt that, after the very kind way in which they had offered me the post, it would be most churlish on my part to decline; and I am sure that I can rely on your good nature and that of my colleagues in overlooking any shortcomings on my part. At the same time I can assure you, and here I feel on quite safe ground, that I shall to the very best of my ability endeavour to promote the prosperity and further the interests of the Central Asian Society during my tenure of office. Now, it is my duty to introduce to you Colonel Webb Ware, who is going to give us a very interesting lecture, I am sure, on an important question, which is the extension of railway communication from India to Persia. I do not know of anybody better qualified to speak on the subject, as I know that Colonel Webb Ware has passed many years in Baluchistan and in those districts. I therefore beg to introduce him.

Colonel WEBB WARE then read his paper.

The subject of my lecture is the Nushki-Sistan Railway and some of the problems to which it relates; but as the railway which has just been completed to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier conforms in general detail to the alignment traversed by the caravan route which was opened to trade in the year 1896–97, and as this railway is merely the further development of trade by this route, the story of the two are the same, and it follows that the causes which operated to influence the Government of India in deciding to open direct communication by railway with Persia are those which, to a large extent, led up, in the first case, to the establishment of the overland trade route. To obtain a comprehensive view of the trade and other problems on which we will shortly touch, it will assist if we pass before us, but in very cursory review, the history of those trade routes which connected the Old and New Worlds, but before proceeding to do so it will be as well to turn to the map and, after studying it, to keep in mind such of the more important geographical features as have made their influence on trade felt in the past, and are as likely to do so in the future.

India is a continent shut in, on two sides, by the sea, and on the north by the greatest mountain barrier on the globe. This barrier extends from Nepaul, on the east, to the Hindu Kush, where it is joined by the northern extension of the Suleiman Range, a range which, taking off to the west of our port of Karachi, runs in an almost unbroken line north, and guards all approach to the Indus from the west. East of Nepaul, as far as Burma, we find a series of mountain ranges running,

not east and west, but north and south. These, with the rivers which flow between them, prevent ready access by land to India from that side.

Let us cross the Suleiman Range, with its lateral mountain system, and take a bird's-eye view of the regions stretching from their western foot right away towards the Caspian Sea. Let us suppose we are seated in an aeroplane flying at a height which no areoplane engineer has yet contemplated. We are passing a hundred miles above Central Afghanistan, and, on looking down from this elevation, what do we see ? Behind us is the dark line of the Suleiman Range. At this height it has the appearance of a black line, ruled on the ground, with a series of shadings on its western side, more marked on the southern side, which indicate the low lateral chains between which are the valleys which give access to the plains of India. Here lie the approaches which, in past ages, have seen the passage of migrating masses of clotted humanity, impelled by forces of which we have but a dim perception; but that fear, deadly fear, often lay behind and peace and safety in front is open to no question: valleys which have resounded to the tramp of conquering host after host, and down which the centuries have seen the busy merchant hurrying to markets where he could dispose of his wares to the best advantage, and make equally profitable purchases in return. East of the Suleiman Range lies India, represented by a large emerald-green mass with a khaki edging on the nearer side. The Hindu Kush, from here, takes on itself the appearance of a broad black band, cut out in silver, with many pin-points which sparkle in the sunlight like diamonds. From the point of junction of the Suleiman another line takes off which heads almost due west. Well defined on the east—for it is the Paropomisus Range—it narrows down to the west, where it joins yet another dark line which runs almost due south, until it, in turn, merges in a black shadow which skirts the edge of the Persian Gulf. This mountain line—and attention is directed to this, for it is a matter which will figure largely in what I will shortly have to say—lies to all practical purposes parellel to, but at a distance of several hundreds of miles from, the Suleiman Range. At the elevation from which we are gazing the country below presents the appearance of a large parallelogram outlined on three sides by the dark bands indicating the mountain chains, and with the sea on the southern side. Within this parallelogram lies the greater part of Afghanistan from which we are debarred, and the whole of British Baluchistan. It is through Afghanistan, which forms the upper half of this parallelogram, that all those land trade routes which for century on century connected the Western and the Eastern worlds passed. Beyond the western mountain line we see a broad dead white band of plain stretching from south-east to north-west. At first we take this for water, but when examined through powerful glasses we find it is merely desert, covered with a leprous salt efflorescence which gives it the appearance of a sea.

This is the great desert, the bed of an Old World sea, which, extending in an almost unbroken band from the Caspian to the naked, arid, rocky mountain chain which stretches down to the Persian Gulf, divides Persia into two unequal parts, and shuts off Afghanistan and the Persian province of Khorassan from the west. Inert although this desert appears, lying there so calm and peaceful in the sunlight, yet never a century has passed without its having emphasized its existence in some unmistakable way. The subject is a fascinating one, but I must not loiter. Let it suffice to say that this desert has acted as one of the arms of a vast corral, and has headed east a succession of hordes which, on finding that the route to the west was closed to them, have turned east and entered India. It has protected Persia, and with it Western civilization, but not always successfully, from incursion after incursion of a ferocity of which the late war was only a faint parallel; and throughout the ages it has formed one, and by no means the least important, of India's outlying defences from Western aggression. Just visible below us, with the silver, crescent-shaped button at the end, is the River Helmand, with the Naizar, Hamun Sistan, and God-i-Zirreh, the triplicate lake system into which it discharges. Beyond the Paropomisus Range we can see what appears to be an endless plain stretching away north to the horizon. These are the Turkestan steppes with their southern fringe of desert. The two green bands which run from south-east to north-west mark the course of those great rivers, the Sir Darya and the Amu Darya, which discharge into the Sea of Aral, and the blaze of silver glory on the horizon farther west is the Caspian Sea itself.

We must continue, but before doing so I would invite your special attention to the immense desert, otherwise the great "Lut" or "Kavir"—the names by which it is perhaps more generally known—that we see beyond the western mountain chain. Running from north-west to south-east, it is continuous from the base of the Elburz Range, which overlooks the Caspian Sea on its south side to the hills of the Sarhad, which form here the boundary-line between British Baluchistan and Persia, and which separate—and here the range is merely a narrow rock wall—the old sea basin from the sandy desert of British Baluchistan. The traveller who is journeying from west to east and finds this desert lying athwart his path has the selection of one of three courses. He may avoid it by skirting round its northern or southern extremity, a course which he would follow if he is approaching it from the north-west or south-west sides, or he may decide to cross it. Should he be travelling east from the Black Sea or Teheran, he would adopt the first course, but if on his way from Bandar Abbas, on the Persian Gulf, to Sistan and Afghanistan, he would probably decide—always provided the route is safe, which is by no means the case—to follow up the narrow western glacis of the Sarhad Range, keeping midway between the range

and the edge of the "Lut" basin. Should our traveller, however, be so unfortunate as to hit the desert anywhere near its centre, there is no other course open but to brace himself to the inevitable and plunge boldly into that desolate region, from 100 to 200 miles broad, which lies before him. Should he decide on this, he must be careful not to stray off the path—by no stretch of imagination can it be termed a road—of which there are several crossing it, at varying distances. The first warning he receives that he is approaching desert will be meeting bands of sand which thin out as he advances. Interspersed with these are stretches of "dasht" or black gravel, plain. Finally he will emerge on the Kavir, or waterless desert, itself. In different places the Kavir presents somewhat different features, but in the main it is a rolling surface covered with a leprous Shora encrustation or with a sticky-looking salt efflorescence. Break through this—for it is a mere crust—and below will be found a thick, viscid mud which never dries, no matter what may be the season of the year, for water lies not far below. The track, or rather series of tracks, for there are usually six or eight running parallel, and within a few feet of one another, are merely shallow hollows impressed on the ground by the feet of passing pack-animals. The only wells are those which mark some of the more permanent desert stages, and to lose one's way on the Kavir is to be exposed to grave risk. There is nothing to guide one other than the track itself, which is not easily found if one is so foolish as to stray off it. The temptation to do so is, however, small, for the salty crust wounds one's horse's feet, which has a difficulty in maintaining its footing on the insecure surface which every step exposes. In depressions are pools filled with a green, evil-looking, stagnant water. These need to be approached with care, for many an incautious traveller has vanished on the Kavir without leaving a trace behind. Should a rain-storm be encountered at any of the many bad places passed in crossing, then all the wayfarer can do is to halt where he chances to be, as the surface at once becomes so slippery and treacherous that pack-animals cannot move. The Kavir is the last word in desolation. The traveller trusts himself to its surface with trepidation and emerges from it with joy, and the effect it has on the mind of the person crossing it is extreme depression mixed with a foreboding of coming misfortune. Absolute silence prevails unless, as is so frequently the case, a driving wind, icy in winter and a furnace-blast in summer, is blowing across it.

But this desert possesses other latent powers of evil. Some thirty years ago it was found that the periodic swarms of locusts which caused so much damage in South Africa radiated from a point having the Kalahari Desert as its centre. The flights of locusts which, from time to time, devastate Russian Turkestan and Morocco have their radiating centre in the neighbouring great deserts. Sind,

with the Punjab, Baluchistan, and Afghanistan, suffer from their periodic locust visitations, with losses which may extend into hundreds of thousands of pounds and involve the lives of many human beings. By tracing a series of locust flights back, I was able to establish the fact that the radiating centre of the swarms from which these four countries suffer lay in the great Persian desert. Whether science will ever be able to overcome this pest is, at present, a matter of some doubt, but should it ever find the means of doing so, the fact that we have now ascertained where the permanent centre of this baneful activity lies will go far to assist us. For the information of those interested in this subject it may be said that before a parent breeding swarm of locusts can be launched from the Lut on its career of devastation, which may, and frequently does, extend over a period of one or even more years—the life of the individual locust is comparatively brief, but as the swarm advances it establishes supplementary breeding centres at suitable places, and these carry on the evil—a certain remarkably delicate combination of circumstances embracing rain and heat must take place, and sometimes years elapse before this particular combination can work out. We may, therefore, regard these locust epidemics as being due to delicately adjusted Nature mines sown in the desert, which come automatically into action when a certain complex combination of climatic circumstances take place.

Hitherto we have been gazing down on the country with which we have been dealing from a comparatively modest elevation. Let us now rise to a height of a few more hundred miles, and see how the world to the west appears from there. If we do so, we can see at a glance that there are only three true avenues of approach to India from the Mediterranean Sea. These are from—

1. The Black Sea.
2. The Eastern Mediterranean littoral and overland to and through the Persian Gulf.
3. Down the Red Sea and across the Arabian Sea.

By turning to history, we find that these are precisely the three routes which Indo-European trade followed, and that, in very brief outline, their history stands somewhat as follows:

The oldest and most important of these routes is the Dardanelles-Black Sea direct Indian and Chinese trade route. Of immense age, this route would appear to have been in use as far back as we can go. Just emerging from the twilight of human knowledge and the mists of antiquity, we are conscious of a great, busy, pulsating population which occupied what was, later on, known as Sogdiana and Bactria—that is to say, the upper regions of the Jazartes and Oxus. They formed a small residue of the large Aryan masses which at one time extended far away to the east, and from which portions broke off:

one making its way into Europe; another crossing the Caucasus; a third moving into Persia, where it settled; and yet another into India. The Greeks, with their great love of freedom, their philosophy, their art and culture, and their lofty aspirations, were, as we know, merely the spray thrown forward by one of these great Aryan waves. Themselves keen traders, the Greeks established colonies all along the Ægean coast and Black Sea littoral, and it was through the medium of these colonies and their shipping that trade flowed from the Mediterranean and Black Sea, by land, to India. Not only did this road present no inherent difficulty, but it offered the most direct route to those Indian and Chinese centres which were in view, and it traversed, almost throughout its entire length to India, a well-watered, well-cultivated, populous and friendly country. At what we may regard as the comparatively recent period of the old Persian Empire, the Governorship of Bactria and Sogdiana carried with it the second highest dignity in the kingdom, and a rank next to that of the Great King himself. At this time Bactria, with its thousand rich and populous cities, was provided with an elaborate system of frontier defence, resting on a strong military force, and was supplied with posting roads and such other conveniences and amenities for travellers and merchants as the civilization of that period required. It is more than probable that the Trojan War, stripped of all poetical licence and embroidery, was, as has indeed been claimed for it, merely a sordid quarrel between two Greek factions, one of which claimed the right to levy dues on all shipping passing through the Dardanelles Narrows, and was determined to enforce this claim; and another which, with far greater economic intuition, contested this right, and had resort to force of arms to resist it. Ilium proved, on examination, to be merely a small fortified outpost. Should this explanation of the Trojan War be correct, and there is strong reason for believing that it is, then the dispute was evidently a protracted one, for Schleiman's excavations showed that no less than six separate strongholds had been built, and been destroyed by fire. The fair lady that was wooed and fought for so strenuously, and whose charms were sung by the ancient bard, would therefore seem to have been the Lady "Commerce" whom nations have wooed and fought for from the earliest ages, and for whose favours they will doubtlessly continue to fight for ages to come.

What was it that led to the interruption of this great trunk trade route? The answer will be found in the large military forces which the Persians found it necessary to *contoon* in Bactria, and in the strong Greek army that Alexander the Great detached when there to protect his rear and guard his line of communications. We might note, in passing, that when Alexander conquered Bactria he found a people resident there who claimed to be of Greek descent, worshipped Dionysios, and adhered to Greek customs and modes of life. The danger then was clearly a military one, and it came from

the northern side. It related to those vast savage nations to whom the ancient historian has given so many names, such as the "Sakai or Scythians," the "Cimmerians," the "Galalitians," and who extended in an almost unbroken wall to the east of a line drawn from the Baltic to what is now Eastern Afghanistan. They were all Turanian, and with true Turanian instincts they were animated by a desire which, when it rose to the height of one of its periodic pulsations of barbaric energy, amounted almost to frenzy to attack, destroy, trample under foot, and pollute all that is beautiful in civilization and sacred in religion. The contest between the barbarism of the East and the culture and civilization of the West has continued without intermission throughout the centuries. Perhaps the historian of the future will trace in the recent conflict but one of its manifestations. We know that Eastern Europe, with Hungary and the Balkans, was eventually penetrated, but not until a comparatively recent epoch. The first part of the wall to collapse was where the pressure was greatest, which was from the southern shores of the Caspian to the Hindu Kush. Wave after wave of those savage desert tribes, the Scythians, the Yuen-Chi, the White Huns, and the Northern Turks, drove south into this unfortunate country, and, impinging against the great desert barrier, were headed off to a great extent from Persia, and moved south and east, carrying misery and devastation in their track, as far as Northern India, into which they penetrated. The great direct land trade route to India from the Black Sea first became insecure and then dropped so completely out of use that its existence almost became forgotten. A certain amount of trade, it is true, continued to percolate through, more especially from China, but it was intermittent, and the glories of the great overland trunk route disappeared. The Nushki-Sistan trade route and railway were planned to serve, from the south, the region east of the great desert which the old eastern trade route served from the north, but by a way that trade had never previously passed.

With the abandonment of the "great eastern trade route" to India another route had to be sought, and this was found in the Ægean Sea-Persian Gulf route. In itself it was an exceedingly ancient route, but it possessed disadvantages from which its eastern rival did not suffer. The pushing Greek trader of the Ægean Sea littoral was not of a type to neglect such an admirable market as was offered him in Chaldea for his wares, nor did he do so. The oldest high road, in the sense of a properly levelled, engineered road, equipped with stone bridges and paved, history records, was the old Hittite "Royal road" which ran from near modern Smyrna to the head of the riverine system of the Persian Gulf, which at that time penetrated a distance of rather more than 150 miles farther inland than it does at present. The Babylonian was a pushing, active, astute dealer, and his country,

which owed its wealth to her wonderful system of cultivation, needed much which the Greek merchant could supply, and had much to dispose of which the dweller on the Mediterranean shore prized, and from this resulted an intercommunication which conformed to the shortest route available. It has been established that at an extremely remote period in history trade passed by sea to and fro up the west coast of India and through the Persian Gulf. The Gulf trade route had its own particular disabilities, such as the dues which were imposed by the military power which controlled Asia Minor; the exactions from which trade suffered from freebooters, for even in those remote times the Persian Gulf had an unhappy reputation for piracy—it will be recalled how, in later Assyrian times, first Sargon and then Sennacherib engaged in campaigns against the sea kings of the Gulf, which eventually ended in their utter destruction; the closing, at a period when ships were narrow, cramped, and unseaworthy, of this route to navigation for several months in the year, while the "Etesian," or monsoon, winds were blowing; and the fact that when its trade did eventually reach some Indian port it had still a difficult, and in many cases a dangerous, journey of several hundred miles up-country before it could reach the markets where its goods could be profitably disposed of.

With the disuse of the great east trade route, the Gulf route rapidly rose in importance, and, as the centuries pass in review before us, we see a series of bitterly contested campaigns fought in the Seleucide, Parthian, Roman, Sassanian, Arab, and later Mahommedan times. In the Crusades the careful student of history will trace but one of the many attempts made to control the trade of the East, and we may accept with assurance that one of the several causes which conduced to the recent world conflict was the bid which Germany was making for this trade, despite the great changes which the past fifty years had seen. It was, of course, the final passing of the Gulf trade route into the stifling power of the Ottoman Turks, which resulted from the fall of Constantinople in 1453, that led to the discovery of America, the attempt to find the North-West passage, and the finding in 1477 of the all-sea route to India, with all that this great discovery has meant to England. In medieval times, trade by the Ægean-Persian Gulf route for Eastern Persia, what is now Afghanistan, and India was disembarked at Hormuz, the modern Bandar Abbas, whence it travelled, on pack-animals, by direct overland route to Sistan and so up the Helmand to India. This route, from the descriptions left us by Arab travellers and historians, was evidently a well-known one, for scattered at intervals along it were towns crowded with eager traffickers. Trade for Northern and Central Persia, Central Asia and China, did not touch the Persian Gulf, but went direct from Babylon, Ctesiphon, or Baghdad, as the case might be, via the great "Khorassan road," to Kermanshah, and thence through Hamadan, whence it skirted the north of the great

desert. From here it made for Nisharpur direct, and so passed on to Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand. A certain amount of trade was shipped from the head of the Gulf to Tiz, on the Mekran coast, and to Daybul, at the mouth of the Indus, but this trade would seem to have passed respectively to what is now British Baluchistan and to the lower valley of the Indus as far up that river as Multan.

The third route from the Mediterranean to India was the Red Sea route. Until the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, this route always stood third in importance, as compared to the other two. Like those, it was well known in ancient days, and by it the Egyptians at the time of the Pharaohs carried on a considerable maritime commerce. While this was confined, for the most part, to Arabia and the East Coast of Africa, yet their voyages extended to India. In the reverence paid in both countries to the sacred bull we see the transfer of the religious thought which this intercourse occasioned. Unfortunately for their trade, the Egyptian Pharaohs regarded the Mediterranean nations with jealous distrust, and their political policy was one of rigid isolation and exclusion. Traders reaching their confines from without were stopped by frontier guards, who took over their goods, apprised their value, with the assistance of trade experts, and paid for them in money or kind. The Egyptian merchant himself was proud, arrogant, and narrow-minded. Despite this, trade by the Red Sea route had its well-recognized place in Old World commerce, and it was doubtlessly to divert the profits of this commerce that Solomon acquired the port of Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Akaba. The tide of prosperity and commercial activity which immediately rewarded this statesmanlike move, bear equal evidence to the value of the trade passing down the Red Sea at the time; to the wisdom and foresight of this great King; and to the folly and supineness of his successor. In the times of the Ptolemys, Egyptian trade was regarded from a very much more liberal and progressive standpoint, with a result which is reflected in the marked advance this period saw in Egyptian wealth. The great obstacle, however, to trade by this route was one which has extended right away down to late Mahommedan times, and was the open Arabian Sea, which ships had to navigate on emerging from the narrow straits. The passage of an open sea presented very real terrors to the Old World sailor in his small, unseaworthy vessel, and with the very elementary knowledge of navigation he possessed, and this was especially the case at a time when he preferred to draw up his barque at night on the sea-beach, or, if the coast was an inhospitable one, to anchor it just outside where the waves broke. Subject as it was to violent monsoon storms, the Arabian Sea was always dreaded. This route had the further handicap that commerce transmitted by it to an Indian port had still the long and dangerous up-country journey.

It may be of interest to recall that the Red Sea route, so long

regarded with feelings of almost indifference, was fated in the end to far outdistance its rivals. Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks; the all-sea route to India was discovered; commerce was diverted from the Mediterranean, and the power of Venice, through which the trade of the East passed for so long, gradually sank. From time to time attempts were made to restore the glories of the Persian Gulf route, mostly by Venetians, but some by English merchants anxious to find a quicker way than the all-sea route to that India which lay so near, but none ever succeeded. The Turk, whose character we know so well, was just the same then as he is now. No enterprise in which his personal co-operation is required could, or can, succeed. The contest of the rival trade routes finally terminated, we know, by the construction of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Suez and by the transit of cargoes, which not only pass to India down the Red Sea, but, more significant still, pass on from thence up the Persian Gulf itself.

We have had occasion to refer to the great conqueror Alexander, and to the part he played on the stage of old-time commerce; but, forming as his age does the dividing-line between the former and later ancient worlds and their trade, and as it is from his time that so many changes in trade conditions date which extended down almost to the present, we might do well to pause a moment to observe in what light he regarded commerce.

Underlying every great act which Alexander the Great's genius gave birth to, there was some well-defined controlling motive, which, in many cases, did not make itself manifest for generations. The task which Alexander the Great set himself was much more than the mere conquest of the then world's greatest and most civilized Empire, for this was but a part—a basic part although it may be—of a vast scheme which aimed at the hellenizing of Persian civilization and the erection on its foundation of a great Greek Empire which was to be the glory illuminating the world, and was to project its beneficent rays to all four quarters, convey liberty to a debased and enslaved world, uplift humanity, and provide ideals which were to contain all that was great, and noble, and true. To first gain, then build up, and afterwards maintain such an Empire, military conquest, supplemented later by the development of all the material resources his conquests brought with them, was essential, and so we find that in all he did Alexander was careful to bear this in mind. With what meticulous care did he refrain from any act or word calculated to arouse or offend the religious feelings or prejudices of his new subjects, and how quick he was to avail himself of any political advantage any such offered! How careful he was that neither the country nor its resources suffered from the military operations he conducted, and that no irrigation and no reproductive work received injury! The Indian province

of the Persian Empire had contributed by far the largest part of the revenues the great King had enjoyed, and Alexander the Great's carefully planned descent on India was therefore not the mere armed exploration trip which it is so frequently represented to be, but was a carefully thought out campaign, which was, if successful, to give him those revenues which were so necessary to the accomplishment of his world-embracing designs. The development of trade, from which source it was that in those ages so large a proportion of a State's revenue was drawn, received Alexander's most careful consideration. In the first of the four phases into which his campaign in Asia falls there stand out the destruction of Tyre and the founding of what was to be the capital of Egypt and her great seaport, Alexandria. Tyre had proffered a gold crown in token of dignified submission, but this was curtly rejected, and, after the most desperate fighting, which extended over months, in which Alexander suffered losses he could ill afford, Tyre fell and was utterly destroyed. Tyre was the great commercial rival of Greece in the Mediterranean, and it was therefore decreed that she must pass. In the second phase, Alexander grasps firmly the command of the great Ægean Sea-Persian Gulf trade route. In the third, we see him gain possession of the great eastern route, found yet another Alexandria (Herat) on the site that his master mind showed him with lightning rapidity was the strategic and economic key of India, and later on comes the garrisoning with Greek troops, whom it is clear he had political reasons for keeping far from their homes, that flank of the further trade route from which the genius of his keen military intellect warned him danger would always threaten. The introduction of the third phase, the conquest of the Indus province, was the elimination, with meticulous precision and patience, of all hostile Indian border elements which were likely to interfere, in the future, with free access by the great eastern trade route to India. And the fourth and last phase, which was to terminate so early and so sadly, and which followed the conquest and permanent garrisoning of the Indus province, is perhaps the most important and significant from the point we have in review, for it embraces the exploration of the Indus River throughout its length, with yet again the elimination of such tribal elements as were calculated, if left untouched, to prejudice those commercial schemes which were already assuming definite shape in the young conqueror's mind; the careful personal examination of the mouths of the Indus, which in those days discharged into the Ran of Kach, and which entailed Alexander's separation from his army, at considerable personal inconvenience and also, as it proved, some little danger; and, lastly, the return by land and sea by way of the coast of Mekran, or Gedrosia as it was then termed, a most difficult and dangerous undertaking, yet selected, not really for any bombastic reason, but with a deliberate and definite intent, despite the heavy price

Alexander knew only too well he would be called on to pay. And then comes the closing scene at Babylon, with the conqueror's death when immersed in plans and estimates for titanic harbour and other works which were to permanently secure his conquests, his explorations, his labours, and his plans, and which indicate with brilliant clarity what was the decision his master mind had finally arrived at, and the lines he had convinced himself would have to be followed to secure the free and unimpeded passage of trade between the Eastern and Western worlds, and—although here the reasoning is deductive—the certainty with which his genius had warned him that the great eastern trade route would in time be overborne by the tide of barbarism which then threatened it; that the Red Sea route, with its difficult and dangerous sea passage, although it could be made great and valuable, could never fulfil the requirements of a trade route such as he had in view; and that on the holding and development of the Mediterranean-Euphrates-Persian Gulf route to the Old World was pivoted the realization of his schemes, the well-being of the Empire of which he was the framer and builder, and the security of civilization and, with it, of mankind.

We now come down to the last forty years. To deal with India's later economic history lies quite without the scope of this lecture. It will suffice to say that under British rule, and assured, for the first time for centuries, of a stable administration, and in the enjoyment of profound peace, India developed rapidly. Railways, fed by branch roads, were introduced and multiplied; irrigation and agriculture were encouraged and extended; telegraphs spread all over the country; lines of coasting steamers were established; and factories arose which needed to be fed with raw materials, and for which, as well as for English trade, new markets had to be sought out and developed.

The most promising markets adjoining India were those of Chinese Turkestan, Central Asia, and Persia. We will pass by the first, although I would note that there is much I shall have to say relating to Russian trade with Persian Khorassan which will be found to apply with equal force in regard to that of Chinese Turkestan. As regards the other two, these countries can only be approached from India from two directions—viz., from the Punjab, through Afghanistan, or through some port either on the Persian Gulf or on the east coast of the Black Sea, like Trebizond.

We will first turn to Afghanistan. Afghanistan lies on the North-West Frontier of India, and is an independent sovereignty under British protection. India allows her a considerable annual subsidy, and in return her foreign relations are subject to British guidance; but, while so, she has absolute freedom, within her own borders, to adopt any system of government and any interior policy which may commend itself to her. The late Amir, Abdur Rahman, was perhaps one of the

most gifted men of the last hundred years, for he united in his own person the qualities of a brilliant general, the talents of a remarkably able administrator, and the acumen, foresight, and intuition of a great statesman. The political relations which existed between the late Amir and the Government of India were always cordial, despite the somewhat malicious pin-pricks he was wont to occasionally indulge in, and it is very much to be hoped that these friendly relations will long remain. Afghanistan, a wild, arid, desolate country, is inhabited by numerous tribes of diverse racial descent, who are divided up into sections and subsections. Most of these tribes, and not a few of their subsections, are at feud with one another, for the Afghan adores bloodshed, and is never really content unless he has two or three blood feuds to occupy his leisure hours. Quarrelsome and untrustworthy although he is, yet he possesses the supreme redeeming virtue of patriotism, and should any foreign enemy ever cross into his country the whole nation will drop their feuds and quarrels and will fight to the finish. The policy which commended itself to the late Amir was one of rigid isolation and exclusion, and this policy has been strictly adhered to by his successor. Entry into Afghanistan, a country which possesses no real roads and no telegraphs, is thus barred. The trade which entered Afghanistan from India prior to the war was largely confined to a trade in such articles as were needed for her domestic consumption. The year 1917–18, it is true, saw a truly remarkable increase in trade entering Afghanistan from the North-West Frontier Provinces through the six Indian passes, and this increase can only be accounted for by a great Central Asian demand having arisen in consequence of the disorganization of Russian trade.

