JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XI.

1924

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

PALESTINE AFTER THE WAR

By Colonel E. W. Costello, V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution on Thursday, October 11, 1923, Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding. Before commencing the lecture, the Chairman called on General Sir Raleigh Egerton to speak.

General Sir Raleigh Egerton (*Hon. Secretary*): Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have only to announce that thirty-five new members have joined since our last meeting, bringing the total membership up to seven hundred and fifty. The energy of the other Honorary Secretary has produced this satisfactory increase of membership, and we hope you will all use your best endeavours to get new members to join. We should like to attain the number of one thousand within the next eighteen months.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have now to introduce to you our lecturer this evening, Colonel Costello. This Society has certainly shown no lack of interest in the subject of Palestine, as the last number of our *Journal* will show, containing in the first place a very interesting address by Sir Wyndham Deedes, and secondly the account of our Annual Dinner, with the speech of our principal guest, Lord Milner; so that we approach the subject with some knowledge of it and with a great deal of interest. It is a subject that of course excites a good deal of controversy still. I confess that the impression left on my mind from what we have already heard is that whatever one's view might be about the original policy of Zionism and of our position in Palestine, now that this policy has come apparently to stay, we may at least be satisfied, all of us, that—whatever we may think of that—the administration we have given to the country is a first-class administration, and has been very well carried on, in the way that British administration is carried on in many parts of the world, holding the balance even between the conflicting interests, and seeing fair play done as far as possible all round. That, I think, we may feel is the case. Colonel Costello has had a great deal of experience in Palestine. He has been there really, I understand, three times since the Armistice; he has commanded the brigade of troops there, and he has also been instrumental in raising the Defence Force—a force of Arabs and Jews—and running that for a time; and about that I have no doubt he will be kind enough to tell us. No one better than he is in a position to give us really authentic and first-

hand information about what he has seen and what he has known about the position in Palestine. I introduce him to you with great pleasure.

THE LECTURE.

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—As a member of this Society returning from the Near East, I have been asked by the Council to review some aspects of Palestine and its affairs as they presented themselves to me since the war. I will endeavour to confine myself to facts, and to avoid speculation as to reasons of Higher Policy.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS.—The Armistice with Turkey on October 31, 1918, found us wondering what would be done with the large tracts of country which British, Colonial, and Indian soldiers had conquered from the Turks, and which we then policed so expensively, in Mesopotamia and Palestine. They might have been embodied in the Empire, as we had done last century with our conquests from France, or they might have been colonized, like Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.

There were great wastes which needed population, and the idea of colonization appealed to those of us who had sacrificed their businesses or careers when they joined up for the war.

MESOPOTAMIA.—Australians might have been settled in Palestine, or Indians rewarded by placing some of them to revive the population and wealth of Mesopotamia. We owed nothing to the Arabs of that country. When Turkish subjects they had quite rightly fought against us. The tribesmen had on many occasions attacked us treacherously when we were in difficulties; at other times they had thrown their lot in with us and submitted to our authority after we had occupied their country, and because they thought we meant to stay; they had not contributed towards our conquest, and to the Mesopotamians as a whole we owed nothing.

ARABIA.—In Arabia proper matters were different. King Hussein in the Hadjaz had become our ally, and had co-operated with us, attacking the long and exposed Turkish flank on the Hadjaz Railway.

TRANS-JORDANIA. — The tribesmen of Trans-Jordania and of Damascus had joined us when the opportunity came. These two countries had borne their share in freeing Arabia from the Turk; and it was right their homelands should fall to them.

PALESTINE AND SYRIA.—The future of Cis-Jordanian Palestine and of the Lebanon was another matter. There the inhabitants had certainly acclaimed our coming, but they had in no way been material to it. Many of them had done their duty as Turkish subjects, and had fought against us on one or other of the fronts. They had not handed their country over to us, as is now so frequently implied.

We had taken the country, conquered it in war, and it was for the Allies to decide its fate.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES.—Apart from Arabia, then, the alternatives from which we had to choose were—

(1) The embodiment in our Empire of Mesopotamia and Palestine.
(2) The return of these countries to the Turk.
(3) Their formation, with or without Arabia, into a State or Union of States.
(4) Similar treatment, but protected by us or by the Allies until able to stand alone.