While the Amir looked to his Customs department to supply him with a large proportion of the revenue he required to carry on the administration of his country, yet his fiscal policy was not calculated either to encourage trade with India or to develop trade passing through Afghanistan to foreign markets. The dues he imposed were heavy and trade was subject to exactions, such as the transit dues, which were levied on most, if not all, the main roads leading through Afghanistan. What this means can perhaps best be understood by an example I will give. A load of wool despatched from Herat to India, via Kandahar, would first be mulcted in various Herat dues; on the road between Herat and Kandahar it would be called on to pay certain transit dues; on arrival at Kandahar customs at Rs. 40 per camel, and between Kandahar and the frontier no less than seven dues would be recovered—*i.e.*, caravan head-man's due of Rs. 3/5/4; "Delali" Rs. 10/8/4; "Goshi" Rs. 1/10/8; "Aishan" due Rs. 19/4; "Takhtapul" due annas 12—Takhtapul is a well-known place on the road; annas 2/8 "Sardari" due collected at Baldock, the Afghan frontier fort; and, lastly, Rs. 8 for what is termed the "one-tenth" tax. The charge on a donkey

load of fruit despatched to British territory by a Kandahar garden owner works out, under the several headings, at no less than Rs. 4/2/6. Wherever it can do so, trade avoids Afghanistan; indeed, such Herat wool as found its way to India favoured the long roundabout route through Persia and Nushki. I am, of course, referring to the time before the railway was prolonged from Nushki to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier.

We will next glance at the position beyond Afghanistan, in Central Asia.

Towards the end of the year 1885, Russia turned her eyes towards the Turkestan Khanates, and these, in course of time, she absorbed. There was a railway at this time connecting Batoum, on the Black Sea, with Baku, on the Caspian, and she now built a railway from Krasnovodsk, a port on the east coast of the Caspian, to Askabad, and this place was not long afterwards connected, through Kuchan, by cart road to Meshed, the capital of Khorassan. From Askabad the railway was then extended to Taskend through Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand. Not many years subsequent to the completion of this railway, Russia took steps to secure to herself the entire trade of Central Asia. This she arranged by the introduction of carefully prepared tariffs which had the end in view of driving all Indian competing trade out of Central Asia, and with such skill were these framed that the end she sought was quickly attained, and our Central Asian trade came, to all intents, to a standstill. It will be convenient to deal with this subject later on, so I will merely refer to the difficult position in which England, with her Free Trade, is placed when faced by an avowedly antagonistic fiscal policy of this type. With other European Powers, the practice in such a case would have been to protest, and, should this protest have been disregarded, to have imposed countervailing duties so framed as to cover the loss incurred. It is a matter of considerable present doubt whether Russia, suffering as she is from septic dissolution and fermenting with the bitter wine of liberty, will be able, in view of the whole or partial destruction of her factories and their machinery; the loss of so much of her limited skilled labour; the exhaustion of her resources; the disruption of her banking system, with all its delicate trade ramifications and organizations; and heavily burdened, as she will remain, with debt, will be able to rehabilitate herself; but if she ever succeeds in doing so, and in repairing the destruction caused by the present orgy of anarchy, then this will only be possible by her reaccepting in full those pecuniary obligations which she has repudiated, and by having recourse to large foreign loans. Should Russia ever come to us for loans, without which her trade organization cannot hope to be re-established, then it would seem that we would be justified in first laying down the condition that the money she asks for shall not be

utilized in reinaugurating a frankly hostile economic campaign, and that the artificial and abnormal conditions she imposed in the case of Central Asian and Persian trade shall in future be discontinued.

South of her new province, Russia found herself faced by a country, Afghanistan, whose integrity was guaranteed by the British Government, and whose frontiers were jealously guarded by an Amir who held the most determined views that free commercial intercourse with Russia would carry with it results which would spell the downfall of his sovereignty and the destruction of his country's independence. Between Central Asia and India Afghanistan accordingly lay like a vast wall, through which trade from India could not pass to either Central Asia or Persia, nor could trade from Central Asia and Persia find passage to India. A certain amount of Russian trade, as well as Indian, naturally found its way into Afghanistan, but, as we know, it never penetrated any great distance beyond. Russian trade was subject in Afghanistan to precisely the same disabilities as our Indian trade, and the goods which Russia had to export were, in addition, poor and tawdry. The Peshawar and North Indian bazaars contain a variety of such petty articles as brass samovars, brass tea-trays, glasses for drinking tea, cheap crockery, cheap looking-glasses, but this is about all.

The only other routes by which it was possible for Indian trade to reach Khorassan—and I would note here that the trade of Northern Persia is by far the most valuable that Persia possesses, due to the facts that the rainfall is greater, the country is richer and better developed, and more than half the population of Persia resides in the north—were those leading from the several Persian Gulf ports, or from Trebizond, on the Black Sea. In each case, however, the distance concerned was great and involved a long overland journey.

1. From Trebizond, on the Black Sea, via Tabriz, to Teheran and Meshed was some 1,400 to 1,500 miles.

2. From Baghdad, on the River Tigris, via Hamadan and Teheran, to Meshed was 1,070 miles, and the distances from the two Gulf ports to Meshed by the several routes in common use stood as follows:

3. Bushire to Meshed, via Yezd, Turbat-i-Haidari, 932 miles.

4. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Yezd and Tabas, 1,020 miles.

5. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Kirman, Naiband, and Tun, 970 miles.

6. Bandar Abbas to Meshed, via Narmashir, Neh, and Turbat, 900 miles.

It may be noted incidentally that although the latter route was the shortest, it was generally unsafe. The objections in case of all these routes were identical. These were the heavy expense which a long overland journey by pack animals involved; the period goods took in transit; the frequent change in carriers; the delays due to an inefficient Customs

department, to the impossibility of extending active and consistent assistance to caravans when in transit on a journey which sometimes extended over months; and, lastly, to the difficulty, and in most cases the impossibility, of handling by pack-animals bulky goods such as Persia mainly produced, except when grown in close proximity to the port of exit. After full and careful consideration of the whole question in all its bearings, it was decided that these difficulties could only be surmounted and our trade interests conserved by opening direct overland communication between India and Persia. It was obvious, in the circumstances which have been described, that no route through Afghanistan could be considered. To outflank Afghanistan on the northern side was out of the question. The only alternative, therefore, that remained was the southern approach. We possessed direct communication between the port of Karachi and Quetta, the capital of Baluchistan, by a railway which had the further advantage of being linked up with the Punjab and Indian railway systems. Such difficulties as remained, therefore, related to the section of territory which intervened between Quetta and the Baluchistan-Sistan frontier; but here lay a Baluch country of indeterminate ownership, and the problems which it presented were as varied as they were difficult of solution. Sandwiched in between the Sarlat hills on the Quetta side, Afghanistan on the northern, Kharan on the southern, and the rocky wall of the Sarhad range on the western, this country was largely desert, with a strip of fifty miles of absolute desert on its western face, and was inhabited, for the most part, and surrounded, by wandering tribes of predatory Baluch, most of whom were at feud with one another and whose chief occupation was raiding. This country had never been surveyed and was little known. The western side had been visited by Colonel Charles McGregor* in the seventies, who has left, in his book entitled "Wanderings in Baluchistan," a record of his experiences and personal sufferings. On the east side it had been crossed transversely by Mr. H. Barnes, C.S.,† in the year 1884, to whom Government had consigned the responsible duty of piloting the Afghan Commission across the sandy desert which intervenes between Nushki and the Helmand valley; and the northern border had been examined and surveyed by Captain McMahon ‡ when engaged demarcating the boundary-line between British Baluchistan and Afghanistan, and who had found it unwise to move except under the protection of a strong infantry escort. This territory was claimed by Amir Abdur Rahman, who, alarmed by our railway activity in Baluchistan, had, following the close of his operations against the Helmand valley Baluch, marched an Afghan force south and seized the chief fort, which he garrisoned. Against this violation of Baluchistan rights the Government of India had vigorously

* Afterwards Sir Charles McGregor, K.C.B.
† Now Sir Hugh Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
‡ Now Sir Henry McMahon, G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

protested, but it was not until 1896, the year in which the boundary between British Baluchistan and Afghanistan was delimited, that he was compelled to withdraw his forces north. In the year 1897 it fell to me to take charge of the country which was now embodied in British Baluchistan under the Boundary agreement, and my instructions from Mr. Barnes, the then head of the Local Government, contained orders to establish overland trade communication with Persia, an enterprise which thus became feasible for the first time.

I need not go into the long story of how the trade route was opened to caravan traffic. The problem proved most complex. In addition to difficulties incidental to a country largely arid and which produced little in the way of supplies, we proved far from welcome arrivals to the Baluch tribesmen themselves, who saw in our advent the beginning of a restraint which was opposed both to their racial instincts as well as to their predatory proclivities.

These Baluch form part of a nation which presents one of the most interesting studies to the ethnologist which is to be found on the Indian frontier. As the result of researches extending back a long series of years, I can say that the Baluch are a Semitic race, and originally inhabited a river valley east of Aleppo. Their language is an Aramaic dialect, and, at a period which dates back many centuries, they moved south-east into Lower Mesopotamia, and later on to the head of the Persian Gulf. There are reasons for believing that the movement was due to pressure, and was not voluntary, but the nature of this pressure is obscure. In the later Sassanian period, when religious persecution was rife, these Baluch, who, in common with so many other dwellers in the Tigris and Euphrates basin, were Nature-worshippers—I have found on the Baluchistan-Persian border many unmistakable traces of this worship; in fact, the worship still survives engrafted on many local Mahommedan practices—moved to the north coast of the Persian Gulf, which they later on followed down to what is now Persian Baluchistan, the inhabitants of which they dispossessed. This migration from north-west to south-east is exceedingly interesting, for it is the only case of a tribal migration in this direction, on a large scale, with which I am acquainted. Among the naked arid hills of Persian Baluchistan the Baluch resided for several centuries, increasing steadily in numbers, and this country still continues theirs by right of possession. Still growing in numbers, they began overflowing their boundaries, and, again taking up the same line of migration, which appears to be one of the immutable laws of migrating nations, they passed up the Sarhad range to the confines of Sistan. The ruined line of fortified guard-posts which mark the Shelag River approach on the southern boundary of Sistan shows how strenuously their intrusion was resented. Robat, at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siah, now one of our frontier posts, was, as its name "outpost" implies, but one of these old guard-stations. Checked on

the north, the Baluch flowed on and submerged Mekran, Panjgur, Kharan, what is now Kalat Baluchistan, Chagai, Nushki, and they found their way as far as the plains of Kachi and even beyond. Kalat became the headquarters of a Baluch confederacy which comprised the immediate surrounding hill tribes. A considerable period seems now to have elapsed, but in the earlier Moghul period the head of the Kalat Baluch confederacy—for over the Baluch, as with their Semitic confrères the Arabs, whom the Baluch so closely resemble, no King has ever reigned—was granted a valuable strip of territory in the Dera Ghazi Khan district in recognition of the valuable military services he had rendered to the Delhi throne. Attracted by the richness of this grant, the manhood of the Kalat Baluch confederacy moved, with their flocks and families, down to the Dera Ghazi Khan district, leaving behind them a vacuum which was filled by the Brahui, the Indo-Dravidian indigenous tribe whom the Baluch had originally dispossessed. The Brahuis are not great warriors, but the lands round Kalat were poor and arid, while those at Dera Ghazi Khan were rich and well watered. Composed as the Baluch are of so many loosely co-ordinated sections, it was apparently the business of no particular tribe or section to restore Baluch authority in the Kalat hills, and no serious attempt would ever seem to have been made to do so. It was this which militated against the further development of the nation, for Kalat commands the exit of the Bolan Pass, and the mastery of the Bolan, in other than Baluch hands, carries with it the severance of the eastern from the western Baluch. It is to this fact, indeed, that must be ascribed the somewhat surprising position we find in British "Baluchistan"—the name itself is indicative of the erstwhile Baluch supremacy—where a numerically inferior and weak Brahui population, regarded by the Baluch, to whom they will not give their daughters in marriage, with contempt, holds the political ascendancy, although surrounded by and embedded in an immense Baluch population. In time the Baluch, swarming north, west, and east, penetrated into Sistan and Birjand, and made their way up the Helmand to a point where their advance was finally arrested by the Nurzai Afghans. From Dera Ghazi Khan the Baluch sent off detachments, still in the same migratory line, to Dera Ismail Khan, the Salt range, Bahawalpur, etc.; but, being no longer fed by fresh streams of Baluch vitality from the west, owing to the interruption of their lines of communication, the movement into India slowly came to an end. Had this not been the case, it is probable that the history of the Panjab and Sind would have had to be rewritten. It will be of interest to say that an eminent art specialist to whom various specimens of Baluch work were submitted for examination declared that they represented the only pure instances of Assyrian work which had ever come under his notice in India.

It had been supposed that the northern frontier of our new British

district was closed by impassable deserts where it bordered on Afghanistan, but this, it was now found, was far from being the case. Several routes traversed this region, but the country was so wild and difficult of access as to supply permanent, and almost impregnable, refuges for any wandering band of marauders, facilities which these did not hesitate to avail themselves of to the full. It was not long before Amir Abdur Rahman indicated his general attitude towards the trade route. Orders were issued forbidding the sale of wheat to our district Baluch, and as these Baluch had been accustomed for generations to purchase their grain in the valley of the Helmand, these orders added in no small degree to our difficulties.

To the south of the new district, through which the overland route must pass, was the Baluch State of Kharan, whose Chief, the late Sir Nauroz Khan, possessed important transfrontier Persian connections and interests, and was uneasy as to what our presence on his borders would entail. This Chief nourished an undying racial antagonism to the Brahui Khan of Kalat, an antagonism which had, in the past, driven him into the arms of Afghanistan, and had seen him fighting against us in the last Afghan War, despite the dislike which has always existed between Baluch and Afghan. In the occupation of the territory lying between his State and Afghanistan the Kharan Chief was fearful he saw an unfavourable turn to his long struggle for independence from Brahui Kalat domination. In these circumstances it was not perhaps surprising that he set himself to oppose, more passively, perhaps, than actively, but none the less effectually, the consolidation of an influence which was so essential for the furtherance of the intentions Government had in view.

Lastly, away to the west, beyond a fifty mile stretch of waterless desert, was Sarhad and the Sarhad mountains. Sarhad or "Yagistan, the country of outlaws," is populated for the most part by Damani, a wild Baluch tribe closely related to the Marri Baluch of British Baluchistan. These reside on the slopes of the range, and Sarhad itself has always borne the worst of reputations. Here anyone who had committed a more than ordinary repulsive crime was always certain of a refuge and a warm greeting. Their unenviable reputation is recognized even by the Sarhaddis themselves, for once when in Sarhad I enquired of a holy Syed who possessed a local reputation for wisdom and piety why it was that the Sarhaddis were in such bad repute. He pointed to the column of sulphurous vapour which could be seen from where we sat rising above the crater of the dying Koh-i-Daftan volcano, and answered: "Do you see that mountain? There is a road leading direct from the centre of that mountain down to the nether regions. The smoke you see comes from hell fire. Is it surprising that the persons who live round that mountain and breathe in its emanations are not distinguished by godliness?" The logic of

his answer was unanswerable. I also remember asking the same hoary-headed ruffian if it was true that one or two families I had happened to come across on the Koh-i-Daftan Mountain were not Mahommedan by religion, and on his saying that they were not, I enquired, somewhat mischievously I fear, why it was that so eminent a divine as he evidently was had not converted these families to the true religion. His answer, with uplifted eyes, a look of resignation, and a weary sigh, was that all the time and labour he had spent in slitting their noses and ears, with this very end in view, had been quite thrown away. This mountain has many remains that indicate that at one time it was regarded—no doubt this was in Zoroastrian days—as a place of pilgrimage.

It was evident that the only method of successfully administrating a country of this type, surroundings, and some 30,000 miles in area—later on, when Kharan was added to the charge, the area approximated to some 42,000 square miles—was by gaining the personal support and sympathy of these wild people. Had force been available, and naturally it was not, its use in dealing with such an elusive people, inhabiting such an immense territory, and with refuges on every side where they could not be followed, was quite out of the question. The story is a long one, and extends over nearly twenty years of strenuous labour. It is a tale of endless trouble, much work which had to be done and redone, and done again, many disappointments, many delightful joys, and ultimate success. Reserved and suspicious although the Baluch were, we finally won their confidence, and many are the instances of kindly thought and chivalrous feeling I recall with pleasure. What the settlement of this country meant I think will be understood when I say that crimes of violence became exceptional; cultivation, rude and primitive although it was, increased to a remarkable extent; all tribal forts were abandoned without a single exception and fell into ruin; the carrying of arms absolutely ceased; the revenue increased tenfold; every blood feud—very many were found to date back generations—was enquired into, examined, and settled; and peace and tranquillity reigned throughout a country in which peace had never previously been known.

The suspicions of the Kharan Chief were allayed, but his confidence and that of his Naushirwani following was never really won. A somewhat sullen acquiescence in a presence which was clearly repugnant was as far as we could progress. The position in this State and on the intervening border was never quite satisfactory, and culminated, in 1911, in the murder of the then Chief and disturbances which, threatening to involve Western Kalat, Persian Baluchistan, and the Helmand Baluch, compelled the Indian Government to depute me, with a military force and some guns, under the command of Colonel C. Jacob,* to deal

* Now Lieut.-General Sir Claude Jacob, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., etc.

with a position the end of which could not be foreseen, and this was done so effectually that, from this side, there has never been any further trouble of either an active or passive nature.

On the northern side the relations which were gradually built up, as years passed, with the transfrontier Baluch and Afghan tribesmen lacked nothing in either cordiality or friendship. Suspicious at first, they yielded their confidence in the end, and throughout a period of little less than twenty years the relations which were established with these tribesmen remained unimpaired, and were distinguished by many spontaneous acts of good feeling, and were indeed far more friendly than anywhere else on the Indo-Afghan border.

But perhaps the most remarkable change of all took place in the west—that is to say, beyond the waterless belt, on the Sarhad border. Persian authority had always hung loose over their outlying Baluch tribes, but a few years subsequent to the opening of the trade route to caravan traffic Persian Baluchistan revolted; the Persian Deputy-Governor fled from Bampur; his forces disbanded themselves and scattered all over the country; and the Sarhad Baluch started raiding on an immense scale, their forays, as time went on, extending hundreds of miles and eventually reaching as far as, and even beyond, Kirman and Birjand. Despite this, our trade route, which lay within less than a single day's easy march of their tribal headquarters, was never touched, until the spasm of unrest which followed the opening of the war passed over the country in 1915.

The Baluch is a peculiar individual, but quickly reacts to kindness, always provided that this is guided by a tact and experience which is founded on an intimate knowledge of his tribal customs and somewhat remarkable personality and mentality. In the absence of this knowledge, the results which may follow well-intentioned acts are frequently the reverse of what is anticipated. To give a somewhat typical instance of the working of the Baluch mind: Shortly before quitting the frontier, the speaker happened to express to a Baluch some surprise that he had seen a tribesman who was a member of a tribe living without the district, with whom there was a blood feud, walking about quite openly. The answer given was that, as a matter of fact, the tribal elders concerned had only, a few days before, held a consultation on the subject, at which it had been decided that the intruder was to be disposed of, but, while so, it had also been decided that the matter was to be postponed a few months. Curiosity being aroused, steps were taken to ascertain the explanation, and it was found that, with the amiability of their race, it had been decided not to give the District Officer any unnecessary trouble just then. It need scarcely be said that the exercise of this kindly intention was rendered unnecessary.

The trade route which was opened ran from Nushki, at the foot of the Sarlat Hills, along the northern glacis of the Kharan Range to

a place called Dalbandin. Here it struck north-west until it reached the southern slope of the Koh-i-Sultan, an isolated and extremely rugged range of wind-cut peaks which will be found on the map springing from the plain immediately west of the Chagai Hills. Following a direction south, but parallel to this range, the trade route struck boldly west to Robat, at the foot of the Koh-i-Malik Siah Mountain, on whose summit stands the pillar which marks the point where the three frontiers of Persia, Afghanistan, and British Baluchistan meet. This route, some 469 miles in length from Quetta and some 367 miles from Nushki, was selected as being that most suited to the requirements of caravan trade, and it outflanked the great desert. A somewhat general belief exists that a camel is an animal which can negotiate long marches without much difficulty, requires very little water, and although not a hill-climber, yet cares little for moderately hilly country. On the contrary, the ideal camel track should have stages not more than thirteen to fifteen miles apart, be provided with a good supply of water at each halting-place—to the camel the quantity more than the quality is more important—and be as level as possible. A camel will never step over an obstacle, be it only an inch or so in height, but will always go round. The desiderata of a good caravan track are therefore those given, added to which there must be good grazing, with plenty of wood for the drivers. Given these conditions, and a country where the rainfall is scanty, and a camel will go anywhere. In mud a camel is useless, and whereas the Bactrian camel can stand extreme cold, our Afghan and Baluch camels, accustomed as they are to hot climates, succumb unless they start on their journey, if it is a lengthy one, in good condition and receive a regular daily allowance of crushed wheat.

Apart from such difficulties as were attendant on the control of a population and of the surroundings of such a country as I have described, the purely trade-route problems with which we were faced resolved themselves into four.

There was, firstly, the difficulty of providing shelter and accommodation along a road which extended to such a distance. This, however. was overcome, and in the course of a few years every stage other than one lying in the centre of the waterless belt was provided with a series of wells, caravanserais, guest-houses, and travellers' bungalows, with storehouses, post and telegraph offices, and guard-posts, at suitable intervals apart. The actual number of these, all built by tribal labour and most by the Baluch levies themselves or under Baluch supervision, was: Large guard-posts, several of which in size partook of the nature of strong forts, 11; ordinary trade-route guard-posts, 11; storehouses. 10; travellers' bungalows, furnished, 21; serais and mehmankhanas. 19 of each; telegraph offices, 6; hospital dispensaries, 4; with a sufficiency of wells at each stage to meet the requirements of caravan

trade. In addition a broad track, cleared of stones and ramped where necessary, was carried right through the 370 odd miles to the frontier.

The next problem had relation to the supply of food. This gave rise to ceaseless anxiety. The grain produced in the country did not suffice for the requirements of its inhabitants, and the demands which were made on the trade-route resources during the height of the caravan season were frequently extremely heavy. The system eventually adopted was to build roomy storehouses and lay in supplies during the summer months, when the flow of traffic had moderated.

The next difficulty concerned the somewhat severe climatic conditions to which this country is subject. In summer the heat and in winter the cold are equally intense. Inward-bound caravans, on reaching Nushki, found that there lay before them an ascent to Quetta of some 3,000 feet, and that in the depth of winter the country they now entered was frequently under snow, devoid of grazing, and was without inhabitants, as they had moved with their flocks and herds down to the plains below. So many camels, weakened by a long inward journey, succumbed on the last section that it was realized that unless some very radical improvement was made here the caravan route could never prove a success. The delay between the arrival and departure of caravans frequently extended to a fortnight or more, and so, being unable to keep their animals at Quetta for so long a time in winter, carriers found it necessary to send them down to graze on the Kachi Plains, which added another 200 miles of inward and outward journey. This difficulty was overcome in 1905 by extending the railway to the foot of the hills at Nushki, a measure that did more than anything else to popularize the route. With the railhead at Nushki, the distance to Meshed was thus reduced to some 1,010 miles.

Before leaving the subject of climate, I would like to allude to a somewhat remarkable phenomenon which is found in the district through which the trade route passes. It is what I will call, for want of a better term, a "wind-stream," which blows almost daily, throughout the summer months, from north to south down the waterless belt. The origin or—if I may employ the word—the source of this wind has been traced to the north of Herat, to the oasis which lies beyond the Paropomisus Range, between the Murghab and Hari Rud Rivers—a region that for a long period in history was known as the "Badkhyz," or place where the wind gets up. From Herat this wind blows, in an almost direct line, south to Lash Juwain, where it is said to attain its maximum velocity. From here it continues to Sistan, and, following the Helmand up its course, it rounds the corner of the bend at Bund-i-Kamal Khan, continues for a distance of some forty miles, and then, again turning south, proceeds on its way until it eventually blows itself out in the vicinity of the Arabian Sea. In summer, the average breadth of the stream is from fifty to eighty miles, but it is sometimes

less, for it fluctuates considerably. In winter it blows intermittently and, to a great extent, loses its stream characteristics. Its influence as an agent of denudation is apparent everywhere in the centre of its path, for it has scooped out troughs in places some 20 to 30 feet deep, a 100 and more yards wide, and a mile or so in length; has chiselled out the valley of the Helmand until the river has been left running along a raised channel, like an aqueduct—no doubt this is to be ascribed to ground saturation offering a greater resistance to wind action—and has cut the Koh-i-Sultan mountain range into shapes so fantastic as to be quite beyond description, polishing, with wind-blown sand, one of its western buttresses, which is composed of obsidian, until it shines like glass, and piling sand in masses up against the northern side of the range until it has reached not far short of the very summit.

The last problem, and a most important one too, related to the onward despatch of goods from railhead, and this proved both difficult and complex. In summer the demand for carriage could generally be met, but in winter, when trade was at its height, there was frequently a shortage of animals, and rates fluctuated greatly in sympathy. As years passed, the question became an insistent one, and eventually a camel contract was entered into, under which goods arriving at railhead were transported to the Sistan border for Rs. 23 per camel, the number of days taken in transit being limited, with halts, to twenty-eight. With the introduction of this contract all rate fluctuations terminated, for when private hirers found they were unable to arrange their own carriage they had recourse to the Government agents. The contract worked with remarkable precision until the year 1915, when it is stated that a shortage of camels took place and the contractors were unable to carry out their agreement. From the Sistan border another contract, under the supervision of the Consul Sistan, worked in unison.

Following the termination of the contract a large accumulation of goods took place at railhead, and this, combined with the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the outlook in Persia, due to Turkish aggression, led to the momentous decision to extend the line to Dalbandin. a distance of 113 miles. The work was carried out, with remarkable celerity. Crossing as this extension did, an open plain, the construction presented no engineering difficulty. At a later date, and for reasons which closely corresponded, although in this case they related more to the position in Central Asia brought about by the Russian collapse, it was decided that the line had best be continued to the Baluchistan-Persian frontier, and this has now been done. In place, therefore, of a tract of difficult country, from the point of view of transport, we now have a broad-gauge railway-line running from the port of Karachi, on the west coast of India, direct to the Persian border,

which is linked up with the Punjab and our Indian railway systems.

With that consideration which has always distinguished the Government of India when dealing with questions of trade, certain very important railway concessions were granted, a few years ago, to all trade which passed by rail to Nushki. These concessions are:

First, a rebate is allowed of two-thirds the actual freight charges by the North-Western Railway on all goods, including live-stock, proceeding to and from Persia and Afghanistan, provided the maximum freight exceeded the sum of Rs. 5.

Second, a rebate of one-third freight is granted on all goods proceeding to the same destinations over the East Indian and Oude and Rohilkand Railways.

Third, a Customs drawback of seven-eighths on all goods imported from England, via either Bombay or Karachi, and re-exported, under Customs seal, without breaking bulk.

Fourth, the grant of free railway passes to Persian and Afghan traders visiting India on business over the North-Western and East Indian Railways.

With railhead on the Baluchistan-Persian frontier, the distances to the three important trade-distributing centres now stands as follows:

1. To Sistan about 100 miles.
2. To Meshed, via Sistan, about 630 miles, but there is a direct route running from Robat to Neh and thence to Birjand which reduces the distance to about 540 miles, and has the advantage of avoiding Sistan and its troublesome inundated area.
3. To Herat, a distance proportionate to No. 2.

The Nushki route, in addition to having the advantage of the up-to-date facilities for dealing with cargo provided by the port of Karachi, and the exceedingly valuable railway concessions just enumerated, now becomes the shortest route we have by about 360 miles. Against this, trade passing through Gulf ports is sea-borne, but this fact is to a certain extent discounted by the disembarkation difficulties attendant on steamers having to lie off the shore, and by the fact that it is not uncommon for the first hundred miles or so of the road up-country from the coast to be interrupted. The latter disadvantage will scarcely lie in the case of the new railhead, for once clear of the Sarhad border, which it will now be our business to see adequately policed by the Persian Government, all danger is left behind.

It would now be well if we were to consider what steps can advantageously be taken to develop to its very fullest capacity the great material advantages which the new terminus supplies to our trade.