Of these alternatives, embodiment in the Empire would have entailed much complication and expense; our existing responsibilities of this nature were already as much as we could bear.

Return of these countries to the Turks would have meant death and ruin to all who had assisted us or had taken service with us. It would have been a betrayal, and was unthinkable.

In the third alternative the independent State or States, unprotected by us, would soon have fallen once more to the Turks. This was tantamount to the second alternative, perhaps even worse.

The last solution remained—some form of State or States, protected until strong enough to stand alone.

But it was clear that we could not guarantee such protection for ever, and that the design of these new States must be on lines so practical and so progressive as to give reasonable prospect of their eventual ability to stand alone without military or financial claims on us.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE HOLY LAND.—The question of the Holy Land was the most difficult of all. There were obvious objections to any scheme for burthening the British Empire with permanent responsibility for this country; at the same time it was essential that no Power hostile to us should hold it.

It was not reasonable to hope that our Arabian Allies now emerging from the Desert could avoid the many pitfalls connected with the administration of this land, so sacred to rival creeds and sects of creeds, with its mixed population of Asiatics and Europeans, and its relations with the Great World Powers; nor was it likely that these Powers would submit to such a control of their interests.

Neither could it be hoped that the petty population of Palestine, itself accustomed for centuries to foreign rule and domination, would provide men of the calibre required to rule it independently and deal with questions of European consequence.

OUR GOVERNMENT SOLUTION.—We know the solution which was eventually found. Arabia and Mesopotamia became kingdoms. The

interests of our Allies had to be considered, so Syria had to separate from her kindred Palestine. France undertook the problem of the Lebanon and later of Damascus; our Government attempted that of Palestine in the Balfour Declaration, which, in return for a national home, brought Jewish brains and Jewish money to supply the deficiencies of the country

The solution was not a popular one, but it exploited a very progressive element which already existed in Palestine, and formed a basis of growth towards a union of qualities and of powers which might eventually free us from our mandatory responsibilities and give us a firm ally, perhaps even united with its neighbour fellow-Semitic races.

Whether we liked the plan or not, it was hard to think of a better one, and the allied victors were fully entitled to dictate it. In any case, our country seems to be committed to it; two Governments have accepted it; it appears extremely doubtful that any change of Government would or could refuse to recognize it.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.—The Balfour Declaration puts our Government into the position of a cook mixing his ingredients, which consist of a Mohammedan population of some 600,000 souls of all ages; 73,000 Christians; originally some 70,000 Jews; a birth-rate increase from each; a Jewish immigration flow of adults in their prime; their presumably large birth-rate increase.

The one thing the cook must control firmly is the flow and the quality of this adult immigration. Discretion lies with him, but he is responsible to the British taxpayer both for the flavour of his concoction and for its not being too bulky for the Palestine bowl.

OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE NEAR EAST.—Before considering our position in Palestine, it is as well to recall its connection with its neighbours, and our position as regards King Hussein, and in Mesopotamia. We "hold the ring" around these countries, protecting them from outside aggression, and they in turn are beholden to us for much.

Our command of the sea renders the task easy except along the land frontiers of Persia and Turkey, where the Turks might create trouble near Mosul, but they would have to reckon with our Air Force, overwhelmingly stronger than theirs, with our means of retaliation in Europe and the Mediterranean, and with the threat to their flank from Syria.

PALESTINE'S IMMEDIATE FRONTIERS.—The immediate protection of Palestine, Cis-Jordania, against external aggression is provided by the position of the French in Syria to the north,* the Mediterranean to the west, the Egyptian Desert to the south.

* The north-east corner of our frontier with Syria is shaped like a promontory where a narrow strip of territory, containing the long-shaped Lake Huleh and

The eastern frontier of Lakes Huleh and Galilee, the Jordan and Dead Sea, is naturally strong and is covered by the position of Trans-Jordania, which was recently formed into a State under the Emir Abdullah.

TRANS-JORDANIA. — Trans-Jordania is closely connected with Palestine, and, unlike the rest of Arabia, is included in the mandated area, though the Balfour Declaration does not apply to it.

Feeling there against the Jews runs high, and the people will not allow any Jewish schemes of canalization east of the Jordan River. The population of about 350,000 includes a considerable body of Christians; many are nomadic, and drift at certain seasons towards Cis-Jordania or towards Arabia, where they come into contact with the Wahabis. These Wahabis are likely to be a thorn in the flesh to their more easygoing co-religionists, as they insist on strict adherence to their own interpretation of Mohammedan tenets, and, for the good of his eternal soul, kill the body of the neighbour who refuses conversion—a contagious method with nomads who must return whence they came, and must continue the process amongst their compatriots.

The Emir Abdullah has a small standing army of a few hundred men, which enables him to deal with frontier incidents, to enforce collection of revenue, and to maintain order amongst his Sheikhs. He had little difficulty in destroying a band of several hundred Wahabis (missionaries) who set out from some eight hundred miles away with sword, spear, and musket for the conversion of Trans-Jordania. He also inflicted a salutary lesson last month on some Sheikhs when our aeroplanes showed themselves, and doubtless contributed to his easy victory. The aerodrome at Amman, on the Baghdad air route, is, of course, a great asset to our Ally. The Arab and his vulnerable horse or camel cannot contend in the Desert against the aeroplane, that spies him out from afar off, summons up armoured cars and mobile troops, and combines with them in his destruction. It is well to remember, however, that our task is not so easy in broken ground, where cars cannot leave the road, where the road is easily destructible, and where our opponents can screen themselves from air attack amongst the boulders and ravines. Country of this description exists on both sides of the Jordan Valley, but it is limited in extent and can be worked round, unlike the mountain and hill areas on our Indian frontiers, where the use of aeroplanes and cars is a different proposition.

CIS-JORDANIA.—We have glanced at her external relations, and

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the road to Mutulleh and Dan, juts into French territory, and is exposed to robbers or raiders on both flanks—a difficult strip to police. It was here that a party of our gendarmerie were attacked the other day when returning from escort duty to the High Commissioner.

can now turn to Palestine herself and her urgent questions of internal policy.

The historic portals of the country are, by sea, Jaffa and Haifa, by land the Ladder of Tyre, the Dan and Huleh routes, Beisan, Jericho, Beersheba (Dan to Beersheba), the Desert routes from Egypt.

Ships using the Jaffa and Haifa ports must still anchor some distance out and unload into native boats, a troublesome performance and impossible in rough weather. Haifa is the least exposed roadstead of the two.

There has been much talk of making moles and a good harbour at one or other of these ports, but nothing has been done so far; it would be a costly undertaking.

Good metalled roads lead from each of these ports, from Jaffa to Jerusalem and on to Jericho, whence a motor road leads to Amman. Another road crosses this at Jerusalem, starting at Beersheba and running through Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus, Nazareth, Haifa. Roads from Nazareth lead to Tiberius and Damascus, from Tiberius to Beisan. There are also many secondary roads. The pipe line and wire road over the sand used during the war have both ceased to exist.

The railway from Egypt starts at Kantara, on the northern bank of the Suez Canal, where there is no bridge and where the traveller has a most uncomfortable change. The line runs to Haifa and on through Beisan to Damascus, with branches to Beersheba, Jerusalem, and Jaffa.

The improved road and railway communications form most marked features of our occupation.

Telephones and telegraphs connect the main towns. Postal arrangements function, though handicapped by the employment of a native staff, who still have much to learn.

Water, Climate, Health.—This map of Palestine shows the great central ridge of highland country with Hebron, Jerusalem, and Nablus (Shechem), the highlands of Galilee, the Philistine Plain, the Plains of Sharon and of Esdraelon, Galilee, the Jordan Valley. We usually expect valleys and streams to attract settled populations, but this was not the case in Palestine prior to the arrival of the modern colonists. They were avoided for reasons of health. The hot and, in summer, unhealthy Jordan Valley, seventy miles long and up to fifteen miles broad, contains the only real river in the country, but it is practically unpeopled except at its upper portion and at the Jericho Springs, where the descendants of negro slave plantations made by the Romans still show traces of their ancestry.

The river itself is fringed with reeds, bushes, and trees, but the plains beyond are parched and deserted except where a few small streams enter the valley. The climate is more temperate on the

western and northern plains of Palestine, but the neighbourhood of the Wadi Reuben and Auja streams and of the Kaishon consists of grazing and marsh land where mosquitoes thrive and malignant malaria is not uncommon. There is one such place in the Beersheba district where Arabs consider it certain death to pass a night.