Apart from the opening up of a country, on our side of the frontier, where salt in vast quantities is to be obtained, and where lead, copper, antimony, iron, ochre, and sulphur, have been found, as well as cut-

crops of marble and jasper, it would seem that the linking up of the frontier terminus by roads suited for wheeled traffic connecting rail-head with Sistan and Birjand is a measure which easily comes first in importance. The distance from Askabad, on the Transcaspian Railway, to Meshed is 177 miles; without, therefore, the stimulus which the Russian pre-war system of bounties supplied, we may take it—the conditions on either side being equal, an hypothesis which is scarcely reliable, for very real advantages now lie with us—that the meeting-point of corresponding Russian and British economic pressure would lie somewhere in the vicinity of Birjand. I am making the somewhat bold assumption that Russia will be able to rehabilitate herself and revert to pre-war conditions. East of the great desert barrier to which I have referred more than once in this lecture there are clearly two points of equal strategic and economic importance—Herat and Sistan. Draw a line connecting these two places and balance this line on Birjand, and the Power which has the ability to tip it from here one way or another is the Power which holds the dominant position. Between Robat, on our border, and Birjand there is an admirable alignment for a cart road, and, as the gradient is gentle throughout, the cost of a road such as we require would be approximately small.

The Sistan road-connection should be equipped with brick or stone bridges, so that the Shelag Nullah overflow and the several deep irrigation cuts which have to be forded on entering inhabited Sistan may no longer prove the impediment to trade which they have hitherto been. It is quite an ordinary occurrence for trade passing between Nasratabad and Robat to be held up for days by floods. The country intervening is dead-level clay plain, so the cost of a road, apart from the bridging, should be trifling. With the thousands of vehicles of all kinds, including motor-lorries, which the termination of the war has now thrown on the market, it would be well worth considering whether some of these could not be utilized for such an admirable purpose as this. Nothing is more certain than that we shall find it necessary to establish wheeled transport on this line in the very early future, and this being so, wisdom requires that we should face this fact and take such steps as are necessary with this end in view. A light railway or tram line would, of course, be still better. This road would follow the telegraph-line by which Robat is connected, on the one side, with the Indian telegraph system, and on the other with Meshed, through Sistan and Birjand.

With the railway terminus on this border and east of the desert barrier, Sistan must now assume its proper place as the great distributing centre of South-West Afghanistan; but while this result will assuredly follow, we must not forget the great potentialities which Sistan herself possesses for purely agricultural development. The River Helmand, the largest river in Afghanistan, discharges, at Sistan, on to an open

plain. Its water is richly charged with silt; there are immense stretches of land fit for cultivation lying to hand, provided a market can be obtained for the grain they could and are ready to produce; the country lends itself to irrigation; and labour is both cheap and abundant. The Persian Government do not permit the export of cereals, but it is to be hoped that this attitude will be modified if they are tactfully approached. They would have every reason for reconsidering their decision, for if their orders were rescinded they would be able to dispose of their revenue grain at highly remunerative prices; the resulting increased cultivation would be accompanied by a proportionate rise in their land revenue, and the extension of cultivation would in itself prove a valuable insurance against those years of scarcity from which neither Sistan nor the surrounding country are exempt. Several years back we conducted a very valuable import trade with Sistan in "ghi," or clarified butter. On the initiative of our great trade rivals in Persia, an embargo was placed on the export of this article from Sistan, and a few years subsequently our Consul reported that Sistan was then scarcely producing sufficient ghi for her own requirements. Our trade with Persia is largely an export trade, and it therefore follows that anything that can be done to assist, no matter in how small a degree, in equalizing the balance should receive our most careful consideration. As I shall have to refer later on to this matter, I will merely say here that there is no question relating to our trade with Persia which assumes a higher importance than this.

The caravan route terminated on the Baluchistan-Sistan frontier at Robat. This place, perhaps the most important of the old guard-posts which protected the southern approach to Sistan, and where there are extensive remains of copper workings, is situated at the immediate foot of the Sarhad rock-wall, which makes, at this place, a somewhat sharp turn west. Onward from Robat outgoing caravans had two roads which they could select—viz., that via Nasratabad, the headquarters of the Persian administration of Sistan, distant about 100 miles, and that which runs direct to Birjand, through Neh, and thus avoids the detour through Sistan with its inundated areas and troublesome and intricate irrigation system. From the point of view of ancient trade communications, the country in the vicinity of Robat presented an interesting problem I was anxious to solve, and which can be explained in a few words. Excluding the somewhat unimportant track which leads to Mekran from Sistan, and runs parallel to the eastern glacis of the Sarhad Hills, I knew there was no other which came from Sistan and traversed British territory. I knew that Sistan, with its highly developed system of irrigation canals, had once formed the headquarters of a Governorship which had embraced within its limits the larger portion of what is modern Afghanistan, and Baluchistan as far down as the Kachi Plains. I knew that a succession of great armies had

marched from Sistan to Kirman, and *vice versa*. It is scarcely necessary to recall to mind that this was the route selected by Alexander the Great as being the easiest for the return of his sick, time-expired veterans, and the women whom he despatched under Krateros to await his arrival at Carmania or Kirman. Incidentally it may be observed that while Krateros is generally supposed to have taken the Bolan route, yet it is worth while remembering that the more direct Siwi-Sanjawi-Khojak route was well known at this time and was in common use. I further knew that Antiochus the Great had marched with his whole army direct from Sistan to Kirman, at the close of what was afterwards to prove his unsuccessful Indian campaign. It thus seemed open to no reasonable doubt that Sistan must have been connected with its neighbouring sister-province of Kirman by one of those great direct posting roads which formed such prominent features both in the time of the Persian Empire and of those empires which succeeded it. Further, I knew that, following the abandonment of the Black Sea Caspian route to India, through Bactria, a more western route had been taken by trade, and that this route had connected the capital of the time being in Southern Mesopotamia direct with India on the one side, and with the Ægean Sea on the other. And, lastly, there were the accounts of the Arab travellers who had made it clear that in their period a great route, long since forgotten, had run from Hormuz, the present Bandar Abbas—the name in medieval times was a synonym of great wealth—to Sistan, which had been in almost daily use. Taking all these points into consideration, it seemed open to no reasonable doubt that the remains of some great trade route were to be found close to Robat, and I made it my task to find it. Later on an opportunity offered of climbing the Koh-i-Daftan Mountain, a peak in the Sarhad Range which, from a height of 13,000 feet, commands a view of the plains for a great distance around. A glance was sufficient to convince me that the great trunk road, if it ever existed, must have passed immediately between the western foot of the range and the great white mass of shimmering heat which represented the great desert, and which I could see extending in an unbroken band as far as the eye could reach. Thanks to the good offices of Mr. Gabler, of the Indo-European Telegraph Department, search was made, and the old trunk road was found, with its ruined stages provided with caravanserais, posting and store houses, guard-posts, and, more interesting still, with lofty lighthouses, on the summits of which traces were found, in some cases, of the beacon fires which were kept burning at night to guide the flow of traffic, which apparently never ceased. For many years it has been one of my ambitions to see this old-time trade route restored and pulsating with life and energy, and with our railway terminus in such immediate vicinity to it we may look forward, I think, with confidence to this now ensuing.

The Persian is the most unwearying of land travellers, but he detests the sea, and will never willingly embark on it. It is quite certain that our Frontier terminus will attract a yearly increasing number of Persians to India, provided that the difficult section between Bam and the railway is made easily passable. Branch connection with Kirman by means of a caravan track of the type of the erstwhile Nushki-Sistan caravan trade route is most desirable and should be established. All that is needed is to have stages marked out which should be provided with wells, caravanserais, storehouses, and accommodation for Baluch-Persian levy guards. The grant of levy service, for guard duties, to the Sarhad Baluch would be followed by the steadying effect that levy service invariably carries with it on the Frontier. Naturally the re-opening of this route would have to be arranged in friendly co-operation with the Persian Government. This branch-route connection outflanks the great desert, and, if made, must become the main route by which all Persians will travel from the Yezd direction. Some years back I was so favourably impressed with the prospects which a direct caravan route connecting Robat with Kirman, through Bam, then held out that a scheme for this was prepared; but, unfortunately, border lawlessness intervened to prevent its materializing. Telegraph communication over this section is already provided by the Indo-European overland telegraph line.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the political effects which our new railway will carry with it, as conditions are at present obscure, and they keep changing from day to day. I shall therefore merely touch on a few instances where we can, with every confidence, estimate with precision the results which will follow.

The late war has emphasized, with an insistency which almost makes one's head ache, that in these times, when whole nations take part in warfare, no army can hope to operate successfully without unlimited munitions supplied by lateral feed railways. The new line must, in these circumstances, become a highly important factor in securing the effective defence of our Indian Empire.

Another of the recent war's lessons is the prominent part played in a campaign by antagonistic political propaganda. Any hostile propaganda directed towards India, through Afghanistan, from the west can now be short-circuited.

The railway provides the Government of India with effective means of translating into active action, should circumstances ever demand it, their treaty obligations towards Afghanistan, and we may take it that this is quite as patent to H.M. the Amir as it is to us.

We have shown in innumerable ways, during the past twenty-five years, that the policy which animates us towards Persia is one of friendly assistance combined with a desire that she shall work out her salvation on her own lines without outside interference. This

policy we are now in a much more favourable position to render effective.

The fact that Afghanistan is surrounded on two sides, can be penetrated from several intervening points, and is guarded by us from outside aggression, should not only exercise a stabilizing effect on the interior and exterior politics of that country, but will supply the Amir with moral strength to deal with any recalcitrant political faction in his country. In Oriental countries political passions are prone to blaze up and burn violently.

For many years past the Baluch tribes of the Sarhad have been in a state of open revolt against the Persian Government, and have raided as far as Kirman and beyond Birjand, inflicting immense damage and suffering. This state of affairs will now, happily, terminate, and permanently so.

The arms traffic between the Persian Gulf and the Indian frontier which prior to the war had engaged the anxious attention of the Indian Government can now be brought under effective control, a matter of extreme present importance in view of the immense supply of rifles, machine-guns, munitions, and explosives which will soon be thrown on the very limited arms markets of the world.

The railway has already proved its great potential value as a defensive insurance measure, and as the years unfold, the rôle which it is destined to play here will not fail to become more and more apparent.

Let us now direct our attention to that great trade-distributing centre Meshed, the head of the Khorassan Government, with a population of 80,000 and a pilgrim traffic to the shrine of the Imam Raza of some 50,000 pilgrims annually, and the capital of a province possessing various deposits of copper, iron, and coal, which have never yet been touched, and the most celebrated turquoise-mines in the world, which have remained unworked for several years owing to maladministration.

Meshed, east of the great desert, is situated 177 miles by cart road from Askabad, on the Transcaspian Railway; 84 miles by hill-track from Doshak, a railway-station on the same line; 175 miles from Merv; and about 231 miles from Herat. A branch line connects Kushk, on the Afghan-Russian frontier, with Merv, and Herat itself is some five marches from Penjdeh.

The trade of Khorassan, in round figures, is two and three-fifths millions. I would like to say, in regard to this figure and such others as I will quote, that the latest reports available are those for the year 1914–15, and that subsequent to that year no Consular reports were issued. This is to be regretted, I think, for in the peculiar circumstances which have governed Russian and British trade with the Khorassan province it would have been a matter of distinct interest to have been able to trace the gradation of effects which followed on the compulsory

withdrawal of those artificial conditions on which Russian trade with Khorassan and Central Asia has been supported for so long.

For a long period in her history India had conducted a highly lucrative trade with Central Asia and Khorassan, and this continued down to the year 1880. Prior to the accession, in that year, of the late Amir Abdur Rahman to the throne of Afghanistan, this trade had largely passed through Afghanistan to Central Asia and Khorassan. It had been subject to many vicissitudes, but was healthy, and had survived all. The first serious blow this trade received was from the policy inaugurated by Amir Abdur Rahman, under which heavy dues, etc., were imposed. Under this blow Indian trade wavered, demand contracted, and prices rose. In the year 1885 Merv fell to Russian arms, and not long afterwards the construction of the great Transcaspian Railway to Askabad was undertaken, which was later on extended to Taskend, through Bokhara, and Samarkand. In the year 1895 Russia introduced, as has been said, a system of tariffs and bounties, framed with the end in view of driving all competing Central Asian trade out of the market, and of placing her trade with Khorassan in a position of such predominance that no successful competition would be possible. In the case of our Central Asian trade this end was quickly attained, and since that date every year has borne evidence to the growth of Russian trade at the expense of ours. In 1913–14 Russian trade with Khorassan stood at over £2,300,000 sterling, whereas our trade had dropped to £130,000 sterling, with exports £15,000 and imports £115,000. British trade put up a gallant fight, but it was a losing one, for on the Russian side there were the following overwhelming advantages:

Ready access by railway and a cart road to Meshed itself. Khorassan exports being almost wholly confined to such bulky articles as wool, cotton, dried fruits, raw hides, etc., our traders were unable to touch them at a profit, and this gave the Russian trade very material advantages. Buying and selling in Persia, a country of mere tracks and pack-animals, is very intimately interassociated, and the trader who can move bulky articles profitably and at the same time supply the seller or buyers' needs has trade all his own way.

A system of favourable tariffs and bounties. The nature of these can best be judged by giving a few examples.

Some of these bounties amounted to 15 per cent. of the value of the goods concerned. On cotton goods the bounty stood at Rbs. 1 c. 40 on 6½ pounds. In 1914–15 the value of the sugar exported by Russia to Khorassan amounted to £350,000, and this bounty-fed sugar could be purchased in Meshed at half the price it stood in the Askabad bazaar. Persian cotton, of which a great deal is grown at Sabzewar, was allowed entry into Russia at a nominal customs of c. 40 per 36 pounds, as against a duty of Rbs. 4 c. 15 imposed on cotton importations from all other countries.

The establishment of selected trade agents at Meshed, Sabzewar, Turbat-i-Haidari, Sheik Jam, and Birjand, etc. These acted as local distributing agents, kept in touch with producers and buyers, and arranged prolonged credits; for instance, they would sell tea at 10 Krs. per 6½ pounds cash, but would allow customers credits for ten, twenty, and even fifty months at Krs. 12, 14, and 20 respectively, a system which seems greatly to appeal to the Persian mentality.

The predominant position which Russia enjoyed owing to the loan of 22,000,000 roubles she had made to Persia, on the security of the Persian Customs income. It is useless to blink at the fact that in innumerable little ways which had, in the aggregate, a great effect the Belgian Customs employees, with whom the collection of Customs rested, were made to feel that their personal interests lay in favouring Russian trade at our expense. It is true that some of these employees endeavoured to keep the balance equal, but these were the exception.

From the favourable position she held in Northern Persia, the Russians were in a position to deal far more effectively than we were with fraudulent bankrupts, defaulting buyers, sellers, carriers, etc.

The unscrupulous use of any circumstance which could be turned by the Russians to their advantage. For instance, in 1896, when plague first appeared in Bombay, the Russians succeeded in closing all trade routes by which Indian trade passed from the Gulf ports to Khorassan, as well as the road from Herat to Meshed, but they were careful to keep their own trade route through Penjdeh to Herat open.

Against this, our nearest point of entry was placed some 900 miles away; the time involved by the journey was from 80 to 120 days; bulky goods could not be moved; our valuable tea trade, from the point of view of securing return trade, had passed almost wholly under the control of Russian dealers, and was compelled to adopt the Bombay-Constantinople-Batoum-Baku route to Askabad.

I have frequently been told that I am optimistic; that to recover our lost Persian and Herat trade is impossible; and year after year now for ten or fifteen years past it has been said that we have reached the limits of caravan trade expansion through Nushki; indeed, kind friends have urged me, in my own interests, to abandon what they believed was a hopeless struggle, successive consulate reports being adduced to support them in this view. The fight, however, was one which appealed to me. The issue was as clear as the stakes, and difficulties were great. I was confident that the future would see, as has happened, important political and trade developments; and although we have not yet won, yet we have now definitely passed well beyond the first and second lines of our great rival's defence. In the year 1897–98, the first year of the working of the caravan route, the value of our trade passing through Nushki amounted to rather over 6 lakhs; in the year 1913–14 to 51 lakhs; and in

the year 1917–18, the last year for which returns have been received, to rather over 60 lakhs, or, in pounds sterling, to some £400,000. These figures may not possibly seem large when brought into comparison with the immense figures of English trade in various parts of the world, but it is to be remembered that they represent almost wholly new trade; they have been built up laboriously without artificial stimulus other than the assistance rendered by the railway concessions to which I have referred; they relate to caravan-borne trade, as distinct from rail-borne trade, attracted from an immense distance and across some 370 miles of almost desert country; and they have been obtained in the face of great difficulties and an almost crushing difference in value between our exports and imports which compelled, in many cases, pack-animals to come down to railhead empty. Yet, again, that these figures, if compared to the entire "Land-borne trade of the provinces of Sind and Baluchistan" for the year 1897–98, the year the trade route was first opened to traffic, stand at 60 lakhs to 81 lakhs.

Apart from the question whether Russia will be able to rehabilitate herself and re-establish those conditions in Transcaspia and Central Asia which existed prior to the war—a matter of very real doubt indeed in view of the tide of anarchy under which she is at present submerged, which has converted that once great Empire into a heaving mass of discordant factions, parties, and races, and has tumbled all her institutions into one general ruin—I can say, with every assurance, that no more favourable opportunity has presented itself to us, for more than twenty years, of recovering that economic position in Central Asia in general, and in Khorassan and Herat in particular, which we enjoyed for so long, and which has been filched from us by methods which were—well, scarcely fair. With a railway from Karachi direct to the Sistan frontier we have at our disposal all the means for doing so, and it now remains for us to make the fullest possible use of all advantages, and they are many, which a railway terminus on this frontier provides.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we have listened to a most instructive and suggestive paper. There are one or two most competent authorities on the subject-matter of the lecture in this room, and I dare say they will favour us with some of their observations. I will invite Sir Hugh Barnes to be kind enough to make a few remarks.

Sir HUGH BARNES: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, as an old Baluchistan officer I have listened to Colonel Webb Ware's address with the greatest of pleasure, because it recalls to me many memories of that very strange country of which he has spoken to-day. I think you will all agree with our chairman that his address has been singularly interesting and instructive. It could hardly fail to be full of information, because I think it is no exaggeration to say that there is no man living

who has anything like the knowledge possessed by Colonel Webb Ware of that great Baluchistan desert, the Registan, and of the Chagai district through which the trade route passes. I can speak with some authority on this point, because it fell to me when I was Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan in 1896 to send Lieutenant Webb Ware, as he was then, to be the first Political Officer in charge of the new district of Chagai. Apart from the ordinary business of administration, Lieutenant Webb Ware's instructions were to develop the trade route to the Persian border. There had always been a little trade dribbling through from Persia to the value of about half a lakh a year; but the object was to improve the road and build posts on an absolutely desert route of over 400 miles, and, if possible, bring about some kind of activity in the trade between Persia and India. Lieutenant Webb Ware threw himself into the work with tremendous zeal and energy, such zeal and energy that very soon the trade route began to bring forth very fruitful results; and in the course of this work he acquired such an affection for the country and the people that, in spite of all temptations to go elsewhere, he remained in the district for no less than nineteen years—that is to say, from 1896 to 1915, when he was invalided home. I think, in these days of frequent and often unnecessary transfers, that is something of a record for the control of a single district by one officer. (Applause.) As you may very well realize, long before those nineteen years were over, Colonel Webb Ware's knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants was quite unique, his influence among the tribesmen was unbounded, and his name throughout the whole of that frontier was a household word—not only on our side of the border, but also among the nomad Afghans of the desert beyond. Now, I am not going to comment much on what Colonel Webb Ware has said, but he has asked me to supplement his address by some of my reminiscences of the desert; I can also fill up some of the gaps in the early history of this line, and can tell you something as to the particular events—the very interesting events—which led to the pushing on of this railway in 1916. (Map shown.) My first view of the desert was at sunrise in the year 1880, from the top of the Khojak, from which elevation you look over a wide panorama of the Afghan plain for some thirty or forty miles. On a clear day you see the hills over Kandahar, but what immediately arrests your eye is the great desert to the south, shining up in the early rays of the morning sun like a great orange band, extending to the horizon as far as the eye can reach, with here and there a great black, jagged peak sticking up out of the wilderness of sand. It is a most remarkable view. My first visit to the desert was in the same year, when I rode from Kandahar with Sir Oliver St. John and Sir Robert Hume seventeen miles to the edge of the desert, where we wondered at the great billows of sand piled up 20 and 30 feet high on the banks of the little Dore River, the only protec-

tion against the extension of the desert into the cultivated land of Kandahar. That was only a visit, and my first exploration was in 1884, when I was sent down to Nushki by Sir Robert Sandeman to prepare the road for the Afghan Boundary Commission across the desert to the Helmund. The Commission was going up to settle with the Russians the western boundary of Afghanistan, and the Amir refused, you well remember, to allow it to go through Kandahar, the shortest road to Herat, and insisted it should go through Lash Juwain and Afghan Sistan. The only way to do this was to cross the desert, and it was decided to attempt to find a road to the Helmund from Nushki. At that time very little was known of the desert at all; the only notes we possessed were some written by the late Sir Charles McGregor, Quartermaster-General in India, who at one time had travelled in the southern parts of the desert; but except that there was a track to Chagai, nothing was known as to the practicability of the desert beyond. After being a month at Nushki, I was joined by Captain Maitland, of the Indian Intelligence Department. Between us we discovered and stocked with supplies a route north of Chagai to a place called Galichah, about fifty miles from the Helmund. The distance from Nushki to Khwaja Ali, on the Helmund, was 225 miles. It was not an easy road to follow; we had to mark it out with ploughshares, flares, and posts in the sand, and we had to dig about 800 wells to provide water. Even then it was impossible to pass the whole of the Commission through at once. The party consisted of 1,500 men and 1,500 animals, and they had to go across in three or four parties at one day's interval, so as to allow the wells to fill up. At that time the old thirty-two miles to the inch map of India and the frontier showed the Afghan boundary as a green line about fifty miles from the Helmund, and accordingly we were to hold that the boundary of Baluchistan went up to *that* line. I went along with the Commission as far as Galichah, fifty miles from the Helmund, from which place they had to march fifty miles without water to the river. The Afghan Commissioner used to dispute with me at every stage as we went across that the boundary was reached, and that it was time for me to go back; but on the authority of the map of those days I went on as far as Galichah, where I said good-bye to the Commission and had to ride back with my Baluch escort across the desert. I have a very pleasant recollection of the ride. The fine bright desert air was most exhilarating, and I remember the high spirits of those Baluchi tribesmen. Whenever they got to a bit of flat open ground, they used to race their horses one against another. After this for some years nothing particular happened at Nushki beyond the ordinary border troubles. Part of the Boundary Commission came back by the same route, but nothing of importance occurred until 1895–96, at which time Captain (now Colonel Sir Henry) McMahon was engaged in demarcating, with the aid of

an Afghan Commissioner, the southern part of the Durand line—that is to say, the line agreed upon by the Amir and Sir Mortimer Durand as the boundary between Afghanistan and our own sphere of influence among the border tribes. Captain McMahon demarcated the Zhob border in 1895, and in the early part of 1896 traversed the desert with the Afghan officials and laid out the present line to Koh-i-Malik Siah, the point where the three empires, Persia, Afghanistan, and India meet. A good deal more was given to the Afghans than we thought to be theirs in 1884. But their claims were very extensive, and the line fixed on represented a compromise accepted by both sides. As you may imagine, to march from Chaman right across the sandy desert of which Colonel Webb Ware has shown some pictures was not an easy business, and Captain McMahon had a very difficult and arduous task, which he accomplished most successfully. When Captain McMahon came back I happened to be in Simla as Acting Foreign Secretary, and he pointed out the very urgent necessity of having a British officer in charge of the Chagai district between the hills and the new border, because the Khan of Kalat had practically no authority there at all, and there was serious danger that the new Frontier might be unsettled by raids on either side. The result was that Lieutenant Webb Ware was sent down to be the first Political Officer of the Chagai district. Captain McMahon, at the same time, suggested we should obtain control of Nushki, which was a small district paying revenue to the Khan of Kalat. He suggested we should take it over on terms similar to those on which we hold Quetta. Quetta is not British territory; Pishin and Sibi are British territory regularly annexed, because we took them from the Afghans after the Afghan War. Quetta is what is known as an "Assigned" district. We hold it on a lease in perpetuity from the Khan of Kalat at an annual quit rent. The proposal about Nushki was very favourably received at Simla, and in 1899 an arrangement was made transferring the Nushki district to us in consideration of an annual quit rent. Nushki became Lieutenant Webb Ware's headquarters. About that time there arose the question of running a branch from the Quetta Railway down to Nushki. Colonel Webb Ware has told you the reason for it. From Nushki to the Persian Frontier is an ideal camel country—most of it absolutely flat, a great deal very sandy. But Quetta is 5,500 feet high, Nushki only 2,500, and there is a mountain road between the two which is a difficult road for the rather lightly built camels of the desert. Also, there is very little camel grazing at Quetta, and the nomad Baluchis of the desert were shy of going into new country with which they were not acquainted, and which was often in winter under snow. The proposal for a railway was strongly supported by Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy. He obtained the necessary sanction from the Government at home in 1902, and the line was completed in 1905. At that time it was certainly in

my mind, and I believe that it was also in Lord Curzon's mind, that the railway would some time or other have to be extended to the Persian Frontier both for military reasons and in the interest of trade. But after 1905, beyond the improvement of the camel route through the desert, carefully shepherded all those years by Colonel Webb Ware, nothing was done until 1916. The arguments in favour of pushing on the line were twofold. There was, of course, the commercial reason, the advantage to trade of bridging the desert and of reaching the inhabited and cultivated country on the other side of it. Incidentally, too, it was always held that this railway would be a very great military and strategic advantage, because it would enable us at any moment, if necessary, in the event of an attack from the north, to put troops into the oasis of Sistan. Of course, in those days, when these views were held, the great anxiety of the Indian Government for many years—from the time when Colonel Valentine Baker wrote his book on "Clouds in the East" onwards—was, as you know, the aggressive policy of Russia on the far border of Afghanistan. When I went out to India, Russia was on the Caspian, but not across it. Gradually she encroached or advanced, very naturally, no doubt, until she was at Merv. Then came the Boundary Commission which settled the western boundary of Afghanistan, but it was always in the mind of the Indian Government that there might be some day an attack from the north, either in conjunction with Afghanistan, or under circumstances which would bind us to go into Afghanistan to defend it from encroachment. You will see that the occupation of a place like Sistan by a hostile force would not only upset the whole of our Frontier arrangements, and cause unrest and trouble throughout the whole of the border, but also, in the event of a British force operating from Kandahar in the direction of Girishk, on the Helmund, its flank could be turned up the Helmund River. On the other hand, if Sistan was held by us, not only would that manœuvre be impossible, but also considerable support could be given to any army occupying, or operating in, Southern Afghanistan in the way of supplies up the Helmund River, the Helmund itself being absolutely unassailable because of this desert, called the Dasht-i-Margo, on the north, and the corresponding desert on the south. Nevertheless, nothing was done after 1905, partly, I dare say, because Lord Curzon himself had left India, partly also, perhaps, because there was a Liberal Government in power. Whatever the other merits of Liberal Governments may be, I think most of us will agree that they did not in those days shine in the matter of military preparation. There was also a very plausible reason for not pushing forward, because, as you will remember, in 1907 came the welcome entente with Russia, with which our chairman had a very great deal to do. That, for the time being, removed the immediate fear of any aggression from the north. I will now tell you how it came about that in 1916 the Govern-

ment of India decided to push on the line. (Map of Persia shown.) In order to do so I must turn your attention for a moment to Persia. When Turkey entered the war, Persia, of course, was a neutral nation, and had every desire to remain neutral. It was to her advantage to remain neutral, and there was every hope that she would be able to keep aloof from the great conflict because, of course, Persia had no army which could be of any military value to either of the belligerents. That, however, was not the view of the Germans or Turks, and no sooner had the Turks joined in the struggle than all the German officials in Persia commenced to start at once a tremendous anti-British propaganda, which was so universal and so well concerted that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that their plans were carefully prepared before the war. I am, as perhaps you know, chairman of the Imperial Bank of Persia; therefore in what I am telling you I am speaking of what I know from the information I have had from time to time. The first thing the Turks did was to take Tabriz, and that without any provocation at all. They turned our Bank Manager and Consul out of Tabriz, and our branch there was closed. This only lasted six weeks, for the Russians came down from the Caucasus and reoccupied the town. Almost simultaneously the Turks advanced on Ahwaz, a town on the Karun River, partly, no doubt, to embarrass our expedition at Basra, and partly in the hope of damaging the Anglo-Persian oilfields situated in the hills, whose pipe-line runs down the Karun from Ahwaz to the Shat-el-Arab, the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates. A few British troops were detached to defend Ahwaz, and as our expedition gradually advanced up the Tigris, the Turks were compelled to retire from this part of Persia. But they adhered to their object, and the next thing they did was to advance in the centre and capture Kermanshah, which our Consul and Bank Manager had to leave in a hurry. About the same time a German Consul, called, I think, Schiedemann, succeeded in winning over to his side the Swedish officers and the Persian gendarmerie under their orders, and took possession of Hamadan, where also our bank had to be closed. Very shortly after these German conspirators reached Kum, and there was a plot to persuade the Shah to go down there in the hope of bringing him over to their side. This was defeated by the efforts of the Russian and British Ministers in Teheran, and the Germans and their followers retreated south and seized Sultanabad and Ispahan. Our Consul at Ispahan, with the whole of the bank staff and all the ladies and children, had to march with very inadequate transport through the Bakhtiari Hills down to Ahwaz to obtain refuge. Almost immediately afterwards the enemy seized Shiraz, and our Bank Manager there, Mr. Fergusson, with all his staff, and our Consul, Colonel O'Connor, were taken prisoners, and brought down to a place called Borasjun, and remained in confinement for eight months. This coup was engineered by another