Last autumn three officers out shooting from Ludd spent the night without curtains in a spot of this description; all three and their chauffeur went down with malignant malaria. These spots are the exception in Palestine, which, generally speaking, is a healthy country, but I mention them to explain one of the reasons why there is room for pioneers in the plains. That the pioneer can remove this evil is shown by what has happened in the new colonies and in the military camp at Jenin of Esdraelon, where the clearing and banking in of a small stream entirely stopped the malaria which had hitherto infested the garrison.

LOWLAND POPULATION.—The natives of the Philistine Plain, of Sharon, and of Esdraelon, are either tent-dwelling nomads or live in closely-built villages on commanding positions with well water adjoining in watercourses, or near the sea, where at certain places the salt water filters in through the sand and becomes more or less drinkable. Most of the country used to be uncultivated and much of it, particularly along the coast, is still a waste of encroaching sandhills, while south of Hebron the Beersheba and Ghaza districts are sparsely inhabited.

The wilderness west of the Dead Sea between Jericho and Beersheba is the least habitable of all; there it was that Saul and David hid, and it is through there that raiders coming from below the Dead Sea still pass on their way to rob travellers near the Good Samaritan's Inn on the Jericho road.

I have described these lowlands at some length in order to show that a great area exists there to invite the colonist who can produce a good water-supply and overcome the malaria.

HIGHLANDS AND POPULATION.—The best climate and most sturdy population is found in the highlands, where rivers do not exist and springs are rare. The soil is good but rocky. Fields have been cleared and the mountain-sides built up into terraces from time immemorial. Many of the fields and cisterns have fallen into disuse, and there are indications that the population has decreased since olden times.

Water is obtained from cisterns cut in the rocky soil, bottle-shaped and closed over, or made beneath houses, to catch the rainfall.

THE PEOPLE.—The Palestinians, as might be expected from their very mixed pedigree, are a most cosmopolitan lot. The Arab type is seen most strongly amongst the nomads, whose habits are still those of Arabia, and amongst certain of the settled Arabs who claim

Desert descent, and who still love to welcome the stranger in true Desert style. But the European and Turkish strain, perhaps the old Gentile strain, is very evident in the fair and sturdy Mohammedans of Hebron, the Breton-like and kindly Christian women of Bethlehem and of Galilee.

As elsewhere, the Arab does not trouble himself about the colour question, either with the stranger from Overseas or with his immediate neighbour, who may or may not be of darker hue; he is very sure of himself, courteous and hospitable. This absence of colour distinction and the greater toleration of his neighbour's religious beliefs are in strong contrast to what we find in India.

Intelligent and good talkers, many have been through one or other of the schools maintained, chiefly at Jerusalem, by the religious denominations, not least amongst which is the St. George's College of the Church of England, where many fine manly lads are turned out. Girls are also educated, but to a lesser extent. These schools are generally open to Christian and Mohammedan alike, and a convent education is considered a great attraction in a Mohammedan girl.

A great many Palestinians have been abroad, mostly to America. They take readily to European customs, and do not seem to suffer from contact with Western civilization; but there is room for much improvement in both the character and extent of education before they can take their proper position in Palestine and hold their own against the keen intellects of the new immigrants. This fact is fully appreciated by the Administration, which has devoted £80,000 to Arab education in this year's budget.

The peasantry are hardy and industrious, well understand their own methods of agriculture, and are by no means averse to progress. Well officered, they would make excellent soldiers.

On the whole, the Palestinians are an attractive and law-abiding race, but with their full share of wilder elements to produce the usual quota of crime. As elsewhere, their crimes are usually due to "zan, zaz, zam" (woman, gold, land). The murder of Captain Swan when driving from Saragand to dinner at Jaffa; the attack on two officers trollying with cash for pay of coolies from Tulkoram and Lydda; the attack on the High Commissioner's escort in the strip near Lake Huleh — all recent occurrences — were in each case attributable to "zaz"—gold—they had nothing to do with politics.

It is not uncommonly implied that it is we Britishers who have introduced racial strife, and it is forgotten that the coming of the Jews has had the effect, for the first time, of driving Mohammedan and Christian into the same camp; and that anti-Christian riots were by no means unknown in old days. Ever since the Crusades the Mohammedans have feared that the crowds of Christian pilgrims coming to their country for the great religious festivals might

endeavour to regain the Holy Land by a sudden coup. To obviate this danger Mohammedan festivals of comparatively recent origin were arranged to coincide with those of the Christians, and to attract corresponding bodies to the same neighbourhoods. These festivals recall the religious victories of Saladin and of their ancestors, and keep alive a feeling of warlike enthusiasm for their faith. The fear of the Christian has now been replaced by the fear of the Jew.

Early Colonists.—The first colonists in Palestine were the missions of religious orders, Latin and Greek Catholics who founded hospices for pilgrims, monasteries or convents, cultivated gardens and vineyards, instructed their flocks, and strove to safeguard the holy places in their charge.

The last fifty years have seen the growth of other semi-religious colonies. A German sect of Templars planted homes round Jaffa and in the outskirts of Jerusalem. They reclaimed ground, sunk deep wells, introduced pumps and machinery, and were generally model pioneers.

Several prominent Jews, the forerunners of Zionism, founded similar colonies on the wastes near Jaffa and Haifa, little European villages with streets and gardens, school, town hall, and synagogue. Their eucalyptus-groves replaced the haunts of malaria. They planted oranges, almonds, and vines, established an export trade of Jaffa oranges and of wines, which prospered well, but has suffered through closing of the American wine market.

All these colonists brought money to the country, threatened no one, and were welcomed by the Turkish rulers. The Jews were accepted by the people, and employed much Arab labour. Their religion appears to have been strictly orthodox, but they were a class apart from their co-religionists who had existed for centuries at Jerusalem—the men with long curls who wail at the Temple wall and pray for the restoration of its lost glories.

The Balfour Declaration.—The Balfour Declaration in its original ambiguous form and the utterings of extreme Zionists combined to make the Arabs alter their attitude towards further colonization by the Jews. It was known that the extremists hoped to establish a strong footing in the country prior to seizing it and founding a Jewish State, and the Arabs henceforth began to regard all Jews as potential enemy invaders.

Arrival of Zionist Colonists.—Meanwhile the new colonists began to arrive in batches of men and young women, a very small proportion of whom were of British or American stock. Some had served in the Allied armies as officers or in the ranks; others were professional men with undeveloped muscles, students fired by idealism fresh from Eastern Europe and from Russia, in the throes of her social experiments. The standard of education was high; linguists,

doctors, lawyers, technical experts, engineers, were all represented, but the sturdy peasant type was lacking. Some of the newcomers looked down on their darker brethren, and for the first time introduced the colour question. Essentially European, they could not hold their own in this climate with the Arabs as labourers, nor could they exist on an equally low standard of living. Zionist funds had to support them in the immigrant camps until work could be found for them, and these funds had later to supplement their inadequate earnings.

Road-making gave an opening to many who were to be seen trudging in bodies to their work or camped alongside the main routes. The Arabs observed that they had no place of their own, and said that they were casting longing eyes on their land.

The avowed ambitions of extreme Zionists did not help matters. A "root and branch" policy was feared, and Old Testament stories of the first Jewish settlements in Palestine were recalled. Mohammedans spoke of their rights to the Temple being disputed. Christian and Mohammedan joined together in face of the common danger. Some of the Jews, fearing retaliation, secretly imported arms.

The old colonists, Christian and Jew, viewed these conditions with disfavour—the Christians because they feared lest the rabble might turn on them when it had finished with the Jews; the Jewish colonists because their isolation exposed them to attack, and because they were not in sympathy with the extremists nor with those of the newcomers who were not Jews by religion and who spoke of "the tribal God." We are apt to overlook the fact that many so-called Jews are not Jews by religion, and they cause much offence to their orthodox brethren. Many of them have very little Jewish blood if fair hair and blue eyes are any criterion. The slight strain they possess, however, seems to debar them from true national feeling towards any European country, and they have flocked to Palestine in the hopes of escaping persecution and of finding an assured future. They are unlike those of our British or American Jews who have ceased to be "International Jews," and who evince no desire to exchange their present birthright for Palestinian pottage.

THE GOVERNMENT.—Since the Armistice the centre of Government of this "occupied enemy territory" had continued at Jerusalem, with outlying Governorates in the district.