German Consul called Herr Wassmuss. From Shiraz the German filibusters pushed on to Yezd and Kirman, and our Bank Manager and Consul were obliged to take refuge in Bandar Abbas. Thus, at the end of 1915, out of seventeen branches of this Bank in Persia, no less than seven were in the hands of the Germans and Turks—Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman; practically the whole of Southern Persia was under German influence, and all the trade routes to the Gulf were closed. The position was obviously rather a critical one, especially as there was reason to suppose that the Germans were trying to get emissaries into Afghanistan. In fact, I believe they did succeed in getting a deputation into Kabul, but failed to influence the Amir. In January, 1916, I went to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India, and pointed out that the position was a very unpleasant one. According to our information, there were only about thirty or forty Germans at Kirman, supported by a number of levies which they had raised. I pointed out that that was a game two could play at, that our officers were very much better at raising tribal levies than the Germans, and that there were plenty of men in Baluchistan a great deal better than any men the Germans were able to raise in Persia. I also urged the pushing on of this railway, which would enable us to strengthen all our Frontier posts from Koh-i-Malik Siah all along the border, and so enable us to exercise some control in Eastern Persia. I wrote two articles on the railway in that excellent little paper the *Indiaman*, now alas! defunct, and I asked Colonel Webb Ware if he could assist. He responded, with his usual energy and enthusiasm, with a series of masterly memoranda, full of knowledge and information as to the route the railway should take, and the character of the country —in fact, with a complete description of the whole of the route from Nushki onwards to the Persian Frontier. These were sent to the Indian Government; I have no doubt that the Indian Government were also looking into the matter on their side. You will remember that in March, 1916, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, with a few Indian troops, was sent to Bandar Abbas, where he raised some levies, advanced to Kirman, and drove the Germans successively out of Yezd, Shiraz, and Ispahan, so that before the end of 1916, with the help of the Russians in the north, most of the German and Turkish emissaries were out of the country—at any rate their influence was gone. Also, in the summer of 1916 the Indian Government took up the question of the railway and obtained the sanction of the Home Government to pushing it on to Dalbandin. It was represented to them that the railway could not possibly remain with its terminus at that place. To leave it there was like stopping a bridge in the middle of a stream. We needed to bridge the whole of the desert, and until this was done the railway could not attain its full usefulness or be as

productive as it might be expected to prove if it ran into Persian territory. Well, I have no doubt that the admirable arguments used by Colonel Webb Ware in his memoranda had a great deal to do with the decision of the Indian Government in pushing on to Dalbandin, but you will see also that their hand was to some extent forced by circumstances. They were bound to do something with the Germans in Kirman. But after Sir Percy Sykes's brilliant and successful march through the South of Persia there was not the same immediate necessity to push on from Dalbandin, and whether they would have gone on as quickly as they have done if nothing further had occurred I do not know; but in the meantime another danger had arisen. The collapse of Russia had taken place, the Germans had obtained control of the Black Sea, the Turks had landed at Batoum, and were clearly aiming to gain possession of Baku. There was an obvious danger that, if they strengthened themselves sufficiently at Baku, they might be able to send a small force across the Caspian on to the Transcaspian line, and so to Merv, which, although it might not be a serious military danger, would yet be sufficiently strong to create very great unrest all along the border among the Turkomans and Afghans. So here, again, I fancy the Indian Government's hand was to a certain extent forced by circumstances. The railway to Dalbandin was started in the autumn of 1916, and was completed in March, 1917. In this summer of 1917, after the Russian collapse, the Government decided to push the line on to Mirjawa, on the Persian border. Work was begun in the autumn of 1917, and I believe this extension was finished last March. Since then the line has been pushed on thirty or forty miles to the neighbourhood of Koh-i-Malik Siah, possibly to a place called Dusdap, which I think Colonel Webb Ware has mentioned as being an important plateau, from which you look over Sistan and the country between the hills and desert. In the meantime, owing to the Armistice, the danger from the north has, in its turn, disappeared, at any rate temporarily, and there is no object in going farther. The points to remember—and why I mention them is that there are people who object to an advance of any kind on our Indian Frontier on the assumption that it implies an aggressive or jingo or militaristic policy—are, first, that there is, of course, nothing aggressive or even unusual in running a commercial railway through your own territory to the borders of a neighbouring friendly power; and, secondly, in this particular instance the hands of the Government of India were practically forced by the events in Persia arising from the aggressive policy of Germany in that neutral country. This completes up to date the history of this interesting and important railway. As to the future I agree very generally with what Colonel Webb Ware has said. Of course, any further extension of the line must depend on the Persian Government, seeing that we have now reached the Persian border. How far the Persians may be able

to finance any railway extensions in the near future I cannot say; but this at any rate may be asserted, that, with the railway brought practically on to the Persian plateau, the Persian Government have now an admirable opportunity of providing Eastern Persia with a system of railway communications which can hardly fail to be advantageous to their trade; and, although I have no knowledge at all of what the views of the Government of India or the India Office here may be on the subject, I should imagine that if as a first step the Persian Government were to ask for the extension of the line into Nasratabad in Sistan, the Government of India would be only too happy to meet their wishes on very favourable terms, because such an extension into the middle of a very fertile and cultivated area, to a town where there is a local Governor, a British bank, and a British Consul, must be of advantage to both parties. I think it would be a wise course to suggest this to the Persian Government. Whether it is possible to extend south in the direction of Bampur and Kirman is a much bigger question; but, at any rate, we may anticipate with confidence that the closer association brought about between Persia and the frontiers of India will certainly, as time goes on, increase the trade between the two countries. I heard the other day that already the railway as far as Mirjawa was obtaining satisfactory traffic. I may mention that an excellent illustration of the military value of this railway is afforded by a telegram in *The Times* the day before yesterday, which stated that a British force accompanied by an anti-Bolshevist Russian force had completely defeated a Bolshevist force fifty miles north-east of Merv. How do you suppose the men got there? They could not have got there without very great delay and expense unless this railway had existed. (Applause.) Therefore, although it would have been very much better if the railway had been made ten years ago, when it could have been made very much more cheaply, or even if it had been built at the very beginning of the war—still, it came in time to be of very great use during the last stage of the great struggle. I have nothing further to say except that I think it must be an extraordinary gratification to Colonel Webb Ware, after twenty years of unobtrusive work and patient endeavour on the trade route, to see at last his dearest ambition fulfilled and a line of railway built between Nushki and the Persian Frontier. I hope he will not object to my saying so, but there is no doubt that his knowledge and experience of the desert, and his ability, when this emergency arose, to put before the Government in the most minute detail every possible thing that they could require to know with regard to the 400 miles of desert, so that it was possible for them to operate quickly, without very much of a survey, and without much discussion as to the proper route by which to proceed, had a very great influence in bringing about the rapid and immediate completion of the line. Although his work has lain for many years in

an out-of-the-way district, where it has not been noticed, I am glad to think that at last all that he has accomplished in that part of the world is receiving recognition.

Sir HENRY MCMAHON: Ladies and gentlemen, at this time of the evening I am not going to keep you for more than a minute. The pictures and the lecture have reawakened many old memories, but I am not going to bore you with those. We have listened to a most interesting and useful lecture by Colonel Webb Ware, and I just want to add a word of praise as to his work in that part of the world, which has facilitated and led to the railway of which we have all been talking. It is almost impossible to realize the change that has occurred in the country from the time when I first had the pleasure of seeing it. A slight reference was made by Sir Hugh Barnes to where the Afghan boundary was thought to be when he went to the Helmund in 1884, and what it is on the map as shown to you just now. Well, of course, the boundary was in a land which was absolutely unknown—known neither by the Afghans nor by us ; as strange to the Englishmen on the Commission as to the Afghan officials who met them—a country on a perfectly incorrect map. In 1893, at Kabul, that portion of the boundary was the subject of great discussion, and nobody took any great interest in it except myself. In fact, I was in charge of all the negotiations for the Baluch boundary, and, strange to say, no portion of the whole of our boundary between India and Afghanistan caused more discussion with the Amir than that bit of Chagai. He had had an obsession for many years that it was the strategic point on which the safety of Southern Afghanistan depended, and he was not going to give it up. We had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to do so. He had taken every precaution to make it Afghan territory, because, when I went there to demarcate the boundary, we found Afghan posts and garrisons sixty miles south of where we hoped the boundary to be. Those had to be removed, and we got the boundary where we wanted it. In those days, from a few miles beyond Quetta to as far as the Persian border it was an absolutely uninhabited country, and almost unknown; and Nushki, which is now the capital over which Colonel Webb Ware has reigned so long, was by no means a friendly place. It was peopled by a wild, savage lot, so afraid of what I would do with them—I was angry with them because they had been rude to me from a distance—that when I went to Nushki in the first instance all the inhabitants fled and the head-men hid down wells. (Laughter.) I had them searched for and found, and took them back tied up as prisoners to Quetta. *Here* (showing on map) is Nushki. From here onwards, where we are talking of, is a railway, and Sir Hugh Barnes has just told us there is a lot of traffic by that railway. But we met no one at all from a point near Chagai. In a journey of six weeks—n my diary I saw it noted the other day—we only met three inhabi-

tants. Some years afterwards I went to Sistan and spent two and a half years on a mission there. I came home in 1905. I had a large party with me—something like 1,400 men, many horses, and about 3,000 camels. I came back by the trade route which Colonel Webb Ware had opened *here* (showing), and, instead of going through long waterless tracts—fifty and seventy mile stretches without water—as I had done eight years before, I found a long line of stages with wells at each stage; and when I came to Nushki, this very inhospitable place which I have just referred to, I found a nice tidy town built. I was met by deputations of the inhabitants. There were decorations and flags over the houses, and I was there for two or three days in the enjoyment of all the hospitality and entertainment the town could give me. That was all the result of the working of Colonel Webb Ware amongst a primitive, wild people in an absolutely desolate and inhospitable country. This is the country through which the railway you have now heard of runs. As to the prospects of the railway, everything has been touched on, I think, except the enormous potentialities of Sistan itself, which I venture to prophesy will provide traffic for more than one railway in the days to come. I thank you, Colonel Webb Ware, for your most interesting lecture.

The CHAIRMAN: I think we ought not to separate, ladies and gentlemen, without conveying our very heartiest thanks to Colonel Webb Ware for his most instructive paper; also, I think we ought to add that we are much indebted to both Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry MacMahon for the very useful and interesting observations they have been good enough to make. I therefore hope I may be authorized to thank Colonel Webb Ware very much for his paper. (Applause.)

Colonel WEBB WARE: My Lord Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the vote of thanks which you have passed is one for which I desire to express my grateful appreciation, as well as for the interest and attention with which you have listened to my lecture. The discussion which followed, I think, was of particular interest. I feel far from deserving the tribute which has been extended by Sir Hugh Barnes and Sir Henry McMahon to the work with which I have been so intimately associated for so long. But if the Nushki-Sistan trade route has in any respects proved successful in the past, and the foundations have been well and truly laid for the success which I so firmly believe awaits its railway-borne trade in future, then permit me in turn to express the deep sense of the obligation under which I labour for the official assistance and sympathy I have received from the heads of the Baluchistan province, and for the consideration which has so readily been extended to me by the Government of India. (Applause.)

This ended the meeting.

APPENDIX

THE NUSHKI TRADE ROUTE *

A MUCH NEEDED RAILWAY

BY SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

AT a time like the present, when the grant for capital expenditure on Indian railways has been cut down from £12,000,000 to £3,000,000, it may seem rash to propose the construction of a new line, especially of a frontier line. But there is one project to which the events of the war have added so much importance, both from the commercial and the political point of view, that I think it deserves the serious consideration of the Government of India. I refer to a proposal more than once made, but never carried out, for building a light line of railway from Nushki to Nasratabad in Sistan, or, at any rate, to our Frontier post at Koh-i-Malik Siah, on the Sistan border.

The Nushki trade route from Quetta to Sistan was opened in 1897 in the hope of developing an overland trade between India and Persia. It was at that date placed in charge of Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Webb Ware, of the Political Department, who, as Political Agent for Chagai, has with unabated zeal and enthusiasm remained in charge of it almost continuously for the past nineteen years. It is mainly to his energy, enterprise, and knowledge of the people that the success hitherto achieved is due.

In the beginning the trade was small. Camel carriage was the only means of transporting goods over the 450 miles intervening between Quetta and Sistan, and the first 100 miles from Quetta down to the edge of the desert at Nushki ran through a network of hills, and was difficult. When Lord Curzon came to India he cordially supported the development of the route, and his Viceroyalty saw the appointment of a British Consul in Sistan, the establishment there of a branch of the Imperial Bank of Persia, and finally the construction of a railway on the standard gauge from Quetta to Nushki, thus eliminating the difficulties of the first part of the route. From Nushki to the Sistan border the trade is still carried on camels, but the road, which runs for the most part between the Kharan Hills and the Registan Desert, passes over an absolutely flat pebbly plain, presenting no difficulties to the construction of a light railway.

The railway to Nushki had an immediate effect on the trade, which has now reached a value of about £350,000 per annum. But this appears to be the maximum obtainable under present conditions, not only because of the increasing expense and great delay of camel carriage, but also because the limit of camel transport appears to have been reached. Unless something can be done the trade is likely to remain at a standstill, but if means can be found of increasing, quickening, and cheapening the transport facilities, a very great expansion may be looked for, even in ordinary times.

The present moment offers an exceptional opportunity for taking action. Owing to the war, Russia has prohibited exports to Persia, trade by the Baghdad-Kermanshah route has ceased, and all the

* Formerly contributed to the *Indiaman* by Sir Hugh Barnes.

southern routes to the Gulf have been closed by the German intrigues. The Nushki route, therefore, is practically the only channel left open to Persia's foreign trade. Not long ago it was reported that no less than 2,000 camel loads of goods were stacked on the Nushki railway platform awaiting onward despatch, but that sufficient camels were not forthcoming. In September last the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Meshed wrote:

"There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that if quick transport were available on the route from Nushki to Sistan the piece goods import trade would be diverted from its present channel, and possibly also the large wool and cotton exports from this province could be profitably exported via India."

He added:

"We cannot but hope that the attention of our Government will be directed to the great possibilities for our trade which would now ensue from the Nushki route being better organized and a general speeding up of the transport. We venture to state that the result would astonish everyone."

It may be added that camels take the best part of a month to reach Sistan from Nushki, and the friction, delays, and disappointments connected with the organizing of caravans are a serious deterrent to enterprise. By rail goods could reach our Frontier at Koh-i-Malik Siah in a day. That is very briefly the case for the railway from the commercial point of view.

The political and administrative advantages of the line are hardly less important. I fancy the general public have a very hazy idea of what the Germans have been doing in Persia. That unhappy country, being neutral and of no military value to any of the combatants, might reasonably have expected to keep aloof from the great conflict. But this was not the view of the Germans. At an early stage of the war they incited the Turks to attack and occupy Tabriz, whence, fortunately, they were speedily driven by the Russians.

Next Ahwaz was threatened, but here British troops detached from the Basra expedition stood in the way. Then Kermanshah was occupied, and at Teheran the German, Austrian, and Turkish Ministers planned, in effect, to kidnap the Shah and his Government, in the hope of forcing Persia to join the Central Powers. The plot failed, thanks to the exertions of the British and Russian Ministers and the timely advance of Russian troops. The conspirators took refuge first in Kum, and then in Ispahan. They posed as the supporters of the Democratic party, preached a Holy War, suborned the Persian gendarmerie and their Swedish officers, rushed in arms and ammunition through Kermanshah, and raised from the dregs of the population a miscellaneous collection of armed levies.

The result has been that gradually during the past six months we have had the humiliation of seeing our Consuls and bank managers driven in succession from Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, Ispahan, Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman. Kirman was the last place to be seized. It was captured, we are told, by a party of thirty or forty Germans and Austrians, aided by some tribesmen and malcontents from the town, in spite of the loyal efforts of the Bakhtiari Governor, Sirdar-ul-Zafar. The advance of Russian troops in the west has cleared Kermanshah, Hamadan, Sultanabad, and Ispahan of the German filibusters, but Shiraz, Yezd, and Kirman still remain in their

hands, and the British Consul at Shiraz, Major O'Connor, and the local manager of the Imperial Bank, Mr. Fergusson, are still detained as prisoners in the hills above Bushire.

But what, it may be asked, has all this to do with the Nushki Railway? Well, in the first place, the unrest in Persia has compelled the Indian Government, at great expense and with much delay, to strengthen its forces on the Sistan border. Secondly, it clearly behoves us to co-operate with the Russians in reasserting the authority of the Persian Government by clearing, at any rate, our own sphere of the German "banditti." For this purpose what a boon this railway would have been had it existed at the present time! We could certainly have saved Kirman. We could also have prevented or promptly punished the murderous raids which during the past two years, under German instigation, have been made from Persian Baluchistan on the peaceful inhabitants of the Mekran. In short, with the aid of the railway we could, with the minimum of expense and effort, have ensured the maintenance of Persian authority in South-Eastern Persia and have kept the peace of the border.

In a previous article I pointed out the political and commercial advantages of the proposed line from Nushki, and suggested that had the railway been in existence now it would have been of great value in enabling us to frustrate German intrigue in Eastern Persia.

With this object-lesson before us of the value of the line, both to the Persian Government and to ourselves, it is surely wise to see that we are not caught a second time without it. The Germans, in our place, with their usual foresight, would, no doubt, have constructed the line long ago, or if it had not been made at the beginning of the war, they would have pushed it on rapidly during the past year. Our failure to recognize its value in time is one more instance of British lack of preparation. Let us, at any rate, exercise some imagination now. The utility of the railway will not cease with the end of the war. The Indian Government is deeply interested in the maintenance of the independence and prosperity of Persia. England and Russia have mutually agreed to respect her independence and integrity. As one of the objects of this war is to uphold the observance of treaties, it is inconceivable—so long as Persia remains neutral—that this agreement should fail to be observed. We may be confident, therefore, that after the war the British and Russian Governments will make a determined effort to set Persia on her legs once more. It will greatly assist us in contributing our share towards the accomplishment of this desirable aim, and will also ensure for all time the security of our own Frontier if the Indian communications with the Persian border are improved in the way suggested.

It will not be out of place to mention that in another direction also the proposed line would have a military value which is not to be despised. Not only would it greatly reduce the cost of our Frontier posts, but, as may be seen from a glance at the map, the power rapidly to place and maintain a military force on the Sistan border would, in the event of trouble in or with Afghanistan, at once give us the control of the Helmund valley up to Girishk—a very important advantage.

There remain to be considered the administrative advantages of the line. One of them would probably be a considerable saving in the cost of maintaining our troops in Quetta. Sistan, watered by the Helmund, is the granary of Eastern Persia, and, owing to its inaccessi-

bility and its peninsular position, almost surrounded by deserts, grain and flour, sheep, wool, and ghi, are extraordinarily cheap, and could be landed in Quetta at lower prices than supplies from India. Another gain would be the opportunities afforded for the development of the country on the British side of the border. It is true that in appearance it would be difficult to find anywhere a more barren and desolate-looking tract than that through which the route passes after leaving Nushki, with the bare Kharan Hills on one side, and on the other the great Baluch desert, known as the Registan. But the security afforded by the existing road, with its line of levy posts, has already done much to settle the nomad population down to peaceful pursuits, to increase their flocks and herds, and to add to the revenue. The influence of the railway would, obviously, be much wider. According to Colonel Webb Ware, who knows the country more intimately than anyone else, it would open up a highly mineralized tract where salt can be obtained in unlimited quantities, and iron, copper, lead, sulphur, antimony, and ochre are known to exist. He also believes in the possibility of extensive cultivation from the waters of the Mashkhel River if only a railway were available to carry away the produce to the markets of Quetta. All our experience on the Indian Frontier tends to show that even in the most inhospitable surroundings a railway tends in a very astonishing way to create traffic where none appeared to exist before.

But what, it may be asked, would be the cost of the line ? It is important that the line should be treated purely as a branch or feeder line to the main railway at Nushki, and that it should be constructed on a narrow gauge, preferably the metre gauge. This for two reasons—first, that the line must be a cheap one; and, secondly, because it is desirable that no encouragement should be given to the notion that it might form a link in the proposed Transpersian Railway, which it is desired should run along the coast. The distance from Nushki to our Frontier outpost at Koh-i-Malik Shah is about 350 miles. The line for the whole way would traverse a flat plain, free from all engineering difficulties. A telegraph-line already exists, and intermediate stations would be few, and might be of the simplest and most inexpensive description. I am told on high authority that in a country such as that described the cost of laying the permanent way of a metre gauge line with light 36-pound rails would probably not exceed Rs. 24,000 per mile, even at present prices. If second-hand rails were used the cost would be less. Some of the metre-gauge lines in Sind are said to have been laid down for Rs. 15,000 per mile. Extra charges would be the survey expenses and cost of rolling stock. But probably old rolling stock, quite good enough for the immediate purposes of the line, could be obtained cheaply from the metre-gauge lines in India.

If these suppositions are correct, it is obvious the cost of the line would not be very great, and it could be laid at a very rapid rate. Probably, owing to the demands of the war, the Indian Government have no old rails in stock, and it would take some time to obtain a new supply. But I suggest that it should be possible to utilize the coming summer months in pushing on a survey of the line and preparing estimates, so that the construction, if decided on, can be begun in the early autumn.

Meanwhile, as a temporary arrangement, it might be practicable to relieve the congestion of traffic by organizing a motor-lorry service

from Nushki for at any rate a portion of the way to the Frontier. This would greatly relieve the strain on the supply of camels. But I have no hesitation in saying that a motor service would be no adequate substitute for a railway. The maintenance of a permanent and regular service would require the construction of a first-class metalled road, which would take as long to make, be far less satisfactory, and nearly as expensive as the light railway suggested. It is the railway that is really needed, and the adoption of half measures is likely to end, as is so often the case, in a waste of public money.

OBITUARY

LIEUT-GENERAL SIR JAMES HILLS-JOHNES, V.C., G.C.B.

By the death at Dolaucothy, in Carmarthenshire, on January 3, 1919, from the effects of influenza, of Lieut.-General Sir James Hills-Johnes, V.C., G.C.B., the Central Asian Society loses one of its original members and the Indian Army one of its most distinguished officers. Lord Roberts, in his "Forty-one Years in India" (Vol. I., p. 195), introduces him to us as "Jemmy Hills, one of the subalterns in Tombs' troop, an old Addiscombe friend of mine"; and a few pages later tells how "Jemmy Hills" won the V.C. for gallantry that saved the situation, and not merely a comrade's life—a form of gallantry which is considered by many not appropriate to the V.C. It is true that Major Tombs also on this occasion won the V.C., and saved Hills' life, but Tombs' action also saved the situation.

I do not think it necessary here to retail the list of the campaigns in which Sir James took part. That has been already fully done by all the leading papers of the day. He assumed in 1883, by Royal licence, the additional name and arms of Johnes, by reason of his marriage in the previous year with the co-heiress of John Johnes, of Dolaucothy, on the borders of Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. In 1888 he retired from the Army, and in 1890 he made the journey which, doubtless, accounts for the early interest which he took in the formation and development of the Central Asian Society. He and I, having independently determined to avail ourselves of the invitation given by Russia to the world to visit the first Exhibition at Tashkent, met at Baku, and made the journey thence together to Tashkent and back to Tiflis between September 14 and October 9, 1890. At Tiflis we parted, Sir James being bound for England via Moscow and I via Constantinople.

I could say much of the interest of our trip, but I limit myself to two incidents. At Geok Tepe, the famous scene of General Skobeleff's siege of the Teke Turcomans, our train stopped, and we had half an hour or more to walk from the station to the so-called Teke fortress. While we were still inspecting it, a loud whistle came from our engine. We started promptly for the station. Sir James said, "I am too lame to run," and then he told me how he had been injured by a wounded boar which he had tackled in a patch of sugar-

cane. We agreed to catch or miss the train together. We caught it. General Annenkoff during our trip was kindness itself, and at Amu Darya on October 3 gave us a farewell luncheon, bidding us "bon voyage" in a neat little French speech, to which Sir James replied in French, with that resolution which has characterized him through life. During the thirty years of his retirement he was a man of mark in his county, and when Sergeant Robert Bye, V.C., of the Welsh Guards, was welcomed home to Llanelly on Saturday, September 29, 1917, he was personally congratulated by Sir James Hills-Johnes, who was then the oldest living wearer of the Victoria Cross. The *Daily Graphic* of October 1, 1917, has preserved an excellent picture of that scene, upon which we who knew him cannot now look without a feeling somewhat deeper than interest. Sir James was present at one, if not more, of the meetings of the Society in, I think, the first half of the past year. As far as I remember, he did not join in our discussions; but the part which he played in the Second Afghan War, and his visit to Tashkent in 1890, made him at home with that great "Central Asian Question' which was the *fons et origo* of the Central Asian Society.

A. C. YATE,
Hon. Sec., Central Asian Society.

January 6, 1919.

COLONEL R. H. JENNINGS, C.S.I., R.E.

To all who knew the late Colonel Robert Henry Jennings, C.S.I., R.E.—whose loss the Society has to regret—during the period of his service under the Government of India, it is well known that he was not cast in any ordinary mould. The mere routine of his life (*vide* "Who's Who") records his education at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, his receipt of a Commission in the Royal Engineers in 1872, and the various appointments which he held in the Political Department from 1879 till his retirement from the service in 1905. My own first personal meeting with him was on an occasion of some moment. My regiment, the 1st Baluchis, was encamped at Sharigh, protecting the Harnai Railway, then under construction. At a late hour on the night of the 1st or 2nd of August, 1880, an officer with a small escort rode into our camp and had an interview with Colonel Bell, commanding the 1st Baluchis, and Colonel Lindsay, R.E., constructing the railway. That done, he (Lieutenant R. H. Jennings) remounted and disappeared in the dark, bound for Duki or Thal Chotiali. He had left Quetta in the morning, come through with relays of horses and escort, and went on from Sharigh with fresh horse and escort. Quetta to Thal, via Kachh and Sharigh is a good

120 miles, and, as far as I know, Lieutenant Jennings covered the distance with only such halts as were necessary for interviews with the senior officers of the several stations which he visited, and for food for man and beast. The news he carried was that of the defeat of General Burrows at Maiwand. His ride was a good performance, acting on the Roman maxim of transmitting bad news swiftly and good news at leisure. Colonel Roome, from Thal, joined us with his force at Sharigh in a few days, and we then all moved on to Chaman, preparatory to an advance for the relief of Kandahar—a relief which, unfortunately, Sir Robert Phayre left entirely to Sir Frederick Roberts. Sir R. Phayre was in 1880 what Britain is accused of having so often been in the war just ended—viz., "Too late!"

Of Captain Jennings' subsequent travels in Baluchistan and Persia in 1886 I heard much at the time; and those who had the privilege of reading the diary which he dressed up for the edification of the Foreign Office and Army Headquarters at Simla assured me that it was distinguished by a bold originality of theme, style, and humour, such as the Foreign Office and Army Headquarters, to their regret, rarely met with in "Reports." Refreshing diaries of the Captain Jennings school were admirably adapted to relieve bureaucratic monotony. It must have been just before he took these travels that I met him in the Panjab Club at Lahore, on my return from the Afghan Boundary Commission and on my way to the Delhi-Ambala manœuvres of 1885-86. He was then employed on the Army Staff. Subsequently I rarely met him, and only once recollect seeing him at a meeting of the Society. One can but regret now that he was never moved to revive for the benefit of our Society the reminiscences of journeys which so edified Simla and Quetta thirty years ago.