Officials were all British, a few of them being of the Jewish faith. Martial law prevailed, and a large force held the country in a strong grip.

Small detachments of French and Italian troops remained from the contingents which had represented their armies in conquering the common Holy Land. Their presence and that of the various religious dignitaries and Consuls was significant of the great interests gathered together in this capital, where a sect frequently represented a nation.

In accordance with the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist Commission had established its headquarters in Jerusalem and was dealing with the immigration scheme; it was regarded with suspicion by the Arabs, and some went so far as to say it was preparing to take over all Government posts in the country.

Plans had been made for the creation of a great Jewish University on Mount Scopus, and Hebrew had been recognized officially as one of the three languages of the country. The wisdom of introducing a third official language had been questioned by many who considered that the number of languages might preferably have been reduced to one, and that in any case English would have been a better medium than a dead tongue for bringing Palestine into closer touch with Europe and America. The three languages system certainly has many inconveniences. It is distinctly tedious to hear a long official speech uttered in English, and then to wait whilst two interpreters read out its translation in Arabic and Hebrew respectively. Taking the number of an offending motor-car is far from easy when the plate shows three sets of hieroglyphics crammed into so small a space. We can all sympathize with the spirit which is to revive so great a language in its classic form, but the experiment certainly has many drawbacks, apart from the possible addition to our school curriculum. We should be grateful to Mr. Mussolini that his ambitions to revive the glory of his race do not include substitution by Latin of the present Italian language.

Outbreak of 1920.—By the spring of 1920 Arab suspicion of the Jews had hardened to execration, and it was felt that the time had come for protest to be backed by action. A clash came in Jerusalem City, and a pogrom seemed to be on foot; troops were called out to quell the trouble.

This riot may be ascribed to the feeling amongst the Arabs that it was incumbent on them to give a forcible demonstration of their antipathy to Jewish ambitions, and to the fact that the Jews, realizing their danger, had in some cases banded together for armed self-defence lest assistance from Government should arrive too late to save their lives and properties. The outbreak was quickly quelled, and an all-round disarmament of unauthorized persons was ordered. Government asserted its prerogative of enforcing law and order irrespective of creed, and made every effort to bring the rival factions together; it realized, however, that Palestine could never emerge from tutelage if it were to remain a divided house, and all denominations were urged to merge themselves into a common nationality, such as exists in Great Britain itself.

Second Outbreak.—Unfortunately, these efforts were checked by a second outbreak in 1921.

A portion of the Jaffa and Tel Aviv Jews of the Labour Party,

while celebrating a May Day at Jaffa, came into conflict with extreme Communist or Bolshevist Jews, commenced fighting, and struggling thus, entered the Mohammedan quarter of Jaffa.

The Mohammedans took alarm; some say that they were only too glad to take alarm, others that harems were invaded. Be that as it may, they fell on the Jews and started killing. Others joined in on both sides. Troops were called out, but the trouble had spread, and it took time to control the rioters in the outlying hamlets. The news had travelled far. Distant Arabs had been told that their fellows were being exterminated by armed Jews wishing to make space for a national home. Great crowds commenced to march on Jaffa from all over the country. They were encountered by our forces, suffered severe punishment, and were easily dispersed. Order was restored, but feeling still ran high, and it was evident that the wording of the Balfour Declaration continued to be a cause of unrest to Arab and Jew alike. The acceptance of the Mandate by the League of Nations last year has given us a clearer definition of the Balfour Declaration. The intention to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine has been restated, but it has been made clear that the rights of the existing population will not be overlooked, and that it is not the intention to establish a Jewish State. The province of the Zionist Commission has been defined as that of an advisory body to the Government, not, as some of the Arabs feared, as that of an intrinsic portion of the Government itself. This and continuous fair treatment by the Government of all creeds alike should make Arab and Jew realize that the mandatory Power intends to rule and to enforce law and order, but that the rule will be a just one.

Present Arab Conditions.—But a strong and audible body of Arab opinion is still opposed to acceptance in any form of the Balfour Declaration, as they fear that increasing numbers of Jews may swamp out their vote. They consider that the British people may be induced to abandon their policy if resistance continues, and they ignore the fact that we are committed to the Declaration.