Sir Hugh Barnes, who saw much of Colonel Jennings in the eighties of the last century at Quetta, writes to me: "I was very fond of him when we were together for a while at Quetta. His spirits in those days were exuberant and irrepressible. He was tremendously good company, and one could never feel downhearted in the presence of his infectious optimism. He was a great athlete too."

A. C. YATE.

February 11, 1919.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH 22, 1919

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

Hon. President:

THE RT. HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Chairman of Council:

1919. THE RT. HON. LORD CARNOCK, P.C., G.C.B.

Vice-Presidents:

1904. LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
1905. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
1906. COLONEL SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.
1908. SIR VALENTINE CHIROL.
1913. THE EARL OF RONALDSHAY, G.C.I.E.
1917. THE RT. HON. SIR H. M. DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Hon. Treasurer:

1917. SIR EVAN JAMES, K.C.I.E.

Hon. Secretary:

1919. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

Members of the Council:

1918. SIR HUGH BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.
1918. COLONEL A. C. BAILWARD.
1918. T. J. BENNETT, ESQ., C.I.E.
1916. SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I.
1916. COLONEL J. G. KELLY, C.B.
1919. SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.C.I.E.
1916. E. R. P. MOON, ESQ.
1917. A. L. P. TUCKER, ESQ., C.I.E.

Assistant Secretary:

1917. MISS L. B. PHILLIPS.

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. 1.

1916. Ainscough, T. M., Lindley Mount, Parbold, near Wigan, Lancs.

B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1.

1917. Bahrein, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.

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. 1. M. of C.

1916. Baluchistan, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta.

10 1918. Mrs. M. M. Banks, 7, Wadham Gardens, N.W. 3.

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., G.C.S.I., India Office, S.W. 1.

1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, A.D.C. to C.-in-C. Advance G.H.Q., and Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.

1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Resident, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.

*†BENNETT, T. J., C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent. M. of C.

1916. Bernière, Col. H. J. de, 115, Jermyn Street, S.W. 1.

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.

1916. †Bruce, General C. D.

†Buchanan, W. A., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C. 2.

1919. Bunsen, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, P.C., G.C.M.G., Old Lodge, Taplow, Bucks.

20 1914. Bury, C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.

C

1907. †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1918. Campbell, John MacLeod, Glen Saddell, Carradale, Argyll.
1919. Carnock, The Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.B., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1903. *CHIROL, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3. Vice-President.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 40, Ovington Street, S.W. 3.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6; The Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Col. Sir Percy Z., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Knockrind, Simla.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., 44th Battery, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.)
30 1907. *CURZON OF KEDLESTON, The Rt. Hon. Earl, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants, 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.

D

1908. Dane, Hon. Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Clarendon Lodge, Millbrook, Hants.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., c/o Thos. Cook and Son, Bombay India.
†Dartrey, The Earl of, 10, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1906. Davis, W. S., Bhopal Agency, Sehore, Central India.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, The Hon. Mr. H. R. C., C.I.E., I.C.S., C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1910. Douglas, Captain H. A., Derwent Lodge, Lansdowne Road, Tunbridge Wells.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
40 1903. *†Durand, Colonel A. G. A., C.B., C.I.E., 31, Park Lane, W. 1.
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. Vice-President.

E

†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1911. Etherton, Captain P., Lansdowne, Garhwal, U.P., India.
1918. Evans, T. Herbert, St. David's, Lisvane, Glam.

F

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. 1.
1915. Fraser, George, Imperial Institute, S. Kensington, S.W. 7.
1916. Fraser, The Hon. Mr. S. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., the Resident, Hyderabad, India.
1918. Frazer, R. W., 35, Briardale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
50 1918. Frazer, Mrs. R. W., 35, Briardale Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1906. Fryer, Sir Frederic, K.C.S.I., 23, Elvaston Place, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7. M. of. C.

G

1908. Gabriel, Vivian, C.V.O., C.S.I., c/o The War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1913. Garrard, S. H., Cavalry Club, and Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.
1919. Garbett, C. C., Revenue Board, Bagdad.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1908. Godfrey, Lieut.-Col. Stuart H., C.I.E., 7, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W. 11.

H

1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1904. *Hart-Davies, T., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., 41, Courtfield Road, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
60 1908. Howell, E. B., I.C.S., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, 23, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W.

I

1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, M. B., Cavendish Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.

J

*†James, Sir Evan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Glenshee, Cambridge Park, Twickenham.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
*†Jardine, W. E., I.C.S., C.I.E., The Residency, Gwalior, Central India.

K

1907. *KELLY, Col. J. G., C.B., 1, West Cromwell Road, Kensington, S.W. 5. M. of C.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
70 1918. Kuwait, The Political Agent, Persian Gulf.

L

1904. *LAMINGTON, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1. Vice-President.
1908. *Lloyd, H.E., Capt. Sir George A., D.S.O., 48, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.
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. 7.
1918. Lovett-Beresford, Major-Gen., C.B., C.S.I., 59, Madeley Road, Ealing.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., Parachinar, Kurrum Valley, N.W.F. Province, India.

M

1909. Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E. M. of C.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1903. Malcolm, Brigadier-General Neill, D.S.O.
80 1906. McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1.
1915. Maunsell, Colonel, Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.
1912. Medlicott, Captain H., Cavalry Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1910. Miles, Major-Gen. P. J., c/o Lloyds' Bank, Bath.
1903. MOON, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, 14, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

1905. Neill, Professor J. W., I.C.S. (ret.), 10, Holland Park Court, Holland Park Gardens, W. 14.
1916. North-West Frontier Province. The Hon. the Chief Commissioner, Peshawar, India.

O

90 1906. O'Connor, Major W. F. T., R.A., C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul, Shiraz, Persia.
1905. Oliver, Captain D. G., 67th Punjabis, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.

P

1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1819. Patel, F. B., 208, Upper Clapton Road, E. 5.
†Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), B6, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1, and Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†PENTON, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
†Perowne, J. T. Woolrych.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 33, Onslow Gardens, S.W., Junior United Service Club.

R

100 1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1916. Rajputana, The Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General, The Residency, Mount Abu, Rajputana, India.
1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
*†RONALDSHAY, H.E. THE EARL OF, Governor of Bengal, Government House, Calcutta, India. Vice-President.
1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W. 8.

S

1918. Salvati, Signor M. N., Via Lamarmora 41, Torino, Italy.
†Sandbach, General A. E., D.S.O., R.E., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1918. Shah, Ikbal Ali, 11, George Square, Edinburgh.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1912. Stainton, B. W., c/o Messrs. Hickie, Borman, Grant & Co., 14, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
110 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.W.F. Province, 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. 8.
1903. Stoner, J. J., 19, Kensington Court, W. 8.
†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, Brigadier-General Sir Percy, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.

T

1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1908. Taylor, Arthur Boddam, 96, Brook Green, W. 6.
120 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., Indian Army, 7th Hariana Lancers, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Maymyo, Burma.
1907. Trevor, Sir Arthur, K.C.S.I., 16, Harcourt Terrace, Redcliffe Square, S.W. 10.
1907. *TROTTER, Col. Sir H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1915. Tryon, Capt. H. W., J.P. (late Gordon Highlanders), 32, Hans Mansions, S.W. 1.
1908. *TUCKER, A. L. P., C.I.E., Hayes, Northiam, Sussex. M. of C.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1.

W

1911. Waller, Miss D., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W. 1.
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. 1.
130 1905. Watson, Major John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
†Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Calcutta, India.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.

Y

*†YATE, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Hon. Sec.
1905. *Yate, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.T., Ladies' Imperial Club, 17, Dover Street, W. 1, and Hotel Cecil, Western Parade, Southsea.
*†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 3, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1. Vice-President.
1918. Young, Mrs. Henry, Galgorm Castle, Ballymena, Co. Antrim, Ireland.

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded in 1901 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 Honorary President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) six Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, and (5) the Honorary Secretary, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be an Assistant 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 President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election as such until after the expiration of one year. They are eligible on retirement for re-election on the the Council.

13*a*. 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 Assistant 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 Assistant Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretary, and if at any time the latter is prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of his office, the Assistant 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 the Vice-Presidents and 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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AN OLD ROUTE TO INDIA.

At the monthly meeting of the Central Asian Society, held on the afternoon of Wednesday, March 12, 1919, under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Holdich, a paper on "An Old Route to India" was read by Mr. Frederick D. Harford, C.V.O., F.R.G.S.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, expressed regret at the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, the President. They had met that evening, he went on to say, to hear something regarding "An Old Route to India." He thought it would not be very long before they would be asking themselves by what new route they could get to India. They would be thinking of flying there by ships in the air or perhaps by a more direct and better understood method —partly by railway and partly by motor service. They could not fail to find a discussion of the subject not only of very great interest, but of considerable importance to those in whose hands might lie the arranging of future routes to India, especially as they knew it was no uncommon circumstance for these arrangements to be left to the decision of people who knew less about the business than members of a Society like their own. He then introduced Mr. Harford.

The ancient Median road from Persia to Mesopotamia has served for countless ages as a highway for invading armies, and for the passage of caravans bringing the produce of Persia, India, and China to Baghdad, and thence across the desert to Syria, Constantinople, and the Levant. One of the chief outlets for this trade was Gaza, and in ancient days, in addition to the existing three roads running south of Gaza along the coast to Egypt, to the north to North Syria, and to the south-east to Akaba and Mecca respectively, there was one which led to the east past the historic city of Petra (south of the Dead Sea), and thence to Mesopotamia and Charax, said to be Mahammerah, now some forty-two miles inland owing to the silting up of the great rivers, whence the petroleum pipe line now runs towards Ahwaz, and another to Gerrha at the innermost recess of the Bay of Bahrein on the Persian Gulf. An extensive field of ruins found here about sixty years ago is clearly the site of Gerrha, and as this place is shown there on Ptolemy's map, this seems now beyond dispute.

Gaza was the most important centre of the Indian and South Arabian trade. Politically it depended on Egypt, which long controlled its destinies, but commercially it depended on South Arabia; and Dr. G. A. Cooke says that the chief luxuries of the ancient world —silks, precious stones, pearls, perfumes, incense, and the like—were drawn from India, China, and South Arabia, and that Rome was a large importer. After the first century, when Petra became Roman, the trade passed largely into the hands of the Palmyrene merchants. The Romans built roads everywhere in Syria, and they can be traced far across the desert by the massive milestones, many of which are still standing.

The conductors of caravans were honoured at Palmyra with pillars alongside those of royal personages in the famous colonnade there. These leaders were generally of noble birth, and on some of them the title of "Prince of the Desert" was conferred. The caravans at this time (the third century) generally went to Vologasias, a vanished city, south of Babylon, named after the Parthian Kings.

The ruins of Palmyra (Tadmor) were discovered by two British merchants of the Levant Company in 1678, but they were forced by the Arabs to leave at once. However, in 1691 the merchants returned with Mr. Halifax, the chaplain of the Company, and a report of their visit and a picture of Palmyra, as it then was, were published by the Royal Society. I show this picture on the screen, as also a picture made by Wood and Dawkins, which appears in their splendid work on Palmyra published in 1753. The reproductions of the interior decorations of the Temple of the Sun might have been designed by Robert Adam, and perhaps inspired him, as he went to Rome in that or the following year, to study Græco-Roman art.

The number of ruined towns, forts, and stone conduits for water lying south-east of Aleppo and north-east of Tadmor mentioned by the English travellers in the eighteenth century, to whom I shall allude presently, is very striking, and proves that in Roman times, and when Palmyra was at the zenith of its prosperity, those regions had a considerable resident population, which has now practically disappeared. Two of these ruined towns are described as having church spires.

Without embarking on a history of the trade between India and Europe, I may recall here that Alexander the Great led his armies to India via Persia and returned by the Indies and the Persian Gulf and Euphrates to Babylon. In order to compete with the Phœnicians, whose chief port was Tyre, he founded Alexandria on an unrivalled site, where a narrow isthmus connects Asia with Africa, with communication by sea with Europe and India. This brought wealth to Egypt under the Ptolemies, and after the death of Cleopatra the Romans took up the trade with India by the overland

caravan routes across Syria and Arabia to the Persian Gulf, via Palmyra in the north and Petra and Akaba in the south, as well as by the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. Mr. E. S. Bouchier, in *Syria a Roman Province*, says that from North China a special silk route, mentioned by Ptolemy, led through Turkestan to Bactria, Media, and the Euphrates. He adds that there was a great Roman road from Antioch to Chalcis (north-west of Damascus), which was described by St. Chrysostom, and formed part of the route to Babylon.

At that time the desiccation of Northern Arabia, which is estimated by present-day authorities to date from the time of Mahomet, after a terrible seven years' drought, which led to the emigration of numbers of the Arab nomad population to Tunis, had not yet occurred. Palmyra and Petra were flourishing places, numerous Roman roads ran through Syria from north to south and from west to east, khans or rest-houses were to be found at regular stages on the desert routes, and wells and drinking-places were provided and kept in order, instead of being allowed to fall to ruin, as they have done under Turkish rule, which never repairs anything on principle. The more remote caravan-routes were marked by big stones at the side, but paved roads were commoner in Syria, says Bouchier.

To illustrate these facts, I may mention that in 1909 Mr. Douglas Carruthers discovered the ruins of a large khan at Bayer, to the north-east of Maan, between the latter place and the famous oasis of Jauf, a clear proof, he thinks, that this was the old trade route from Petra (and thus from Gaza and Egypt) to the Euphrates and Persian Gulf. The old name of Jauf was Duma, and it is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicles of the Caliphs who succeeded Mahomet, in their wars of conquest in the west, as a place of great military importance.

The Romans sailed from Suez with the Etesian winds, and knew well how to make use of the monsoons so as to ensure fairly safe navigation at the proper season, bringing back the riches of the East to Europe.

After Mahomet's time came the Saracens, who in turn gave way to the Turks. In course of time the Genoese and Venetians obtained leave of the Porte to appoint Consuls in Egypt and Syria, and for some 200 years enjoyed a highly lucrative trade with India; but the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese eventually led to the decay of this trade, a fate which was later on shared by the Levant Company, which was founded in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and in the seventeenth century was at the zenith of its prosperity.

The fact is that the Portuguese found their trade with India so lucrative that in the first half of the sixteenth century they deter-

mined to close the two principal trade routes between India and Europe. They occupied Ormuz, the Gibraltar of the Persian Gulf, and so practically closed the overland trade from Basra to the Levant; and though they failed to capture Aden they almost stopped the traffic between India and Suez by occupying Socotra and sending warships to cruise about the Strait of Babel Mandeb, while in the east they had settlements at Goa and Malacca. The result was to divert trade to the Cape route. In course of time the East India Company, with its settlements at Surat and Bombay, and Gombroon (Bender Abbas), Bushire, and Basra in the Persian Gulf, supplanted the Portuguese, and ever since it has been the policy of Great Britain not to allow a foreign Power to establish itself in that Gulf, which was policed by frigates of the East Indian Company, who also utilized this route to carry dispatches between Bombay and Basra to or from England.

Prince Lichnowsky's disclosures as to the alleged intention of Great Britain to allow a German company to construct a railway from Baghdad to Basra, and to surrender the navigation of the Tigris, hitherto the monopoly of a British company, may be mentioned here, but the result of the war has fortunately disposed of the question otherwise.

It must not be forgotten that it was not for nothing that the Turks showed such zeal for the welfare of Mesopotamia by constructing the dam designed by Sir W. Willcocks for the irrigation of a large area of incredibly rich land. This eminent engineer has pointed out that once irrigation was in action, a railway would have to be built to carry the produce, as he has laid it down as an axiom that no river can serve the double purpose of irrigation and transport. Thus the German company would have had a most lucrative traffic the moment irrigation began. It is sufficient to add that certain irrigation works were effected by our wonderful troops last year, huge crops resulted, and the railway from Baghdad to Basra is now apparently a reality, though somehow the Press seems to have overlooked this fact; but it is a British undertaking, and not German.

Since the outbreak of the war the Royal Geographical Society have compiled a splendid new map, composed of a number of large sheets on the I/M scale under the direction of the War Office, of Syria, Palestine, Northern Arabia, and Mesopotamia; and in November, 1916, I volunteered to assist in translating and making précis of the journeys of various foreign travellers, chiefly in Northern Arabia, with a view to filling up some of the many gaps in existing maps, and at the same time I undertook, at the desire of Mr. Douglas Carruthers, the well-known traveller, who was collating all such information from various sources, to do what I could in the way of research work. He especially wished to discover the journal of

Mr. Carmichael, who travelled from Aleppo to Basra, across the desert, in 1751, the route of which is shown on a map in a book by Edward Ives published in 1773. It was during a search for this journal, carried on by us for about twenty months, when it was at last found, as an appendix to vol. I. (1772 edition), *A Voyage to the E. Indies*, by John Henry Grose, that Mr. Carruthers and I were fortunate enough to unearth a number of books, MSS., and maps, which have been utilized in the production of the new map. The paper I have been asked to read to you to-day is a sort of by-product of this work, and was the subject of an article by me which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* in July of last year. A short paper on the same subject by Mr. Carruthers and myself jointly, and a far more important paper by Mr. Carruthers, appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society in May and September last respectively.

This research work threw a good deal of light on the importance in old days of what was styled on Ives's map as "The Common Route of the Caravan from Aleppo to Basra" for the trade between the east and west. I will therefore mention some of the earliest travellers who have left a record of their adventurous journeys of some 760 miles through the Great Desert, keeping well to the west of the Euphrates without approaching any place that can be called a town.

In 1528, Antonio Tenreiro was sent with despatches by the Portuguese Governor of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf to Basra, and thence overland by the Great Desert to Aleppo, reaching Portugal safely. Five years previously he had travelled from Aleppo to Basra, and his description of these two journeys is the earliest known to me. In 1563, Cæsar Prederick, a Venetian, went to India via Aleppo, Baghdad, and Basra and Ormuz, and in 1569 a Venetian jeweller, Gaspar Balbi, visited Baghdad and Basra. The traveller Rauwoff, in 1574, found a pigeon post maintained by merchants trading with those two cities, and in 1606 Gaspar de Bernardino, a Friar, who travelled from Baghdad to Aleppo, mentions as a curious fact that homing pigeons were used by the caravan-bashi to report to Baghdad their progress in the desert. They were thus able to report an attack on the caravan by a hostile force, with the result that the latter was attacked and deprived of the booty. In the eighteenth century we learn from an English traveller (Mr. Beauwes) that the merchants of Aleppo let fly pigeons with a billet tied to the neck "to gain early knowledge of the arrival of trading vessels at the port of Alexandretta with European merchandise. Bernardino saw the Arch of Ctesiphon, "large enough for a ship in full sail to pass under." He was the first traveller to mention its existence.

Pedro Teixeira, in 1604, was another overland traveller who has left a record of his journey. But after Tavernier's journey from

Aleppo to Basra in 1638 (with the exception of one Richard Bell and John Campbell) I can find no record of any traveller by this route till 1745, when William Beauwes travelled from Aleppo to Basra in order to collect material for a ponderous tome published by him called *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva*, or *The Merchants' Guide*, which gives many details of caravans and of the goods carried by them in Syria, Arabia, and Persia. Mr. William Foster, of the India Office, discovered a journal of this journey among the Orme MSS. there.

John Newberry, one of the pioneers of the Levant Company, was the first Englishman to travel from Aleppo to the Gulf of Persia—namely, in 1580. In 1583, when Queen Elizabeth granted the first charter to the Company, John Newberry, Ralph Fitch, John Eldred, "and other honest merchants" proceeded overland to Basra. They sailed from England for the Levant on the *Tiger*, and this event is recorded by Hakluyt and also referred to by Shakespeare in *Macbeth*, where one of the witches says "Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the *Tiger*." Othello, too, just before he stabs himself, recalls how "in Aleppo once" he killed a Turk "who beat a Venetian and traduced the State"—an allusion to the trade of Venice with Syria. Eldred remained for a time at Basra to trade, while the other merchants sailed down the Persian Gulf to Ormuz, where they were promptly arrested as spies (at the instigation of Venetian traders, they believed) and sent to the Portuguese settlement at Goa, where they were imprisoned for a time. It is obvious that the Venetians and Portuguese feared that their trade monopoly with the East was likely to be endangered, and subsequent history has shown that they had good grounds for their fears.

John Eldred's venture prospered so well that in five years he returned home with other merchants from Tripoli in Syria in the *Hercules*, "the richest ship of English merchant's goods that ever was known to come into the realm," says Hakluyt. He was thus able to buy an estate near Bury St. Edmunds and build Old Saxham Hall, popularly called "Nutmeg Hall," from the source of its owner's wealth. This estate was recently advertised for sale, but the original Hall was burnt down.

Early in the seventeenth century the Italian Pietro della Valle* and the French traveller Tavernier went overland to Basra, and in the Finch MSS. recently published there is a letter from the English Consul at Aleppo complaining that he had entrusted important despatches to "one Taverneer" for the President at Surat, but that through knavery or negligence on the part of the traveller they had fallen into the hands of the Dutch. With the latter nation, of course, trade jealousy was very strong, and for a long time the Dutch kept to themselves as far as they could the sources of their very profitable

* Della Valle also describes the Arch of Ctesiphon.

trade with the East. There is no doubt that the Arabs in the same way made a mystery of the source of many of the products of the East which were carried by caravan across Arabia to Egypt and the Mediterranean.

From the middle of the eighteenth century to the turn of the last century a considerable number of Englishmen (most of them in the service of the East India Company) utilized the overland routes by Aleppo and Basra as an alternative to the voyage by sea, which was limited by the monsoons to a certain part of the year, in those days of sailing vessels. Bartholomew Plaisted, Carmichael, General Sir Eyre Coote, James Capper, Eyles Irwin, Julius Griffiths, and Major John Taylor, and two Frenchmen, G. A. Olivier and Louis Jacques Rousseau, are some of those who left journals of their journeys.

In the recently published Memoirs of William Hickey, allusion is made in the first two volumes to three gentlemen who travelled overland, about 1760, by this route at different times, going to or from India, and it is there noted as then little used by Europeans. One of them was murdered for the sake of the diamonds he was carrying.

In the last 110 years no traveller seems to have used this route, and its disuse as a caravan route is attributed to its unsafe nature, due to factions among the nomad tribes in the desert, and also to the hostility of the Turkish Pasha at Baghdad to caravans passing direct across the desert to Aleppo, which deprived him of the tribute he levied on all caravans which passed by way of Baghdad.

One of the most notable features on this desert route is the splendid Sassanian Castle or Palace of Ukheidir, which stands alone in the desert a little to the west of Kerbela, which was visited by Massignon in 1907 and Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell in 1909. The latter quotes a statement in a book by Carsten Niebuhr, published in 1778, that a place answering to this description was mentioned in the journal of an Englishman. Evidently she was unaware that she could have found first-hand information about this Castle in several of the journals I have cited above, such as Della Valle, Carmichael, and Rousseau. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is stated that General Sir Eyre Coote "came back to England by the overland route through Egypt, which he was one of the first to adopt, in October, 1770." The writer, knowing that Coote travelled overland, evidently took it for granted that he went via Suez, whereas Irwin mentions in his journal that he had the very same guide that travelled with Coote from Basra to Aleppo; and a further proof is the mention, in the *Journal of a Tour to Hebrides in* 1773, of a conversation between Dr. Johnson and this famous Anglo-Indian General, who had just returned from India "through the deserts of Arabia." The diary of this journey was published in 1860 in the *Journal* of the Royal

Geographical Society, but the date of the journey is there wrongly given as 1780 instead of January, 1771.

I mention these facts to show how little this overland route and the fairly extensive literature on the subject is apparently known, even to those who are specially interested in the history and geography of Arabia and Syria.

On Major James Rennell's maps of Western Asia the routes of a number of travellers who had traversed the desert from Basra to Aleppo or from Baghdad to Aleppo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are to be found, and all but one of their journals—that of Holford—were eventually unearthed either at the British Museum or in the Orme Collection of MSS., thanks to the help of Mr. William Foster of the India Office.

As most of these travellers were in the service of the East India Company, I was led to consult the Bombay Factory Records at the India Office, and found therein many proofs of the extent to which this overland route was used for the conveyance of despatches and mails between India and England, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Apart from these old authorities, I have not found any reference thereto in books published in the last hundred years or so, except by Colonel Chesney, of the Euphrates Valley expedition, and Mr. Barker, who wrote the biography of his father, the famous Consul-General at Aleppo and elsewhere in the first half of the nineteenth century.

As regard the political use of the overland route, the Finch MSS. recently published show that so far back as 1665 the English Consul at Aleppo used to send despatches and parcels by express messenger to Basra for transmission to India by the intermediary of the Latin Fathers at Baghdad and Basra. In this year we find the Earl of Winchelsea writing to Sir George Oxenden, President of Surat, as follows: "Amongst other curiosities of the East Indies I have a particular liking for that drinke which they call tea, and therefore I beg you to doe me the favour to send me by the caravans which come to Aleppo . . . a provision for 2 years, with the best receipt how to make it, and with the vessels to make it and drinke it in, and a silver cup after the Chinese manner, with woode in the midle." No doubt the records of the Levant Company, which are hidden away at the Record Office, will some day be published, and properly edited should be of great interest. I commend this project to anyone who has the skill and leisure to do it. The Levant Company (also called the Turkey Trade Company) appointed the Ambassador at Constantinople, and Consuls at Aleppo, Smyrna and Iskanderun; but foreign Ambassadors at Constantinople had to put up with incredible indignities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Edward Barton, Queen Elizabeth's second Ambassador, was poisoned by the

Turkish nobles, who feared the Grand Signor might become a Christian (see the Historical MSS. Reports). When France went to war with Turkey in 1798, the aged French Ambassador was shut up in a fortress for three years. Colonel Taylor, writing in 1790, thought that the existence of the Turkish Empire was not necessary to Great Britain, "as the Arabs are the natural guardians of those countries, provinces, and seas which divide Europe from an immediate connection with India." This dictum is of special interest now that the future of Arabia is to be decided, and that the Hedjaz forces have rendered us such valuable services in the war.

The diary of the Rev. Henry Teonge, Chaplain R.N., who visited Aleppo in 1676 with a squadron of H.M. ships which had called at Iskanderun while searching for Barbary pirates, gives a graphic picture of the life led by the wealthy merchants of the Levant Company at Aleppo. The Consul gave him a breakfast, when thirty-six dishes were placed on the table at once in three rows. Then on Saturdays they rode out with about forty of the English "to a river valley to recreate themselves. A princely tent was pitched, and they went in for duck hunting, fishing, shooting, hand-ball, krickett, and scrofilo; and then a noble dinner brought thither, with all sorts of wines, punch, and lemonade." Richard Bell, who visited Aleppo in 1669, speaks of coursing and hare hunting and wild boar hunting. The master fined all who did not observe order in the field. Turks, French, and Dutch took part in the sport. It was a proverb at that time that the Levant merchants sent their partners to Aleppo and their clerks to Constantinople, and the old cemetery at Aleppo contains the graves of many English merchants who succumbed to its deadly fevers and other ills at this time. In its palmy days the British factory at Aleppo comprised no less than eighty firms; in 1795 there were only four British firms there.

The commercial value in old days of the Basra-Aleppo route is shown by the fact that even in 1751 the caravan by which Carmichael travelled carried £250,000 worth of merchandise; at this period, too, caravans of young camels for sale used to be sent via Basra to Aleppo, and Plaisted mentions in 1757 that with the loaded camels a total of 5,000 camels was made up when he travelled. The pace of a loaded camel is almost exactly two and a half miles an hour, so that it is used as the unit in computing distances in the desert—a "camel-hour" it is called by some travellers. A small caravan took about twenty-five days, and a large caravan about forty-five days, to go from Basra to Aleppo.

The birth of Islam in the seventh century led to thousands of pilgrims annually visiting Mecca and Medina, and a number of pilgrim roads leading to those holy cities arose in consequence; some of them still exist, others have been superseded. The chief roads ran

to Egypt, Damascus, Baghdad, Basra, Kufa (near Meshed Ali, or Nedjef), and Wasit, south of Kut-el-Amara. The Persian Haj or Darb Zobeida leading from Mecca to Nedjef still exists. Long before Mahomet's time, however, Mecca was a heathen shrine resorted to by pilgrims, and a famous mart. It was, in fact, a city of merchants as well as a holy city, commanding two great trade routes between the lowlands and inner Arabia, the chief goal of caravans being Syria and especially Gaza, and through Djeddah trade was carried on with Abyssinia by sea. This mercantile character has been preserved by Mecca, and large markets are held during the pilgrim season. Beauwes spoke in 1745 of the immense riches brought there by five different caravans.