Some, however, have seen the futility of blocking progress, and there have been instances of open reconciliation between Arabs and their Jewish neighbours, but the elements of trouble continue to exist, be their cause economic, racial, or religious. Apart from this question the people as a whole are prosperous and contented.

Jewish Community To-day.—The new Jewish colonies have extended through Sharon and Esdraelon to Beisan, and on to the plateau above Tiberias and to parts of the highlands near Jerusalem. Some of the colonists have married, with or without the religious ceremony, but the birth-rate is small, perhaps because houses are not yet completed and conditions remain unsettled. The colonies

are still in their infancy, and will need subsidizing for some time to come by their co-religionists.

As might be expected, a proportion of the colonists drift back to the towns or leave Palestine altogether. Many of them have been disappointed with their prospects in the country, and have decided to seek their fortunes elsewhere.

The town-dwellers are to be found in the new Jewish quarters and large suburbs which are fast springing up around Jerusalem, 'Safed, Haifa, Tiberias, and in purely Jewish Tel Aviv, which may soon rival the town of Jaffa.

Near these towns several agricultural colleges and experimental farms have been started. A large orphanage is being built at Jerusalem, and many schools already exist. The scheme for the University is said to be well in hand.

Many residents in the new suburbs are people with small private means in search of a congenial home, and, judging by the more substantial style of house now being built, it is hoped to attract a still more wealthy class, but very few prominent English or American Jews have settled in the country, though many have visited it.

Other residents are professional men or small tradesmen with a certain amount of capital. Their presence and the various Zionist building schemes combine to give employment to the poorer class.

The community as a whole is most advanced, distinctly European in type, speaks many languages, and is rapidly working up classic Hebrew as its mother-tongue; perhaps we should say as its common tongue. But it is not yet a self-supporting community, and there is a considerable amount of unemployment, which is likely to continue unless money comes from outside to finance the various exploitation schemes.

Present Conditions of Government.—Palestine is striving hard to balance its budget, and to prove that it will not be a burden on the British taxpayer. Military forces have been reduced to an absolute minimum; mobile British gendarmerie are provided with cars to enable them to concentrate rapidly at threatened points and reinforce the police or otherwise maintain internal security. A small force of native gendarmerie, consisting of Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews intermingled, gives good promise of success. Their employment may make it feasible to still further reduce our forces in the country.

Civil establishments have been cut down, and wherever possible Palestinians have replaced British officials, many of whom have suffered bitter disappointment in the sudden shortening of their careers.

All-round reductions have been made in pay; in fact, with the present high cost of living the remaining British officials find it hard to exist on their pay.

The police, of course, in such a country have an extremely difficult task, as they are drawn from rival sections of the community, and are invariably subject to severe criticism. Individual instances of failure in duty occurred in early days, when partisanship had not been eradicated and the tradition of Turkish methods still remained. But great improvements have taken place. All creeds mix well in the ranks, they are smart and workmanlike in their demeanour, and the great improvement in their efficiency struck me as one of the most marked features of our occupation. It may reasonably be hoped that this common service in their ranks may result in an esprit de corps which will enable them to perform their duties with strict impartiality whenever called on to restrain their compatriots.

DEVELOPMENT SCHEME.—The great needs of Palestine continue to be water and fuel and prevention of malaria.

I have alluded to the work done in sinking deep wells and importing pumping plant into the new colonies, but more than this is needed for the support of a large population.

The Rutenberg project intended to canalize the waters of the Jordan and smaller streams, to harness them for electricity, to store rain-water, to exploit the Dead Sea salts, and perhaps its oil.

We also heard of a pipe line which was to bring oil across the Desert from Mesopotamia, but funds have not been forthcoming and these schemes have not as yet eventuated. If they succeed they will doubtless change the face of the country, but they will need time and the experience of actual test.

Meanwhile a start has been made; an electric lighting plant has been constructed at Jaffa; work is said to have commenced on the Auja; some buildings for the Jordan Canal scheme have been erected or earmarked near Semakh.

TRADE.—As an Empire we have gained one-third of Palestine's import, one-sixth of her export trade.

The excellent roads have created a great demand for cars, but the market has been captured by America.

Furniture of all kinds and pianos are imported from Austria and Germany. It is sad that there is not more trade with Britain. The rate of exchange may be an explanation where the Continent is concerned, but this does not apply to competition with America.