The Bombay Factory Records show that during the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a regular service of express couriers called Tatars, or "Life or Death" Tatars, says Chesney, conveying despatches to and from India via Basra. They travelled night and day, generally alone, and Mr. Manesty, the Resident at Basra, informed his Directors in 1799 that he had lately received despatches by them from Aleppo in thirteen to fifteen days, adding that a good Tatar would pass from Aleppo to Constantinople in eight or ten days. Thence the despatches were sent overland via Vienna, and during the French war to Hamburg and Yarmouth, instead of via Calais, Ostend, or Harwich; fast vessels carried the mails between Basra and Bombay. Some of the private travellers went from Aleppo to Iskanderun, and thence by sea to Venice or Genoa, and then overland to a Channel port.

Mr. E. E. Barker in his biography of his father, who was Consul at Aleppo from 1799 for many years, relates how, during the war with France and Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt and Syria, the official correspondence with Admiral Sir Sidney Smith could only be sent by this route, as the Mediterranean was unsafe. This route was also of vital importance during the campaign against Tippoo Sahib in 1799, as the French had occupied Suez. When Napoleon escaped from Elba in 1815, Mr. Barker was able to send early news of this dramatic event to India in the same way. He had learnt it from a newspaper which arrived at Latakia in six days from Genoa.

Warren Hastings, when Governor-General of Bengal, opened negotiations with the Beys of Egypt in 1774 for the passage of despatches via Suez to and from India, and in 1775 the East India Company appointed an agent at Cairo. Colonel John Taylor states that it was despatches sent via Suez that led to the fall of Pondicherry and the principal French settlements in India in 1778, before the latter were prepared or had any knowledge of the war. However, the East India Company succeeded in having an Act of

Parliament passed prohibiting British subjects from exporting produce from India via Suez after April 5, 1782, fearing their trade monopoly by the sea route might suffer. Another reason was the hostility of the Shereef of Mecca, who feared to lose the dues levied by him on ships that called at Jeddah, and induced the Grand Signor to put pressure on England to stop any trade via Suez, under pain of confiscation of the cargo and other penalties. It was also feared that the English would make maps of Egypt, and return and conquer it as they had conquered India. All this is set forth in a Firman quoted by Brissot, a French writer. Not knowing of this Firman, some English merchants going from Suez to Cairo were soon after despoiled and murdered.

The genesis of the Suez route to India is thus described by the traveller Karsten Niebuhr, father of the historian. Mr. Holford, an experienced mariner living at Bombay, obtained from a friend there a copy of a chart of the Arabian coast of the Red Sea made by Niebuhr in 1762. This gave him the idea of sailing direct to Suez, which he had often threatened the Jeddah authorities he would do, owing to the exactions placed on British ships which visited Jeddah. The Turks and Arabs, who never sailed out of sight of land, thought this was impossible, considering it the most dangerous navigation in the world. However, in 1773 Mr. Holford conducted the first English ship to Suez. The result was that prices for India goods fell so much through all the Levant that the East India Company could not afford to send them from London to the Levant, so they prohibited their Factors from trading on their own account, which they had hitherto been allowed to do. In 1774 other ships went to Suez, and in 1776 five ships sailed direct from India; and Niebuhr says when important events occurred, couriers were sent with despatches by this route. The Mr. Holford named above is probably the person whose route is shown on Rennell's map as having travelled from Aleppo to Baghdad in 1780. His journal I cannot discover.

The despatches of the British Factors or Residents in the Persian Gulf among the Bombay Factory Records at the India Office are a strange mixture of high politics and commerce. In the same despatch, Mr. Manesty, in 1799, would report the receipt of despatches from England and India, the arrival of warships from Bombay, the prices of goods he was dealing with on behalf of the East India Company, how he proposed to send a courier direct by the desert to Aleppo and also via Baghdad to Aleppo, to see which was the quickest route. He used to send duplicate despatches at short intervals, but he found that the first messenger merely waited for the second to catch him up, so that plan was abandoned. He would report how the Kia Pasha of Baghdad, when making an expedition in 1798-99 against the Wahabis, who occupied the oasis of

Hesa and Dereyah, asked him to secure the benevolent neutrality of the Sultans of Oman and Muscat, thus showing the extent of British influence in the Persian Gulf. Mr. Manesty would also report how he had intercepted the letters of French emissaries to Indian potentates, and how on several occasions he had actually seized these emissaries on vessels in the Gulf, and removed their papers by force from their disguised bearers. Mr. Manesty was on such good terms with the Bedouin tribes that he reported once that if the plague came to Basra he would go into the desert and stay with the Muntefik Sheikh. This same Sheikh in 1800 carried his despatches from Basra right across Arabia to Jeddah. Mr. Manesty was able to boast that his despatches sent by the desert routes had never been lost, and that when one of his couriers was robbed of them, they were recovered, and the thief's head was cut off as a mark of good faith.

All travellers admit the good faith of the Bedouin towards travellers under their protection, and it was the custom for the caravans to take with them a *Rafik*, or representative of every tribe on the route, and pay a tribute; then the caravan was safe. The Arabs of Mesopotamia have, however, nothing of the "noble savage" about them; and Balbi, travelling from Baghdad to Basra in 1580, says he met "many lions and Arab thieves" on the journey. This bad reputation they still maintain.

In recent times there was an express mail service between the British Consulates at Damascus and Baghdad, and the Turks later on had a similar postal service. From the description of the route by travellers it seems quite feasible to go by automobile from Damascus to the Euphrates—water, too, is found here at no great depth apparently—and indeed a very large area of the Syrian and Arabian deserts has a hard surface; but the two Nefûd deserts, which are of drifting sands, would be impassable. It will now be possible, therefore, for future travellers to explore many quite unknown districts of Arabia, as there are said to be the remains of many old cities in Southern Arabia north of Hadramut, which no European has hitherto been able to visit. The automobile and the aeroplane will open up vast possibilities of exploration in this land of mystery.

Colonel Taylor states that in 1790, a year after his journey from Aleppo to Basra, he reported to the Governor of Bombay on the great advantage of the Suez route over the former route in point of time. He proves this in his book by a number of itineraries from India to England. However, I believe it was not until 1837, on the introduction of steam navigation, that the Suez route was finally adopted, after Colonel Chesney had reported favourably on the possibility of a scheme for utilizing the Euphrates for steam navigation along a large portion of its course. This scheme, however, came to naught, to the great disappointment of this intrepid explorer, as did

the scheme in 1856 for the Euphrates Valley Railway, which would have been a sort of Baghdad Railway from Tripoli to Basra. Chesney had reported on the feasibility of a Suez Canal before he studied the Euphrates route, and, by the irony of fate, it was his report which induced M. de Lesseps (who was not an engineer) to take up the Canal project many years later, which has influenced the development of our Empire so vastly. The chief opposition to the Euphrates Valley Railway came from Napoleon III., who in 1869 opened the Canal to irrigation. The medal commemorating this event bears the legend "L'épargne française prépare la paix du monde." However, next year the Franco-German war broke out.

Beauwes, who visited Basra in 1745, wrote: "The English and the Dutch make a considerable figure here, they having their factories here, and despatch their letters by land, which is done by way of Damascus and Aleppo. The caravan of Bassorah is one of those that carry to Bender Abbazi (Gombroon) a part of those rich goods with which that trade is supported, and the same caravan brings back on its return the products of India, China, Japan, and Europe, of which Bender is the depository, staple, and storehouse for Persia and the three Arabias." He also speaks of the Persians who passed Basra on their pilgrimage to Mecca, and sell goods which they bring in their little caravans going and coming.

Of the trade of Bender Abbas, Beauwes wrote in 1745: "Divers caravans of merchants are seen coming in from Ispahan, Basra, Laor, Aleppo, Baghdad, Herat, Shiraz, and the Levant, with gold and silver stuffs, velvets, taffeties, porcellain, feathers, morocco leather, wool brocades, carpets, Turkey camblets and other slighter ones from Arabia, dragon's blood, manna, myrrh, incense, raisins, dates, Barcun horses, but particularly raw silk (which is the greatest article in the Persian trade), turquoises, and pearls."

The same writer alludes to the caravans from Aleppo and Suez, which joined forces en route, and went to Mocha in South-West Arabia; the merchandise carried included merceries from Nuremberg, and Hungarian, Venetian, and Moorish gold ducats and dollars. On the return journey, all kinds of medicinal and odoriferous plants, and, above all, coffee.

However, from a paper read by Lt.-Colonel G. S. F. Napier before the Royal Geographical Society in November last, it seems certain that motor roads are to replace caravan routes both in Northern and Southern Persia. He himself had been by motor from Baku to Baghdad, and a railway is being rapidly made from Baghdad to Khanikin on the Persian frontier, where the motor road would begin. Colonel Napier said that Sir Percy Sykes was doing much to improve the roads in South Persia, which were much worse than those of Northern Persia. Cars had travelled from Quetta to Kerman and

thence to Shiraz. A practical motor road had been surveyed between Bender Abbas and Shiraz, and should now be an accomplished fact. Both in Northern and Southern Persia, with the great supplies of petrol at Ahwaz and Baku and the Pipe Line in Southern Persia, motor transport is simplified and cheapened, and is likely to be a far more paying affair than a railway in hilly and remote districts, and a dangerous rival to the caravan, which, however, will probably always be found indispensable in certain regions of the East. Motor roads will anyhow be invaluable as feeders to railways in Persia.

In conclusion, I must allude to the recent flights by large British aeroplanes from Cairo to India, one of which followed an old caravan route by flying from Damascus to the Euphrates and Baghdad via Tadmor.

The Engineering Supplement of *The Times* for February describes a scheme, of which Mr. Gustave Defosse is the author, for a Ship-canal starting from Suedia, the ancient Seleucia, ascending the Nahr-el-Asi (the Orontes) towards Antioch, and thence via Aleppo to Kalat Balis on the Euphrates. The total length from Suedia to Fao, at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, would be about 969 miles. It must be remembered that Aleppo is 1,100 feet above sea-level, and in view of the very high cost of such a scheme it is probable that a railway running from west to east, connecting Damascus with the Euphrates and another linking up the Egyptian railway system with Basra, are far more promising propositions. Hitherto the Bedouin tribes have been opposed to railway development, which is one reason why the Hedjaz railway has not yet been extended from Medina to Mecca, though it has been surveyed, following very closely the old caravan route. The Bedouin do not relish the idea of losing the tribute which from time immemorial they have levied on caravans that pass through their territory.

These, then, are the latest forms of locomotion which may be destined to supplant the old-time caravan in the Arabian Peninsula and in the East generally in the near future.

The Chairman remarked that the paper was so full of geographical and historical references that it afforded many points for useful and interesting discussion. A great deal of it recalled the ancient routes across Arabia from Aleppo, or Syria, to Baghdad; from Syria to Bushire on the Persian Gulf; or from Syria to Muscat, at one time the chief centre of the Arabian trade. They had but little conception of the amount of commercial traffic which those routes carried in the days of Arab ascendancy—days to which they could hardly conveniently look back because they were so remote, and the history regarding them was so exceedingly vague. A book had lately been published by Colonel Miles, who had lived for some time at Muscat,

at Basra, and at Baghdad. Colonel Miles was thoroughly saturated with the traditions of the East and with Oriental literature generally. From reading his book, which was entitled *The Countries and the Peoples of the Persian Gulf*, he had, for the first time, arrived at some idea of the greatness of Arabia in the days of her ascendancy both by land and sea, when all the commerce of Asia was under her control, and she had complete command of the sea from the Persian Gulf to the Indian coast. She was then by far the most powerful nationality, as her people were the most wealthy on the face of the earth. He thought it was somewhat a matter of pride to us, or it ought to be, that there is a prospect of at least some of her former power and independence being restored to her through British intervention and influence. As regards routes across Arabia to India, he confessed he did not think any of those which had been suggested or mentioned as being possible would materialize or come into use in the near future. If in order to reach India they had to pass overland through Persia, they would have to adopt the Northern system of railways connecting up with the Russian system, which now had its terminus at Tabriz or Teheran. From Teheran the railway may eventually be carried across Persia either on a Northern line near the Elburz Mountains towards Herat or southward first of all into Central Persia and thence eastwards towards India; or by a third route, which he regarded as hardly practicable, one which kept to the coast. They must remember that the Arabs, when they wanted to reach India, carried on their trade by sea. It was only because they had the command of the sea that they were able to trade with India. Their trade route was principally from Muscat to Charbar on the Makran coast of Baluchistan, which was an Arab colony the same as Gwadur, further east. Charbar was the point at which the first of our seaplanes that made the flight to Delhi from Egypt rested en route. It is a station on the Indo-Persian telegraph line. At Charbar the influence of the south-west monsoon begins to fade away, so that whilst the monsoon winds carried the traders conveniently to that point, they afterwards adopted a land route and followed the Makran coast to the north-east corner of the Arabian Sea, and then turned southward to Sind. It had always seemed to him that those who were more or less cultivating the idea of overland routes to India were a little bit hazy in their minds on the point as to how they were to cross the frontiers of India. There was one historic way from the far north which Alexander the Great followed, but that way was entirely out of the question. He referred to the passes of the Hindu Kush. All mediæval routes centred on the north-west corner of India. This appeared to have formed the one great gateway into India, the one which, through all time, had proved to be the most easy of access, and, as regarded Asia, the most vulnerable. That was

the route by which the Arabs conquered Sind and held the whole of the Indus Valley. That, he could not help thinking, would be the necessary objective in any line that might now be contemplated to India. The Arabs very carefully avoided any contact with what they might call the independent tribes of our Indian frontier. They never meddled with them at all. Neither did the Greeks ever meddle with them. Indeed, we were really the first people who had dived into the recesses of the frontier hills and instituted anything like a reasonable and sound administration of their country. It might, perhaps, be said, Why should not the line go through Persia to Quetta? That, of course, was matter for discussion. For his own part, he thought the connection between Quetta and the Indus Valley was a weak one, and that a better, a stronger route into India could be found further west of Quetta and nearer the coast. That also was a point which was quite open for discussion. He should like to ask some gentlemen present interested in the Indian frontier to express their views on the subject.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND said he had been extremely interested in the paper, for it renewed their knowledge of Arabia and convinced them of the magnificent country it was in the olden days, and how very much the caravan routes to India used to be utilized. The paper had also opened up visions for the future, and it was about this aspect which they should be chiefly concerned. He thought the lecturer had said that the domination of the Arab in the old days was preferred to that of the Turk in more recent times. Now that the Turkish domination had been done away with, they had to deal with the Arabs alone. From all the accounts which had reached us they were an exceedingly intelligent race, of whom it was possible to make something. If they looked at the map of Asia and of Africa, they would see what a very important point was that about the Suez Canal, Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. They would see how these formed, as it were, the strategic centre of our Empire, from which the routes to India, to Australia, and to East Africa radiate. And from there, from Palestine and Syria, would radiate the new route to India across the desert of Arabia. The lecturer had said a good deal about the route from Damascus to the Euphrates Valley, and he did not know if he could give them any more information about it. If he could it would be most welcome. He was talking to an officer who had recently returned from that part of the world, and who informed him that he did not think that what is marked on our maps as desert is really quite so desert as it is made to appear. He was informed by the officer, though perhaps the lecturer might have more information, that the part between Damascus and Hit on the Euphrates is capable of a great deal more cultivation than it is being put to at the present time. Probably it was more populated in the old days than

it is now. In that case it might be possible to make a railway from Damascus to the Euphrates Valley. A strong railway had already been made from Basra. I think it is a metre gauge railway from Basra to Baghdad.

Colonel A. C. YATE: The latest information, I think, is that the railway stops at Amára and is again recommenced at Kut-el-Amára, the piece in between being linked up by river navigation.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND thought the connection did not get through to Kut, but went up the Euphrates Valley and then across to Baghdad. Then came the question whether, and if so, how, Mesopotamia should be connected with India by rail. The Chairman had said that the railway connection between Arabia and India would possibly pass through North Persia. Perhaps Mesopotamia would like to be linked up with India, and he dared say Sir Percy Sykes would be able to tell them of the possibility of connecting Basra with India through Southern Persia. The last lecture they had in that room described how the Nushki Railway had been extended to the Persian border, and as it did not seem to be anything so very great, it might be possible to construct a railway to connect up the extremity of the Baluchistan Railway with Mesopotamia. Then, of course, came in the question of the use of motor cars. This was exceedingly interesting, and the accounts that were received of the uses to which motor cars had been put afforded ample scope for speculation as to the extent to which they would be utilized in the development of new and hitherto unthought-of routes. It aroused wonder to hear of the way in which officers at Mesopotamia had been engaged in expeditions by motor car from Mesopotamia right up to Baku. Then they had heard of motors being used in the desert. The latest information opened up the prospect of a great revolution in our ideas of transport across the desert. Thus, motors, combined with seaplanes, aeroplanes, and other mechanical contrivances, added greatly to the facilities by which they would be able to survey regions and areas which had hitherto been unexplored, and which might, after being properly reconnoitred, be found adaptable for the construction of railways and other lines of transit. Observers who travelled to and from these regions might be able to open up negotiations and engage in friendly intercourse with the chiefs of the tribes through whose province new lines of communication might be opened. By means of motor cars, seaplanes, aeroplanes, and all the other of the modern mechanical means of transit, he certainly thought that in a very short time we should have through communication between the Mediterranean Sea and India, and that by these means India would be very much more closely connected with Europe than she had been in the past. The whole subject was important from whatever point of view it was considered, and he

hoped that under the auspices of the Society they would have many more illustrated lectures of a kind similar to the one to which they had listened. The subject and the great possibilities it involved ought to be brought more prominently before the public.

Colonel A. C. YATE said he was afraid the country described by the lecturer was one of which he had no personal knowledge. He was thinking that perhaps in view of the importance of the railway route which would lead from Constantinople across Asia Minor and beyond—the well-known route of the Baghdad Railway, which would no doubt, *en passant*, be linked up with the port of Alexandretta—they might consider for a moment the position of Cyprus, which of late had been very much discussed. As they were aware, the Greeks had set their eyes with great affection upon Cyprus. He gathered from a letter he had received from a very well-known member of the Society—he would not mention the writer's name, as the letter was marked "private"—that the question merited more serious attention than it is receiving in this country. Venezélean eloquence, as they learned from the newspapers, was having a very great effect upon the Peace Conference. Personally, he did not himself feel such a very strong sympathy with the claims of the Greeks. He regarded Cyprus as of such importance to this country that he did not think those claims should be conceded. He was sure Disraeli would not have taken it, as he did in the year 1877-78, unless with a special object in view. He had it on the best authority, that of Mr. John Murray, a member of the Society, who told him how Lord Lytton once took him down to the India Office, and there showed him the papers which made it clear how Disraeli intended to use Cyprus. It was to be a *tête-de-pont* for Alexandretta, the Mediterranean end of a railway, which he was said to have projected, and which he was unable to carry out because a Gladstonian Government came into power in 1880. Little Englander Government as it was, it in 1882 started our Egyptian policy, which had proved a decidedly big thing. Under the circumstances he could not but regard Cyprus as being of the very highest importance to this country. The *Near East* weekly bore testimony to the determination of the Greeks to secure Cyprus to themselves, if possible. The population of Cyprus was, doubtless, largely Greek, but they had done and would do extremely well under British administration, and would strengthen our hands as they required to be strengthened in order to carry out the policy which it was no doubt our intention to carry out in accordance with our mandate for the government of Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. There was one curious little thing he wished to relate with reference to Sir Harford Jones, whose name had been mentioned by the lecturer. In 1800, Mr. (as he then was) Harford Jones was Consul-General at Baghdad. The French

Consul-General contemporary with him was a Rousseau, a cousin or nephew of the famous Jean Jacques. It so happened that, when in Cambridge recently, he (Colonel Yate) was examining the stock of a well-known bookseller, who invariably had his stall in the market-place there, and came across four quarto volumes containing *Emile*, *La Nouvelle Héloise*, and other works of Jean Jacques, and found that these had been presented by the French Consul-General of Baghdad, Rousseau, to Mr. Harford Jones in 1800. They bore the signature of the donor and the bookplate of the recipient, and the interest of the "association" persuaded him to become the purchaser of the volumes.

Sir ERIC SWAYNE remarked that one or two points had been raised as to the jealousy of the Arabs generally of interference with their trading routes. Of course they were in former times, as in many respects they continued to be, the greatest traders in the world. The nature of the country which they traversed necessitated their carrying on the trade by caravan. In various parts the tribes were, even to-day, jealous of interference with their prerogative as regards the levying of duties and so on. But he was sure that the Arabs were a reasonable people, and if they were properly handled it would always be possible to arrange with them a composition. With them it was only a question of a figure. Another thing was the matter of protection to the caravans given by the tribes through whose country they passed. This was assured by the individual who represented each tribe. When the Aban, as he was called, was appointed, he technically took control of the whole of the caravan, including the property of all the persons connected with it; it was regarded for the time being as his property. Behind the Aban was the whole of his tribe, and any interference with the caravan was taken up by the tribe, whose members made war against those who were guilty of it. This sometimes led to bloody bouts, which went on alternately year after year, but which the tribes wished to avoid. The caravan and all belonging to it was to the Aban sacred, and thus his power was very great, and he was paid fees. The power of appointing the Abans belonged to the tribes through whose country the caravan passed, and thus when it went into the country of another tribe the Aban was changed, and its full control as well as the responsibility for its safe passage were formally handed over to the new one. In ancient times, he believed, there was a valuable trade carried on in Arabia derived not only from Arabia, but from the Somali coast; the distance, so short across the coast of Aden and the Arabian Sea, would prove no hindrance at all. They also did trade with that horn of Africa which projected into the Indian Ocean next Somaliland. In Somaliland, for instance, there were many features of the same kind of trade as they had in Arabia. There was the coffee which was called

Mocha coffee, because it was brought to Mocha. But subsequently that trade was brought to Aden, and Mocha was left alone. All the caravan routes, so far as coffee was concerned, led to Aden, but the article itself came from various parts, including Amhara, which was one of the outlying states of Abyssinia.

Mr. HARFORD, in the course of a brief reply, said he thought there were portions of territory between Damascus and Baghdad which were by no means an absolute desert. They were less of a desert than many British grouse moors and deer forests. Water could be found by digging down, and that not very deeply. In the rainy season the Arabian deserts could support large flocks of camels or sheep.

The CHAIRMAN said that nothing remained for him to do but to ask the audience to join in a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Harford for his very interesting paper.

THE BOLSHEVIK AND GERMAN DANGER IN RUSSIA: ITS THREAT TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE

On the afternoon of Wednesday, April 2, 1919, Mr. E. P. Stebbing, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., gave a lecture on "The Bolshevik and German Danger in Russia: Its Threat to the British Empire" at a meeting of the Central Asian Society held at 22, Albemarle Street, London. In the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., the President, the chair was occupied by Sir Francis Younghusband, and there was a large attendance.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said that fortunately members of the Society had with them that afternoon Mr. Stebbing, who was very well known in India as an accomplished officer in the service of the Department of Forests, and who had recently spent a year or two in surveying and studying the possibilities of the very valuable forests of North Russia, and had availed himself of the exceptional opportunities afforded him of studying the Russian people as well as the changes which had taken place in their economic and social condition in recent times. He had pleasure in introducing Mr. Stebbing.

Mr. E. P. Stebbing, who had a very cordial reception, then read his paper, which was in the following terms:

The history of Russia since the Revolution has proved a difficult one to follow even by those who have had at one period or another the opportunity of studying it at first hand on the spot. For those to whom no such chances have offered the significance of the changing scenes in that unfortunate country must have proved enigmatic. And yet it is not open to doubt that the fate of Russia, the future of Russia, both politically and economically, is of immense importance to an Empire such as our own.

I propose to divide my remarks to-day into a brief review, so far as such review is possible at present, of the events during the periods of the Provisional Governments, the Bolshevik and German Government up to the armistice, and the Bolshevik Government since then; to glance at the German aims in Russia and the East; and then

discuss briefly the commercial possibilities of Russia and the necessity of counteracting German influence and penetration.

1. *The Provisional Governments.*—The advent of the Bolshevik as the ruler of Russia came as a shock to the bulk of the Allied public, who had been led to believe that Kerensky had the situation well in hand. But this was the reverse of the case. The first Provisional Government contained men of high ability and promise. But visionaries, coupled with that self-elected Government, the Soldiers' and Workmens' Council, or Soviet, of whom Kerensky long remained a member, swept away the men who might have brought the new Republic safely through the great dangers confronting it. Kerensky took the helm, and from that time dated the rise of the Bolshevik, supported by German propaganda and German gold. The Russian nation in part went to war to shake off the German yoke. The autocracy mismanaged the war and the Revolution took place. The Revolution was not pleasing to the Germans. It was probably the last thing they wanted. But they sat down to turn the altered conditions to their own account. The Allies held aloof from the struggling Republic, pinned their faith on the popular idol who, though burning with patriotic ardour for his country, had no experience of public affairs and proved a weak and vacillating idealist who was from the first swayed and overruled by the Soviet. The Soviet contained able men who, as the months went by, proved that they were capable of learning by experience, and became more moderate in their views. But within the Soviet was a faction, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, who gradually waxed in power. Even the fiasco of the July 1917 rising only acted as a temporary setback to their German-aided schemes. After the dismissal by Kerensky of that patriotic and fine soldier Korniloff there remained no doubt in the minds of many Entente onlookers that the advent of the Bolshevik to power was a certainty. The Provisional Government disappeared on November 8, 1917, and with its disappearance went the last hope of saving Russia from anarchy and appalling disaster.

2. *The Bolshevik and German Régime in Russia up to the Armistice and its Threat to the East and India.*—The Bolsheviks assumed the reins of government in Petrograd with ease. Moscow witnessed some fighting before it was mastered, but within a comparatively short space of time the Soviets held that city, with Kieff, Kharkoff, Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Samara, Saratoff, Kazan, and Rostoff. Lenin and Trotsky had Russia under their heels. The year which followed was full of incident and menace. It witnessed the announcement by Lenin of his policy; the peace treaties between Russia, the Ukraine, and the Central Powers; the peace forced on Roumania; the meeting and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly; the disappearance of the Russian Army and the formation of the Red

Guards; the withdrawal of the Allies from Russia, and, with the disclosure of the growing power and intentions of the Germans, their subsequent return; the formation of new Governments, and the beginnings of armies, in Siberia, North Russia, and elsewhere; the results of the Bolshevik attempts to govern; the inauguration of the Red Terror; and finally the collapse of Germany and her Allies.

We will briefly review these incidents.

Lenin announced his future policy as follows: He said there were three problems before the Russian democracy: (1) The immediate termination of the war, for which his Government would propose an armistice to the belligerents; (2) the handing over of the land to the peasants; and (3) the settlement of the economic crisis.

The moderate wing of the Soviet at once announced that they disapproved of the *coup d'étât*, and withdrew from the Soviet. This action raised the hopes of the Entente that Lenin's rule would be a brief one. But events have shown that they had in Lenin to deal with a different type of man to his predecessors, and one who was prepared to act with extreme ruthlessness. The whole course of events in Russia turned upon the manner in which these resolutions were carried out. For the Bolshevik theories when translated to practice were to result in the almost complete subjection of Russia to Germany, in the total financial and economic ruin of the country, and in the institution of the Red Terror. To get rid of the Army was Lenin and Trotsky's first object. To the Army they had promised peace, and the steps by which they fulfilled this promise resulted in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Allies naturally refused to participate in the negotiations, and Trotsky repudiated Russia's foreign debts. The Germans proved too clever for the Bolshevik leaders, and the latter's refusal to put their names to the treaty, whilst declaring the war at an end, resulted in a German advance on the Eastern Front and the exaction of far severer terms. The signature of the treaty did not stay this advance, Germany's object being to seize the northern ports of Murmansk and Archangel and the Siberian Railway; at the former she proposed to set up submarine bases from which to harry the Atlantic shipping; the latter would open to her the rich Siberian granary. A peace had been already signed with Ukrainia, and a shameful peace was now forced on Roumania. After the Brest treaty a cloud of German civil emissaries commenced a wide and deep penetration of Russia, with the object of securing concessions and exploiting the country on a large scale as soon as Germany had won the war.

Lenin's other activities were in connection with the land, which he ordered to be partitioned amongst the peasants, and his campaign against the *bourgeoisie* and capitalists and industries. Within a short period he took over the gold reserve of the Banks, broke the power of

the landed classes and *bourgeoisie*, whom he brought to beggary, and reduced to impotency most of the industrial organizations of the country. He instituted a class war on a gigantic scale and brought about a reign of terror throughout the country. Lenin also hoped that the working classes of the Allied and belligerent countries would rise and overthrow their rulers and that the Bolshevik creed would spread throughout the world. At the time these hopes were premature, but to further them the Bolshevik Government sent representatives to the Allied and belligerent nations with secret instructions to spread the Bolshevik propaganda. Lenin's treatment of the Constituent Assembly, that assembly devised by the first Provisional Government, which was to settle the future government of Russia, sharply illustrated the methods by which the Bolsheviks intended to keep in power. The Assembly met once, declared against the Bolshevik régime, and was promptly dissolved by Lenin, a Congress of Soviets being substituted for it.

The Russian Army had to a great extent disappeared before the Germans commenced their advance into Russia, the promise of the partition of the land and the fear that they would not obtain their share luring masses of the peasant soldiery to desert and return to their villages. The notorious highly-paid Red Guard, who were practically given a free hand in their treatment of the *bourgeoisie*, took its place. The formation of this Red Guard was undertaken by Trotsky, who had resigned his position as Commissary for Foreign Affairs to avoid putting his name to the Brest treaty and was appointed Commissary for War. By now, owing to their refusal to join in the Brest treaty and under the influence of German propaganda, the Entente, and especially the British, were being regarded with dislike by an increasing section of Russians, which culminated in an attack by the Bolsheviks on the British Embassy and the murder of the British naval attaché and the imprisonment of Entente representatives and subjects.

Under the Bolshevik régime the dismemberment of Russia soon became a practical reality. Finland, the Ukraine, the Don region, and Siberia, had declared their independence. The Caucasus followed suit, and a Government of the North subsequently came into being. At the end of 1917 the Allies withdrew from the North; the Archangel depôts were broken up, large amounts of stores being left behind, a part of which were subsequently transferred by the Bolsheviks and made over to the Germans. The Embassies removed into Finland and later left Russia. This action produced a deep impression on anti-Bolshevik Russia. They saw themselves deserted by the Allies and left to the mercy of the Bolshevik and German.

For some six months Germany had a free hand in Russia. She extorted a heavy gold indemnity from the Bolsheviks, and economic

concessions which were to bar the Allies from the country for a period of years. Her continued advance became a grave menace to the East. Japan was alarmed at the thought of Germany appearing at Vladivostock, to which end the Austro-German prisoners in Siberia were being formed into striking corps. We ourselves were confronted with the double menace in the North, and in the East the danger to India via Persia. We had killed the Baghdad Railway scheme, but Pan-Germanism, in view of the great offensive on the Western Front commenced in March, 1918, was rampant in Germany, and she was riding roughshod over Eastern Europe and part of North-West Asia. The position had been carefully thought out, and provinces, waterways, spheres of influence, important strategical, economic, and political positions were falling into her hands. She had possession of the Baltic (to Sweden's great alarm) and the Baltic and Western Provinces, proposed to set up her own nominee as King of Finland, and, in spite of the treaty, was in command of the Ukraine. She had occupied Odessa, the great grain mart, and was marching eastwards with the object of disputing with the Turks for Baku and making the Black Sea and Caspian German lakes. Turkey and Persia would be under her thumb, jumping-off places to the domination of Asia. In Germany they were using such phrases as "Berlin-Batum," "Berlin-Bokhara," and "Hamburg-Herat"—ominous phrases for the British Empire. The Allies had as yet taken no steps to stop this victorious career, having their hands very full in the west. But Mr. Balfour, in the House of Commons, pointed out that with Russia derelict there could be a German penetration from end to end of the country, which would be absolutely disastrous to Russia and certainly would be very injurious to the future of the Allies. The question before the Allies was, How could practical assistance be given?

Before the Allies moved in the south Germany and the Bolsheviks were threatening the Siberian Railway. In the north intervention was forced upon us by the German and Finnish advance on Murmansk and the transference to Germany of our stores from this and the Archangel depôts. We reoccupied Murmansk in February and March and Archangel as soon as the port became ice-free. A Government of the North was proclaimed at Archangel, which worked in unison with the Allies, and Russian recruits joined up with the Allied forces. The Allies marched south and occupied portions of the Murman and Archangel-Vologda Railways and moved up the Dvina River. It was not, however, till August that the full entry of the Allies into a struggle with the Germans and Bolsheviks took place. In the south this entry was the outcome of the extraordinary rise of the Czecho-Slovak troops. These troops had fought on the Russian side till the collapse of the Russian Army, had then been promised a safe conduct to Vladivostock by Trotsky, from whence they were to be shipped to

fight in France. Trotsky went back on his word, with the result that the Czechs rose, seized points in South Russia, and eventually, with the help of the Allies, the whole of the Siberian Railway. A strong mixed force of the Allies landed at Vladivostock, but valuable time was lost before portions of it were sent into Western Siberia. The time so granted enabled Trotsky, with German assistance, to constitute several Bolshevik armies. Some stiff fighting took place, but the Czech parties in the west were relieved to a great extent before the capitulation of Bulgaria and Turkey brought about the collapse of Germany.*

Considerable trouble was experienced by the Allies with the various competitive Governments set up in Russia in opposition to the Bolsheviks. After some preliminary friction the Government of the North worked smoothly enough, and the Allies strengthened it by stabilizing the rouble at 6d. In Southern Russia and Siberia several opposition Governments arose, and considerable friction resulted amongst the Siberian ones. These were at length amalgamated at a National Congress assembling at Ufa, which was attended by members of the old Constituent Assembly and representatives of the Siberian Governments, and others from the Ural, Orenburg, Astrakhan, etc., and of the various political parties, Cadets, Social Revolutionaries, and so forth. The programme adopted was the re-establishment of Russia's unity and independence, freeing the country from the Bolshevik, and annulment of the Brest treaty.

I need not pause to consider at length the internal condition of Russia as the result of a year's rule of the Bolshevik and German. The Red Terror stalked through the land. No man's person, family, or property was safe unless he purchased immunity by allegiance to the Bolsheviks and worked openly for them. Industry was replaced by anarchy. As a result of the hopeless dislocation in the transport services, the feeding of the population went from bad to worse. Cholera, starvation, violence, and murder were the conditions under which existence was carried on. The Red Terror had completely unnerved the Russian people, and by means of that Terror the Bolshevik leaders, the greater proportion of whom were not Russians, being mostly of Jewish origin and of the *bourgeois* or *petit bourgeois* class, maintained themselves in power.

3. *The Bolshevik Government and German Penetration of Russia since the Armistice.*—Certain clauses of the Armistice agreement with Germany entailed the evacuation of Russian territory, as existing in August, 1914, of all German troops, instructors, prisoners, and

* A small British force had been sent through Persia to occupy Baku, an extraordinary march which was brought to a successful conclusion. The support given us by the Armenians was insufficient, and after stiff fighting we withdrew, the Turks seizing the place.

civilians, the stoppage of all requisitions and seizures by Germans, and the abandonment of the Treaty of Brest and the supplementary treaties. Some foresaw at the time that the enforcement of these clauses would prove difficult, and events have proved this to be the case. Russia is as much the prey to German penetration at the present moment as at any time previous. With Germany's record and Germany's Eastern ambitions it would be insensate to credit that her big financiers and economists have given up their dream of exploiting Russia.

Affairs in Russia since the armistice have been kaleidoscopic. But they have gone steadily on the downward grade. A great danger to Europe and the world, which had become apparent during the last month or two of the war, was the spread of Bolshevism. Just before she capitulated Germany had dismissed the Bolshevik Ambassador and suite from her country, and other nations soon followed suit. Switzerland had become a hotbed of this pernicious creed.

The collapse of the German, instead of weakening Lenin's power, served to increase it. Perhaps one of the causes, if not the chief cause, lay in the fact that, owing to the vacillation of the Allied policy towards Russia, combined with the Red Terror and the scarcity of food, numbers of officers of the old Russian Army were forced to join the Bolshevik armies in order to save themselves from starvation or to prevent their families from being butchered. And industrial workers and peasants joined for the same reason. The armies are also said to contain a certain number of German effectives. The outcome has been that the new Russian armies and the Allies have found themselves opposed during the winter by Bolshevik forces which have grown in size and organization. They are said to be deficient in artillery and ammunition, however, and it is doubtful whether their cohesion is likely to bear the strain of reverses. In the North the Allies have experienced checks and retirements. But these are probably not of great military importance. In the South the Don Cossacks have had a chequered time. In Western Siberia Admiral Koltchak was eventually elected Dictator, and set himself enthusiastically to reorganize and strengthen the new young Russian armies, who gradually took over the positions held by the Czechs. Intermittent fighting took place during the winter. The Siberian Government assembled at Omsk, where there are details of British forces.

The Allies lost no time in occupying Baku, Odessa, and other Black Sea ports, and in sending naval expeditions into the Baltic; but with the passing months it became obvious that the Allies had as yet no definite policy as regards Russia. The offer of a conference between Allied representatives and members of all the Russian Governments, including the Bolsheviks, on Princes Island, provided the Bolsheviks

ceased fighting, met with no success, and the Bolshevik leaders took advantage of the welter of anarchy supervening to invade the Western and Baltic provinces and later Poland. The policy of drift has resulted in the condition of East Europe becoming chaotic, a condition which Lenin and Trotsky have exploited to their own considerable advantage. Hungary has thrown in her lot with the Bolsheviks, not improbably at the instigation of Germany, and the latter may be preparing or intending to do the same. The Peace Council appear to have realized the great danger threatening Europe. We have to defend Esthonia, Livonia, Poland, and Roumania, and the Czecho-Slovak kingdom against Bolshevik and German designs. The Bolshevik policy and the German policy is to upset the authority of the projected League of Nations and to prevent the Allies and the world reaping the fruits of their victory. Hungary must be brought to heel and Germany kept from joining the Bolsheviks and thus securing a firm grip on Russia. The Allies, in fact, must have a definite Russian policy. The drift policy has resulted in the occupation of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, who are now advancing on Odessa. They have assumed the offensive in the Baltic provinces and Lithuania and are menacing Riga. In the South-east they are exerting heavy pressure on the left wing of Denikin's Cossack Army in the Donetz coal-basin, and the Allies have had to retire a little in the North. The position is brightest on the Ural front, where Koltchak's new armies have recently inflicted a severe defeat on the Bolsheviks, captured Ufa, and apparently surrounded their Fifth Army. This success may have far greater consequences than are at present apparent, provided the Allies give the Russian armies, wheresoever fighting, a far greater material support than has yet been the case, and provided a definite line of policy is laid down and adhered to. Bolshevism is a plague-spot in the world, as M. Pichon has recently well said, and its expansion requires to be prevented at all costs. The Bolsheviks do not and never have represented the Russian people. To rid Russia and the world of the Bolshevik danger would not improbably result from the occupation of Petrograd and Moscow. There is said to be a force in Finland within a few miles of Petrograd who would take that place if allowed. With the Northern Government the position is perhaps not so grave, and, with sufficient backing, should be settled in the summer.

4. *The German Aims in Russia and the East.*—During their great offensive on the Western Front last year the Germans left no manner of doubt as to their aims and objects in Russia and the East. Confident that they were giving the knock-out blow to the Allies in the West, the supporters of her Eastern policy gave tongue in no uncertain voice. All the world could understand. She meant to make of Russia's Western Provinces buffer-States under her own tutelage; and she intended to constitute buffer-States from Russia's eastern provinces

and keep Turkey and Persia in vassalage. To those of us who have served in India and the East and have some acquaintance with that fascinating borderland country where Baluchistan marches with the Afghan and Persian frontiers, it is obvious that Germany's success in her designs would have meant a protracted struggle with her for India, an empire she had long coveted. For she had recognized its immense potential economic value to a greater degree than we had ourselves. And she would have exploited it for her own aggrandizement, not in the interests of its peoples. These were her military and political aims. But even more important in her eyes, I believe, were her economic ones. A perusal of German journals and of articles from the pens of her leading financiers and economists, published during her great successful offensive of last year, proved most instructive. There was no doubt about their point of view. They were in haste to concede to the military party the strategic frontiers they asked for and so have done with them. Their clear vision was fixed upon the enormous potential wealth of Russia and of the countries beyond. Rich concessions were to be their share of the booty, the working of which would pave the way to a future domination of the East and the shattering of the British Empire. Is not this a true statement of the case? It is no new one. It was a magnificent dream, that dream of the German imperialists. The methods by which they sought to give it practical reality were medieval. But they came near to success. She had Russia in her grip. Indemnities and concessions had been extorted from her. Germany would have cried quits on the Western Front to have been allowed to keep that which she had won in the East. For with that she would rapidly have grown wealthy again and powerful enough to make another bid for Eastern domination. She came so near success: Has her defeat removed this danger for good? Have her great financiers and economists given up their dreams for all time? The disappearance of the Kaiser and the military caste, if the latter have really gone, is unlikely to put an end to these ambitions. Why should they? Might has failed and diplomacy has failed. But peaceful penetration remains. Russia is full of German agents and business men at the present moment, carrying on business so far as possible and endeavouring to obtain valuable concessions from the Bolsheviks. Scarce a month ago a prominent Bolshevik leader was being pestered by Germans to be given forestry and mining concessions in Kostroma and Olenetz. The Germans were prepared to accept a modest five per cent. profit so long as Germany was allowed to buy the minerals and timber for home use at world market prices! When the Bolsheviks captured Kharkoff from the Ukrainians, numbers of active Germans were discovered armed with maps and estimates and busily engaged in mapping out South Russia for exploitation. The Urals also are being overrun with German

prospectors, armed with permits from the Bolsheviks. This being the position, how do we propose to deal with it?

5. *The Commercial Possibilities of Russia and the Steps to counteract German Influence and Penetration.*—We will first briefly glance at the commercial possibilities of Russia.

European Russia may be regarded as a great plain, bounded by the Scandinavian, Carpathian, Caucasian, and Uralian mountain systems, with direct access to the open sea in the North only, and then during the summer months, with the exception of the ice-free port of Murmansk. Vladivostock is the Far Eastern outlet. In this vast country the rivers have played the most important part in transportation, the Volga being one of the chief. Railways are necessary to exploit the great mineral wealth of the mountainous regions. It is the want of railways which has kept back development. In this great tract there is a great diversity in climate, soil, and zones of vegetation. From the north there is a wide extension of glacial drift in a south-east direction, followed by the wide belt of fertile black soil in South Russia stretching eastwards beyond Lake Baikal. Towards the north there is the great forest belt, the largest in the world, passing in a southerly direction through rye and flax lands to the wheat-growing areas and vine plantations. Historical development has concentrated the industries to the Moscow region, the Ural mining region, the Donetz coal-basin, and so forth.

Roughly speaking, it is possible to divide European Russia commercially into eleven regions and Siberia into two as follows: (1) The northern forestal region; (2) the Petrograd region of the north-west, where agriculture and forestry form the chief industries; (3) the Moscow industrial region; (4) the central corn-growing region; (5) the Ural mining region; (6) the south-east cattle-breeding and fishing region; (7) the Caucasus, with its steppe districts devoted to agriculture, its mineral wealth, and forests; (8) the southern corn-growing region; (9) the southern mining region, including the Donetz coal-basin; (10) the south-west agricultural region, especially devoted to cereals and beet; (11) the Poliessky region, forming the western extremity of the forest region. In Siberia (12), the Western plains, especially devoted to agriculture and allied industries; (13) the Eastern plateaux region with valuable resources; with a forest belt in each.

From the British point of view the following centres may roughly be regarded as serving these areas: Archangel, Petrograd, Moscow, Ekaterinburg, Samara, Kharkoff, Rostoff, Odessa, Baku, Omsk, and Vladivostock. From each of these centres any part of Russia could be reached from the particular centre in twelve hours. Now this is of considerable importance. Germany's superiority in commercial activity in Russia in the past was in part due to her fortunate

geographical position. She ran a good service of fast trains and had a highly organized system of travellers. She was thus able to attend any call or customer at short notice. Britain had a longer route and was therefore at a disadvantage. We should require to set up show-rooms and so forth at the above-mentioned centres. Our travellers in the past were very far from being the equal of the Germans. Moreover, British merchants had not awakened to the great value of the Russian markets and of her unexploited natural resources.

I regret that time will not permit me to discuss these areas at greater length. But their existence and potential value has been indicated.

Now what steps can we take to prevent the German from maintaining his hold on Russia and exploiting her? It will not prove easy. Whatever the terms dictated to Germany at the Peace Table, it will not in all probability prove possible to bind her in any effective manner which would bar her from Russia. Nor would the Russians probably wish her to be barred out for trading purposes; though she would wish Germany to be kept from exploiting her, and so once again growing rich at the expense of Russian industries, Russian agriculture, and Russian development. The one safe road to bar out Germany would appear to be that the Allies should determine to support the true Russians and the new Russian armies in their efforts to re-establish public order and the rights of the individual by getting rid of the Bolshevik; and then in giving assistance in re-establishing her finances. Both the first and the second are of importance to the British Empire. A strong, friendly Russia is a necessity; and for the second we have large outstanding loans to her. It would be as well in my view to treat German ambitions and designs in Russia as a still living force. A Russia extricated from her present appalling position by the Allies would be more ready to turn to her saviours than to the enemy who showed so clearly in the Brest treatment and his subsequent treatment his real intentions towards Russia. But to render this solution possible the Russians themselves will have to make up their minds to set their faces against any further German exploitation. And the Allied Consuls, their merchants and travellers, will have to adopt methods more in sympathy with Russian requirements and customs, and work more on the German lines than those, our own for instance, followed in the past.

The example of Hungary and the danger of Germany joining openly with the Bolsheviks in Russia may have shown the Peace Council the danger of any further procrastination in this Russian Bolshevik matter. The solution of the Russian situation, the first step anyway, is to get rid of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolshevik group who are now maintaining themselves in power solely through the Reign of Terror. A firm policy on the part of the Allies, a stout

backing of the Russian armies in the field, and the occupation of Petrograd and Moscow would, so far as can be judged, dispose of the Bolsheviks.

The rehabilitation of Russian finances and the re-establishment of order and the restarting of her industries will prove a difficult business.

Russia's two chief resources with which to make a start are her timber and grain. With the disorganization existing amongst the peasantry and the large areas remaining untilled the grain export trade will take a few years to re-establish. There remains her one realizable and valuable asset, the great wealth of timber in the northern regions, the Caucasus and Black Sea littoral, and the Amur region in the Far East. It is in the North that I see the first way out. We are supporting the Northern Government, to whom we have given recognition and stabilized the rouble. The Allied and Russian forces have suffered a check or two during the past winter, but probably nothing serious. When the weather reopens and navigation on the rivers becomes practicable it should prove possible to sufficiently reinforce the Allied troops and sweep away the Bolshevik forces in this region. We require to secure the River Dvina up to Kotlas and the tributaries beyond, and to hold the railway from Kotlas to Viatka and the northern halves at least of the Archangel-Petrograd and the Murmansk-Petrograd Railways. These are the chief arteries of this great, sparsely populated, densely forested region. The Northern Government would then be in command of the area, and, moreover, would be in a position to establish communication with the Russian forces in the Urals.

Having obtained control of this region, the Northern Government, with the assistance of the Allied Powers, could commence to provide work for the population within its charge by taking steps to exploit the immense virgin forests in this region. The population is scanty, but labour would soon flow in once it was understood that food and a livelihood were procurable in the north. This northern region would quickly settle down, for it should not prove difficult to hold the main lines of communication, and it may be surmised that the example so set would not be without its effect on the population to the south, and would ultimately immensely facilitate the re-establishment of order in the country and the return of the workers to sanity.

It appears to me, with the knowledge I possess of this northern region, that this suggestion might prove to be a first step in the direction in the re-establishment of what all must ardently desire to see—the reinstatement of Russia in her place amongst the nations.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the discussion, said it was a cause for deep regret that the Chairman of the Council of the Society, Lord Carnock, was not able, owing to ill-health, to be present that evening,

because he had at one time held the distinguished and most responsible post of British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. If his lordship had been able to be present he would doubtless have given them some very valuable enlightenment upon the present position in Russia. Of course, as members of the Central Asian Society, they were chiefly concerned with the position of Russia in so far as it related to our interests in India; and in this connection he regarded the point brought out by the lecturer in his observations as a very important one, that the Germans had been more wary and alive to the great economic potentialities of India than perhaps we ourselves had been. Anyone who had lived in India for the past twenty or thirty years was fully conscious of the way in which the Germans had increased and strengthened their commercial position in India. Up to the outbreak of the war their traders had invaded the country in ever-increasing numbers and had established very big business houses. They had indeed been keenly alive to the great economic potentialities of our great Indian Empire. His own idea was that the ultimate aim of the Germans in starting the war was the conquest of India. They all knew of or had heard about the Berlin-Baghdad Railway and what it was intended by the Germans to accomplish. He did not think it was intended to go to Mesopotamia alone. Mesopotamia was a very valuable country. There was no doubt about that, but in planning and constructing that railway the Germans had the conquest of India as their ultimate aim and object. They regarded the country as having a future of the very highest potentialities. Balked by our expedition to Mesopotamia of their route to India by the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, he thought the Germans then devoted more of their attention to the way to India through Russia and Persia, as the lecturer had pointed out. Personally he regarded it as one of the most disquieting pieces of information which the lecturer had given them that Russia is more accessible to German penetration now, after the armistice, than she was before. That was a valuable point to which, he thought, we should pay the greatest attention, because if it means that Germany is to gradually penetrate and absorb Russia, and work her way down to India in the way suggested, then we should have to be more on the lookout for danger to India from that direction than ever we had been during the last century. As to the means which the lecturer suggested for counteracting that danger, the Chairman thought that that gentleman would find himself supported by our last Ambassador in Russia (Sir George Buchanan). Indeed, as they would have observed from the report of an address which he delivered at Edinburgh about a week previous, Sir George had given expression to the very thing which the lecturer had uttered that evening, that it is essential that our Allies should support the friendly and well-disposed portion of the

Russian population and first occupy Petrograd and Moscow.* So far as he could recollect, Sir George Buchanan expressed the conviction that if Petrograd and Moscow could be occupied Bolshevism would break up, because, as the lecturer had said, the Bolshevik leaders were not really the elected representatives of the Russian people. As they had been reminded, these leaders shouted down the Constituent Assembly elected by the Russian people. These were the only observations he himself had to make, but he desired to direct particular attention to the lecturer's points in view of the fact that fortunately they had present with them Sir George Macartney, who, for many years, had occupied the position of Consul-General in Turkistan and Russia, and who had returned, within the last few months, from a visit to Tashkent, where, they might feel sure, he must have heard something of the movements of the Bolsheviks in Central Asia.

Sir George Macartney said he had listened with extreme interest to Mr. Stebbing's discourse, and desired to thank him for having focussed upon their attention some of the elements in a problem which at this time must be engrossing the attention not only of England, but of the world at large. He was afraid he was no authority on Russian affairs. He had lived for a long time, not in Russia, but in China, and the only opportunity he had of seeing Russia was during short journeys made backwards and forwards between London and his own station at Kashgar, so all he had seen of Russia was from the interior of railway-stations. But even a cursory glance at a country made one think about it. He had often wondered how it was, in times past, say twenty or thirty years ago, when the rivalry between England and Russia was acute, that Russia loomed so large on our horizon; what the secret of her power was, or the secret of her apparent power. He had come across many Russians of the middle classes, well-educated people; and the impression they gave—he was referring to those who were Russians by race, not to those who were cosmopolitans—was that they were amiable in disposition, perhaps somewhat emotional—in fact, that they were a people to whom an appeal could be made more through the heart than the head. They never appeared to him to be a people made of the stuff that went to the making of an aggressive race. How was it, then, that Russia appeared to us so formidable? He had often thought, though he might be mistaken, that even twenty or thirty

*** Sir George Buchanan and Mr. E. D. Stebbing arrived at this conclusion, identical as it is, independently. In fact, Mr. Stebbing's lecture was written before Sir George spoke. That they should both hold this view adds to its value. Indeed, if we now (August, 1919) study the news from the Baltic region, we see that this very view and plan are now being steadily worked out—A. C. Y., August, 21, 1919.**

years ago the Russian was not master in his own house. Germany was on the border of Russia, and long before this war, for the last half-century at least, there had been a constant stream of emigration from Germany into Russia. Some of the Germans who went to Russia settled there, keeping themselves aloof from the native population, retaining their own *Kultur*, their own traditions, their own language. But others penetrated into the country in a more insidious way. They allied themselves with the Russians and after a while became, as it were, "Russified." But in the process they also "Germanized" a small section of the Russian people. It was a question worth asking: To what extent, in the past, the members of the Russian Diplomatic Body and to what extent the officers of the Russian Army had been drawn from this Germanized section of the Russian people; and to what extent our difficulties with Russia, in former years, had been created by Russified Germans. Bolshevism might last for a time—it would run its course. But in time Russia would come into her own as an orderly State. Those German elements which had already been infused into the Russian race would always remain there. In order to counteract their baneful influence it behoved us all the more to gain the goodwill of that large section of the population which is not cosmopolitan, but Russian by race.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that Mr. Moon, who had been in Russia for some years, might perhaps very kindly offer a few observations.

Mr. MOON stated that he had been in Russia but never for a long time continuously. The observations made by Sir George Macartney led him to point out that perhaps a great many English people were not aware how little the Russian people were polyglottic. Though the noble frequently had an English trainer, a French tutor, a German nurse, and various other alien members in his household in order that his family might learn all kinds of languages, he had found, in the course of his expeditions through Russia, that German was the language which was most useful in hotels out of Moscow and Petrograd, and also for business purposes. As a matter of fact it was very well known in this country, as well as in other parts of the world, that German influence had, from time to time, been very predominant in Russia, even in the last century. One remembered a speech delivered by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace at a gathering of the Society held in that very room some months ago. In his book on Russia he related an incident which very aptly illustrated the extent to which this influence prevailed. It was the story of a Russian General who, when asked by his sovereign what he could do to help him, replied, "Please make me a German." Dealing with the points mentioned by Mr. Stebbing at the conclusion of his paper, Mr. Moon said he regarded that gentleman's suggestion about developing and making use of the timber in Northern Russia as a

particularly useful one. He presumed that though perhaps in theory the peasants might like to appropriate the interminable taigas (forest) through which one passed day after day in travelling on the Siberian Railway, they would not object to the timber being utilized so long as they were allowed to retain their agricultural holdings. At least it was his impression that so long as they were left in the undisputed and undisturbed possession of the agricultural holdings which they had unjustly appropriated, they would not offer any objection to the development and merchanting of the timber of the enormous forests in the North. He could not quite recollect for how many months in the year Petrograd was an open port, but he supposed it was so for at least six months. Seeing that Petrograd and the most northerly of the Russian ports could be kept open for the purpose of export for that period, he regarded the idea of starting Russia in the path of economic progress at this time by the development of her timber resources as a very valuable one. Of course he understood that buffer-States between Germany and Russia were going to be created. If the Peace Conference carried out its intentions in this direction Germany would be divided from Russia and the Polish States in the North as well as in the South. As Mr. Stebbing had remarked, Bolshevism was so kaleidoscopic in its character and changed so much in its aspects from day to day that he would be a very wise man who could forecast what developments might arise in connection with it even in a month's time.

Dr. POLLEN expressed the opinion that the reason why we had not got on with the Russians lay in our complete ignorance of their language. Indeed, it seemed as if we would not take the trouble to learn the language so that we could place and keep ourselves in touch with the Russian people and that they should know us better. At the Foreign Office on the previous day he met a gentleman who, turning round and addressing everybody in particular and nobody in general, said, "How is it possible for any good to result from sending to Russia officers who are entirely ignorant of the country, its people, and its language, and from turning away men who are anxious to go who know the country, its people, and its language—men who are capable of rendering the best possible service to this country by telling the Russians the plain facts regarding our attitude towards them?" These were the actual words which the gentleman uttered in a loud voice on the steps of the Foreign Office. Mr. Fisher, our great educational authority, declared the other day that if two hundred Englishmen could have been selected who were capable of conveying to the Russians in their own language, and in a way which they could understand, the real aims and objects of the great English people, we should not be in the terrible position in which we find ourselves to-day with regard to Russia. With a better knowledge of

the Russian language on the part of those who are representing us in the country, it would have been perfectly possible to have communicated direct to the people of Russia the feelings we entertain with regard to them. And until we learn the Russian language and adopt some means for understanding the Russian people he did not think there was much chance of our ever being able to destroy the baneful German influence in Russia. Anybody who knew or read anything regarding Russia must be aware how the country had been, and is even now, contaminated by the Germans. He had pointed out the fact thirty years ago. Since the name of Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace had been mentioned, he might also add that forty years ago that gentleman told them the truth regarding German influence in Russia. But when did we ever listen to a truth when it interfered with our present comfort and enjoyment? What was most needed was a knowledge of the Russian language. With that we would be able to better understand the Russian people, and be able to teach them that we have nothing but the most friendly feelings towards them. As we got to know them and they got to know us better, German influence in Russia could easily be ousted. We could get to the hearts of the Russian people if we had the proper and more effective facilities for getting into closer touch with them through more intimate international communication.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that certainly in India Dr. Pollen's suggestion was being acted upon. He agreed with that gentleman that good would follow the adoption of the same idea in this country. The Indian Government encouraged the study of the Russian language, and Dr. Pollen himself was a shining example of the results of this policy. The Chairman then suggested that they should return to Mr. Stebbing a most cordial vote of thanks for his very valuable paper, which, they would all agree, would be of the greatest use to the Society.

Mr. STEBBING, in thanking the meeting for the cordial way in which the proposal of thanks to himself had been received, and for the careful attention which had been given to his paper, remarked that there were two points which arose in the discussion which struck him as meriting special comment. The first one, raised by the Chairman, had reference to German penetration in India and German influence in exploiting India's economic resources. An incident which illustrated this in a very marked degree was brought to his attention quite recently. The Germans discovered that in the Native State of Travancore there was a yellow sand, known as monazite sand, which possessed certain valuable properties of which we had previously known nothing. A little British company was started to develop the potentialities of this discovery, but later on it was bought out by the Germans, with the result that practically the entire output of the

monazite sand of India was shipped to Germany. The war had brought to light the fact that from the sand certain substances could be extracted, such as thoria, ceria, didymium, and other rare earths used in the manufacture of incandescent mantles, carbons for searchlights (required for our battleships, etc.), and a variety of other materials of first-class importance to the industries of a nation in war and peace. It was the Germans who first discovered the value of and ultilized this valuable sand. That was one point illustrative of Germany's exploitation of the resources of India. The other matter on which he desired to make a brief observation was the exploitation of the timber resources of the northern forests of Russia. His idea was that now the Northern Government of Russia was recognized by the Peace Conference the Bolsheviks would ultimately be swept out of that area. Eighty-five per cent. of the country consisted of forests, the agricultural parts, to which the population was principally limited, being confined to narrow ribbons about five miles or so broad fringing the rivers. In the forests themselves the population was very sparse. In the winter-time the scanty agricultural portion of the population, supplanted by outside labour, worked at felling the trees and hauling the logs to the river-banks, where they were formed into great rafts and towed down the river by tugs to the ports. In this connection the timber-exporting ports of the future would probably be the northern ones of Archangel and Kola, the Obi and Yenesei, although, of course, Petrograd would also be of value as a centre of export. The Provisional Government, the last responsible Government of Russia, in 1917 devoted some attention to working out the forestry problems, and their idea was that the Baltic would cease to be a great exporting centre so far as Russia was concerned, because, they said, "We want the remaining forests left for our own people for reconstruction." Sixteen million, probably twenty million, acres of forest in the Western Provinces had been wiped out. They might therefore take it as a certainty that when again there is a responsible Government in Russia, those great northern forests would receive special attention in connection with reconstruction and with the development of the resources of the country. The timber would be exported from Archangel, as the headquarters of the trade, and from Murmansk; and also from the Obi and Yenesei in Siberia. The Northern Government in Russia wished to get rid of the Bolsheviks in that area as soon as possible, and with that main obstacle overcome they would be able to start work on an enterprise which was unlimited in its possibilities. When it was properly organized, labour would be attracted from the South, for by working in the forests the people would soon find that they could get food and a good livelihood.

The proceedings then concluded.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held on the afternoon of Wednesday, June 11, 1919, when there was a large attendance of members and friends. The Right Hon. Lord Carnock, G.C.B., Chairman of Council, presided.

THE ANNUAL REPORT.

The CHAIRMAN having remarked that this was the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, called upon Colonel A. C. Yate to read the report for the past year.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-Colonel Yate) then read the Annual Report, which was in the following terms:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1918-19.

At the Anniversary Meeting held on June 26, 1918, Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich expressed from the Chair a sincere hope that Colonel Sir Henry Trotter would, at the commencement of the 1918-19 session, be able to resume his duties as Chairman of the Council. That hope, which all members of the Society shared, has not been realized. Sir Henry's influence upon the Society as member, lecturer, councillor, and finally Chairman of Council, extended over a period of twelve years, and his loss is most sincerely regretted. On receipt of his resignation of the Chairmanship of the Council, it was offered to, and accepted by, the Right Hon. Lord Carnock, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E.

Shortly after the last Anniversary Meeting Sir Edward Penton, finding that his work for Government left him no leisure, resigned the Hon. Secretaryship. Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate was elected to succeed him.

During the session which is concluded to-day the following lectures have been delivered:

October 9, 1918.—"Life in Russian Turkestan, and Germany's Menace to India," by Miss Annette Meakin.

November 13, 1918.—"Siberia," by Colonel Harold Swayne.

November 23, 1918.—"Adventures with Armoured Cars in Russia and the East," by Commander O. Locker-Lampson, R.N.V.R., M.P., C.V.O.

December 10, 1918.—"China," by Mr. J. O. P. Bland.

January 29, 1919.—"The Past History of Anatolia: a Mirror of the Future," by Professor Sir W. M. Ramsay.

February 12, 1919.—"The Nushki Railway and Some of the Problems on which it Bears," by Colonel F. Webb Ware, C.I.E., F.R.G.S.

March 12, 1919.—"An Old Route to India," by Mr. F. D. Harford, C.V.O.

April 2, 1919.—"The Bolshevik and German Danger in Russia: its Threat to the British Empire," by Mr. E. P. Stebbing.

May 7, 1919.—"The Caucasus Front and Western Persia," by Lieut.-Colonel G. F. S. Napier.

June 11, 1919.—"Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918," by Sir George Macartney.

One is perhaps apt to listen to lectures of this calibre, illustrated by excellent lantern slides, covering a wide field of travel, experience, research, and knowledge, and not infrequently involving exposure to hardship and danger to life, without sufficiently realizing how representative these lectures are of that spirit of adventure which has gone, and still goes, far to mould the destinies of the British Empire. We do not yet, I think, know all that Commander Locker-Lampson's armoured-car work in Russia meant, and we may remember that he kindly hinted that we might hear more, if we chose. Mr. Bland's lecture led to General Sir Edmund Barrow's strong pronouncement on the Peking astronomical instruments, and to their subsequent return by Potsdam to Peking. Sir W. M. Ramsay gave us a most scholarly dissertation on the Trans-Continental routes that linked Greece and Italy with Central Asia and the Far East, and incidentally touched upon the grain of salt with which Greek statistics of Greek population should be taken. At the moment when Siberia was pressing forward to crush Bolshevism, Colonel Swayne's description of Siberia was most opportune, and Miss Annette Meakin pictured Russian Turkestan at the time when the Bolshevism of which Sir George Macartney will speak to-day was unknown. The Nushki Railway, which Colonel Webb Ware made the theme of his address, has not only helped to stem the tide of Bolshevism at Tashkent, but, if the Amir Amam-ulla Khan persists in his presumptuous menace to India, enables us to retaliate even against the outlying western provinces of his kingdom. The caravan routes that linked East and West, the undeveloped forest resources of Northern Russia, and the development of Persia—the subjects respectively handled by Mr. Harford, Mr. Stebbing, and Colonel Napier—are themes which have opened our eyes to much of which we knew little or nothing before. The lectures were all well attended, and the discussions, notably on the lectures of Mr. Bland and Colonel Webb Ware, contained excellent matter supplementary to the lecture.

Some of the papers have already been published in our Journal, and others will appear in the next number.

The membership of the Society has appreciably increased, though not as much as is to be desired. My belief, based on experience, is that the existence of the Society is not known. It remains to make it known and, on principle, to recruit for it. The following thirty new members have been elected:

Mrs. M. M. Banks.
Sir Maurice de Bunsen.
Lord Carnock.
Mr. R. MacLeod Campbell.
Mrs. Collis.
Mr. R. W. Frazer.
Mrs. R. W. Frazer.
Mr. C. C. Garbett, I.C.S.
Miss Christie.
Mr. F. D. Harford, C.V.O.
Mr. H. Peters Bone.
Mrs. Gaulter.
Captain I. C. FitzHugh, D.S.O., M.V.O.
Lieut. J. P. B. Jeejeebhoy, F.R.G.S.
Major W. W. Vauckers.
Mrs. Hunter.
The Political Agent, Kuwait.
Mr. F. B. Patel.
Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah.
Mr. A. B. Bayley Worthington.
Mrs. Henry Young.
Mr. Oliver R. Coales.
Mrs. Gaulter.
Captain Teague Jones, R.E.
Mr. C. A. Silberrad, I.C.S.
Mr. H. S. I. B. Philby, I.C.S., F.R.G.S.
Mr. H. G. Bateman, F.R.G.S.
Mr. Bassett Digby, F.R.G.S.
Mr. Patrick Alexander, F.R.G.S.
Major H. Hay Thorburn, C.I.E., I.M.S.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of Mr. Wilson Crewdson, Colonel F. M. Fancourt, General Sir James Hill Johnes, Colonel R. H. Jennings, and Mr. W. J. C. Laurie. The Society has also lost by resignation the two following members: Sir Walter Lawrence and Captain Tryon.

Our expenditure this year, owing to the much increased cost of printing, exceeded our receipts by about £20. The statement of accounts is appended.

The recommendations of the Council to fill vacancies on the Council for 1919-20 are as follows: Under Rule 13, Lord Lamington and Sir Francis Younghusband retire; the Council recommend the election of Sir Evan James and Sir Frederic Fryer in their place. Under Rule 13*a*, the Hon. Treasurer retires, and the Council recommend the election of Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward. Under Rule 23, Colonel Kelly retires, and there being also two vacancies, the Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Penton, Colonel C. E. Yate, and Sir Francis Younghusband.

A. C. YATE, Lieut.-Colonel,
Hon. Sec., Central Asian Society.

June 11, 1919.

The CHAIRMAN said that, having heard the report read, he would invite any observations anyone would wish to make or any questions members might wish to put to the Council. As nobody seemed inclined to do so, he would say that, though the Society was no doubt in a very flourishing condition relatively, they would like to increase the number of members as far as was possible. The Council had taken certain measures, through the kindness of the Geographical Society and also the Royal Asiatic Society, to circulate leaflets explaining the aims and objects of the Society in the hope that people who read them would become members. At the same time, he did think it would assist very materially in that direction if each individual member would try, from amongst their own friends and acquaintances, to beat up as many recruits as they could. If they could by these and other means appreciably increase the number of members, they should certainly feel that the financial position of the Society was thoroughly sound and satisfactory. Certain leaflets could be obtained which he ventured to suggest members would kindly circulate amongst those with whom they came in personal contact.

The Annual Report was then adopted.

The CHAIRMAN said that the next item on the agenda for the General Meeting was the election of Members of the Council for the coming session. The retiring members were Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward, Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, and Colonel J. G. Kelly, and it was proposed that Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis E. Younghusband, Sir Edward Penton, and Colonel C. E. Yate, M.P., should be ordinary Members of the Council.

The meeting agreed to the election of the gentlemen named to the vacancies on the Council.

The CHAIRMAN stated that it had been suggested that as Vice-Presidents Sir Evan James and Sir Frederic Fryer should take the places of Lord Lamington and Sir Francis Younghusband. Was the meeting agreeable to this?

The election of Sir Evan James and Sir Frederick Fryer as Vice-Presidents was then formally agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN explained that Sir Evan James had unfortunately had to resign the office of Hon. Treasurership, and it was suggested that Brigadier-General A. C. Bailward should take his place.

The election of Brigadier-General Bailward was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said that, having disposed of the routine business, they now came to the more interesting part of the meeting—the paper which Sir George Macartney had kindly undertaken to read on "Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918." His Lordship did not think it was necessary for him to formally introduce Sir George Macartney to them, as his name and services must be well known to every member of the Central Asian Society, but he thought he

should not be exaggerating if he said that few could have a more intimate knowledge of Central Asian politics than that possessed by Sir George Macartney. Personally, he was glad that his lecture was to be on Bolshevism in Central Asia, because, though the public press gave them fairly full information as to Bolshevism activity in Russia, and, he dared say, those who had perused the papers issued by the Foreign Office or had had opportunities of conversing with people who had recently escaped from Russia might indeed form an accurate opinion of what was taking place, or had taken place, in that unfortunate country, their information in regard to the districts in which Sir George Macartney had served in an official capacity was scanty and very vague. They did not know anything as to the form Bolshevism had assumed, or the extent to which it had developed in these districts. They were, therefore, particularly fortunate in having an opportunity afforded them that afternoon of hearing first-hand evidence as to Bolshevist activity in Central Asia, and they would listen with special interest to the paper which he would now ask Sir George Macartney to read to them.

It has been deemed desirable, and this in compliance with Sir George Macartney's wish, not to publish at present his lecture entitled "Bolshevism as I saw it at Tashkent in 1918." It will be published, it is hoped, in the Journal for 1920.

Appendix I.: THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

By LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE
(Hon. Secretary, Central Asian Society).

STUDENTS of history are well aware of the obscurity which veils the origin of many institutions which have made their mark in the world. It occurs to me, therefore, to record here briefly the circumstances which gave birth to the Central Asian Society; and it is to Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband and Sir Edward Penton that I am indebted in the first instance for the information upon which this exordium is based. For, although I was an original member of the Society, it was not till 1905 that I left India for good. When we consider what the term "Central Asian Question" meant in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we may wonder that it was not until the twentieth century, when the "Middle East" was already dawning, that the Central Asian Society began its corporate existence. "The fact that there was no suitable association for the discussion of the political aspects of Central Asian problems" had for some years been fermenting in the mind of Major (as he then was) F. E. Younghusband. Towards the end of 1900 it came to his knowledge that Dr. Cotterell Tupp, late of the Indian Civil Service, likewise entertained the idea of founding a society for the study not only of geographical, economic, social, and scientific, but also of political questions affecting the territories situated between Eastern Europe and India. A meeting took place between Major Younghusband and Dr. Tupp—a meeting at which Colonels Sir T. H. Holdich and Algernon Durand were present. It was then decided to form a society and to approach the Royal Asiatic Society for the favour of the use of their rooms.

The first meeting took place in those rooms on December 13, 1901, when General Sir T. E. Gordon presided, and was elected President for the ensuing year, Major Younghusband being Hon. Secretary, and Dr. Tupp Hon. Treasurer. Among the Members of Council then appointed I find Major-General Sir Edwin Collen and Sir Evan James. It was decided to hold the meetings on the first Wednesday in each month of the lecture season (October to June) at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, and on January 15, 1902, the first lecture was given by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch on "The Persian Gulf." Major

Younghusband being then unexpectedly ordered back to India was succeeded as Hon. Secretary by Mr. Edward Penton, who continued to fill that office until the beginning of the late war. From 1914 to 1918 the Central Asian secretariat was in the able hands of Miss Hughes, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. In a leaflet dated May 28, 1903, Mr. Penton placed on record the eleven lectures delivered before the Society in the first seventeen months of existence, among the lecturers being General Sir T. E. Gordon, Mr. A. R. Colquhoun, Mrs. Archibald Little, Lord Ronaldshay, Mr. T. Gibson Bowles, and Mr. (now Sir) George Macartney, on subjects ranging from Persia to the Pacific. My collected copy of the Society's publications starts with the papers read during the session of 1903-04. I find no record of the publication of the lectures of the period January, 1902, to May, 1903. Probably the Society's funds did not, so early in its career, admit of expenditure for printing. In November, 1901, the Society numbered thirteen members, in January, 1902, thirty, and in May, 1903, ninety-seven. The publication of the journal then commenced, and the expense was then more easily met with ninety-seven members than it is under post-war conditions with about 140.

From 1903 onward to the present time the Society, with a membership gradually on the increase, has steadily pursued the aims for which it was founded. The evidence of that is to be sought in the personality of the lecturers themselves, and in the public importance of the subject-matter of the papers read, and of the discussions that ensued. At this moment it will not be out of place to review those papers and discussions in their relation to the incidents of the late war and the situation of the present hour. When Sir Valentine Chirol in 1906 addressed the Society on "Pan-Islamism," Abdul Hamid was still seated on the Ottoman throne, and yet even then we find M. de Wesselitský, while disclaiming for the Moslems of Russia any Pan-Islamic tendency, and not even hinting at "Pan-Turanianism," remarking that "there is a literary Pan-Turkism, an attempt to create a literary language for all the Musulmans of Russia of Turco-Tartar race common to them with the Turks of the Ottoman Empire," and "it seems to me that Pan-Islamism might become a very real danger if Musulmans felt themselves unfairly treated by Christians." In this war we have seen Islam go through this ordeal, and, as the outcome thereof, to use Lindsay Gordon's phrase, "two things stand like stone," one that Islam has rallied to the British Empire, and the other that, while Sunni Turkey fell foul of its professed best friend, Germany, over the Black Sea fleet and the Caucasus, Shi'a Persia, after coquetting and intriguing more or less all round, is now posing pretentiously before the Peace Conference in Paris. When in January, 1912, Professor

Margoliouth lectured on this self-same topic, viz., "Pan-Islamism," he showed clearly that the Young Turks entertained ideas of Pan-Islamic propaganda, and argued that it was under European protection that "the most favourable conditions possible existed for the propagation of Islam." At both these lectures the Central Asian Society had the good fortune to listen to the views on this subject of Mr. Ameer Ali, always an impressive and attractive speaker, views which have very recently led to friendly, but none the less definite differences of opinion between him and Sir V. Chirol. If Professor Margoliouth is right, then the Memorandum addressed by H.H. the Aga Khan, the Right Hon. Ameer Ali, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, and others, quoted in *The Times* of March 25, and sympathetically if critically commented on in *The Near East* of March 27, misses its mark.

Not unnaturally, Persia has figured largely in the lecture list of the Society. In the first twelve years of its existence "Persia" was the theme which inspired the pen of no less than fifteen lecturers, among whom may be mentioned Lords Lamington and Ronaldshay, Sir Percy and Miss Ella Sykes, Professor E. G. Browne, Mr. Lovat Fraser, General Sir T. E. Gordon, and Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. The importance of the subject seems also to justify a mention of the lecture given by me in February, 1911, on "The Proposed Trans-Persian Railway." When preparing that paper I had a conversation with M. Timiriazeff, President of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce, and towards the close of 1911 I attended a very interesting gathering at Paris of Russian and French promoters of that railway. Subsequent writers on this and cognate topics, such as Mr. Evans Lewin and M. G. Demorgny, both of whose books appeared in 1916, refer to this lecture as still the recognized authority. Personally, when I reawaken my reminiscences of the whole affair, I am devoutly thankful that the Anglo-Franco-Russian scheme of 1912 for a Trans-Persian Railway came to nothing. When it is at some future time constructed it should be in a greater measure under British control. In May, 1902, Lord Ronaldshay had told the Society all about the Nushki-Seistan route; in 1916 Sir Hugh Barnes, writing in the *Indiaman*, urged the Government of India to build the Nushki-Seistan Railway, and in February, 1919, Colonel Webb Ware, in an admirable lecture, enhanced by a long and lucid speech from Sir Hugh Barnes, told a crowded audience how India had just connected itself by rail with Persia. Thanks to that connection, and to Brigadier-General Sir Percy M. Sykes and the troops under his command, Kirman was purged of Hun propagandists, and Bolshevism was checkmated on the Trans-Caspian Railway.

The recent tragic events in Afghanistan remind us of the close ties which unite that kingdom to India. It was in 1900 that Mr. John

Murray, subsequently a member of the Central Asian Society, brought out the Ameer Abdur Rahman Khan's autobiography, and in 1907 Sir Mortimer Durand selected that same potentate—a ruler whom Sir West Ridgeway once classed among the greatest men of his day—as the subject for his lecture. As one who had been in Kabul with Sir F. Roberts, and instrumental in placing Abdur Rahman Khan on the throne, and in 1893 the head of a mission sent to him by the Viceroy of India, no one was better qualified than Sir Mortimer to speak of an Ameer who inaugurated in 1880 a rule and policy at Kabul which has aided us in this momentous war. The death of the Ameer Habibullah is to be deplored, and might well have been made by the Central Asian Society an occasion for demonstrating and publicly recognizing the boon which forty years of stable government in Kabul has proved to be for the British Empire. If there is a Society that knows Afghanistan it is the Central Asian. All the Trans-Caspian territory and the Khanates are at this moment at a loose end, and a " mandate " is wanted to gather them into that fold which recognizes Great Britain as its shepherd. Men, however, throw away their chances. Afghanistan is no mean instrument, and her patience merits reward. Russia must be coerced, says Sir George Buchanan. The compress which tightens from Archangel, Omsk, the Volga, and the Don may tighten too from Kabul and Herat.

As may be supposed, the Baghdad Railway has been well discussed within the " Central Asian " walls, by none more effectively than by M. Chéradame in May, 1911; and, indeed, the fertile topic of railways converging on India has been dealt with there by Colonels Picot and Beresford, Mr. Lynch, Mr. C. D. Black, and others, while Mr. Perceival Landon, Mr. F. D. Harford, Mr. A. Boddam Taylor, Mr. E. T. A. Wigram, Mr. Demetrius Boulger, and Sir Thomas Holdich, have made us familiar with Mesopotamia. Two bulwarks of the Indian Empire, Baluchistan on the west and Burma on the east, were respectively dealt with by men who had ruled them, viz., Colonel C. E. Yate and Sir Frederick Fryer, while India's power for offence and defence found able exponents in Sir Edwin Collen and Sir Thomas Holdich. Chinese Turkestan drew old memories from Sir Thomas Gordon and Sir Henry Trotter, while Sir George Macartney favoured us with his more recent experiences. On Asiatic Turkey and Asia Minor we heard the late Sir Mark Sykes, Mr. W. J. Childs, and Sir W. M. Ramsay, and with China, Mongolia, Japan, and Siberia we spent some pleasant and instructive afternoons. Commander O. Locker-Lampson and his armoured cars, ranging from Archangel to Erzeroum, held an audience spell-bound, and finally Mr. J. O. P. Bland, with General Sir Edmund Barrow, who was Sir Alfred Gaselee's Chief of the Staff at Peking in 1900, in the chair, paved the way for the restoration to China of the astro-

nomical instruments taken away from Peking by the Germans in 1900, and since then kept at Potsdam. It was my old friend, Colonel E. St. C. Pemberton, R.E., an ex-councillor of the Central Asian Society, who on December 11, 1900, in the discussion which followed Mr. Bland's address, brought forward the question of making Germany disgorge. He had seen the instruments at Potsdam about 1907, and again later seen the desolate sites on the walls of Peking. The subject was well ventilated at that meeting of the Central Asian Society, and not in vain. Suffice it to mention that *The Times* of December 12, 1918, took especial notice of what General Barrow and Colonel Pemberton had said on the 11th to the "Central Asian" meeting, and strongly endorsed their view that the instruments ought unquestionably to be restored. As I write, *The Times* of March 19 lies before me, and says: "The German Government has decided to return to China the astronomical instruments which were transported from Peking to Germany in 1900. Negotiations have been opened for the shipping of the instruments to China.—*Wireless Press* (through the wireless stations of the German Government)."

A very able journalist, who has attended all our lectures for years, wrote very recently to me: "In my opinion, the Society is more alive to-day than ever before," and this success for China bears this out. During the eighteen years of its life the Society owes its success to an able series of Chairmen of Council: Sir T. E. Gordon, Sir F. E. Younghusband, Sir V. Chirol, Lord Lamington, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir T. H. Holdich, Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Mortimer Durand, Sir Henry Trotter, and finally Lord Carnock. The Honorary President of the Society is the Earl Curzon of Kedleston. Illustration by lantern slides has accompanied most of the lectures, and in this connection the services of Mr. Simpson, of the Royal Geographical Society, have been most helpful.

The war just concluded has introduced thousands of male and female subjects of his Britannic Majesty to Asiatic countries which under ordinary conditions they never expected to visit. It is hoped that many of these will join the Central Asian Society on their return to England, and thus bring double grist to the Society's mill—the grist of brain for the lecture-field and the grist of funds for the production and maintenance of a "Central Asian Journal" such as the Society may regard with pride.

APPENDIX II.: THE NUSHKI RAILWAY

To the Hon. Secretary, Central Asian Society.

THE KING'S HOUSE,
LYNDHURST,
June 24, 1919.

SIR,

I see that in the discussion on Colonel Webb Ware's paper on the Nushki Railway Sir H. Barnes remarked on the fact that nothing was apparently done about this line after Lord Curzon left India in 1905 until 1916. Perhaps I may mention that this was not due to any lack of interest in the matter on the part of the late Lord Minto, who personally visited Nushki and so improved the conditions of the Chagai Political Agency as to secure the long service there of Colonel Webb Ware, which has done so much for the development of the Nushki-Seistan trade route.

The real obstacle was the attitude of the military authorities in India, who opposed vigorously any improvements to this route. A motor-car was taken over into Seistan, and the experience so gained showed how easy it was to make the track suitable for motor traffic.

It was then proposed to remove some of the worst stones, and to ramp the sides of the dry nalas to facilitate motor carriage. To this the Army Department objected, as they did to the construction of wells. They also objected to the railhead being taken some sixteen miles to the west of the Nushki gorge to secure a healthier site with better water and grazing and some chance of cultivation. Their idea was that nothing should be done to improve communications there, lest the Russians might come to Seistan and take advantage of such improvements in an advance on India. If Seistan was to be supported, this should be done from Bandar Abbas. This attitude, which was apparently approved in Whitehall, made it very difficult for the Indian Government to do much, but quietly Colonel Webb Ware was helped to improve matters.

In fact, the route has always been advanced in the teeth of departmental difficulties. Two telegraph officers at different times reported that it would be impossible to construct a telegraph line over it, owing to physical and telegraphic conditions. In 1903 advantage was taken of the necessity for rapid communication with the MacMahon Mission to carry a field wire to Dalbandin, which, to the

surprise of the experts, was found to work splendidly. Wells were discovered on the route, and beyond Nasratabad Ispe, and eventually with the help of Sir A. Hardinge at Teheran the line was linked up with the Central Persian line long before this could be carried through to Karachi. It was the success of this venture in telegraph construction that paved the way for the railway, which most of us then desired, and which we are all now glad to see an accomplished fact. It may yet be the means of regenerating Persia and furthering through trade to India.

It is a curious thing that Lord Kitchener regarded it as impossible that Indian troops should ever be employed in Mesopotamia and Persia, and he was prepared to allow both Russia and Germany to come down to the head of the Gulf on Kruger's policy of letting the snake show its head so that we could hit it from the sea. The cost to India in naval arrangements to meet such a condition of affairs would have been ruinous. Happily it remained for Lord Kitchener before he died to add to his many splendid services to the Empire by abandoning this old policy of his, though his attitude while in India made it difficult to carry out the various political measures in the Gulf and Southern Persia which so materially assisted our action in those tracts during the war.

It is hardly necessary now to point out that the despatch of Indian troops to the Gulf and Mesopotamia helped the late Amir H.M. Habibullah Khan to fulfil his treaty obligations with us, and so in all probability prevented an invasion of India by Afghans, border Pathans, and the wilder tribes of Persia, led and stiffened by Germans and Turks, which in the conditions prevailing in 1915 must have had disastrous results. The Afghan incursion since the murder of our faithful ally clearly shows what would have happened then if he had failed to keep faith with us.

It is interesting that the map which the late Amir used during the negotiations in 1905 at Kabul showed the Afghan border close to the Helmand as originally drawn, and not as demarcated by Sir Henry MacMahon.

Yours faithfully,
LOUIS DANE.

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Balance at bank, January 1, 1918 ...	108	17	4			
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