CONCLUSION.—The facts in Palestine now are that we have the full right to colonize or otherwise settle the country, as decided by the Allies in the Balfour Declaration.

It cannot be denied that this Declaration, when first made, raised false hopes amongst extreme Zionists—hopes which have been dashed by its further definition. But, nevertheless, the Jews have obtained a recognized footing, and practically a monopoly of immigration and of land acquisition. They have also obtained great industrial con-

cessions, but it remains to be seen whether they can find the money to finance them. The money must come from somewhere if the country is to support a large population.

Arab suspicion of the Zionist movement still continues, as they fear the growth of the footing now established, and consider that an increase in population may swamp out their vote.

But it is essential that not only the Arabs, but that we in Great Britain and the Empire should realize that our present policy in the country is one which we are fully justified in adopting, and which we have adopted in conjunction with our Allies, and one to which we are committed by two successive Governments. It is extremely unlikely that it could be changed.

As individuals we may not like the policy, but it does give a solution to a very difficult problem.

Such control as we should properly exercise is through our Government at home, which conceives our policies, and which directs immigration and population.

The kindest advice we can give the Arab is to make the best of conditions as they are, to insist on having good education, to insist on being suitably represented in all ranks of the public services, and most of all to show that he can hold his own in ability and in integrity. By taking his proper position in the country he will be able to see that the rights of his race are not overlooked; but he has no time to lose, and he is losing time by boycotting the opportunities which he has been given.

Feeling runs high at present, but it may be hoped that the relations between Arab and Jew will improve with time, and when each has learnt to recognize the uses of the other. They come of common stock, they have common religious customs regarding the preparation of food, they can sit down to a common meal, and we all know that nothing promotes good feeling more than this; but it remains for the Jews to prove that they can make a success of agricultural life in the colonies and in every sphere of Palestinian citizenship, and that they are prepared to meet the Arab halfway, to recognize his kinship and equal rights in the State as fellow-Palestinian citizens.

As Britishers we should wish success to the venture for which our country is responsible. Optimists may even hope one day to see a Palestinian nation like the Swiss or Canadian, on good terms with its neighbours and perhaps linking the Near East through its culture.

Mr. Donald Mellor: Mr. Chairman, I have taken a great deal of interest in Palestine for a good many years now, and I remember one instance of a friend of mine who had been in Palestine speaking about the nomadic tribes on the Jordan. Years ago, when the tourists used to be taken through the country, they had to go under armed escort. A friend of mine, a clergyman, was with such a party,

and he wished to bathe in the Jordan. He stayed behind, and was greatly surprised when the dragoman quickly ordered him to keep with the party. He could not understand why he could not be allowed to stop and bathe, but the dragoman explained that if he stayed behind he would probably lose his life. Things have settled down, I suppose, considerably now, and it is very interesting to hear from the speaker about the attempts that have been made to settle the country and bring about a better state of feeling beween the different nationalities—between the Jews and the Arabs who have lived there for so many years—and to hear of the development now taking place with regard to transport. The Chairman mentioned the railway-line from the Canal. When I heard about the bridge being taken away from the Canal I was very much surprised, for it seems to me a very short-sighted piece of policy on the part of whoever insisted on it being done—I believe it was the Suez Canal Company, though I may be incorrect. It was supposed to be an obstruction to the traffic, but, of course, like a good many more things of that description, if matters had been reconsidered, there is no doubt whatever that the bridge could have been left there, or an improved bridge constructed and put in its place, and means taken to have it open at certain times without obstructing the traffic in any way whatsoever. It is a great inconvenience for people going from Cairo or Alexandria to have to stay several hours on the other side of the Canal at Kantara, and be eaten alive by mosquitoes. Progress is going to be made, however, with the railway, and when the line farther north, from Haifa to Damascus, gets linked up to Aleppo and the Baghdad line, it will be a much greater benefit to the travelling public. I think, with the lecturer, that the great problem is the antagonism between the Arabs and the Jews at the present time. It will take a great deal of coolness and grave consideration getting that put on such a footing that they will live together in peace with one another; but I have enough faith in my own country, having regard to what has been done in India and other places, to realize that, although at present it seems impossible, and although hard knocks have been given on both sides, the antagonism will gradually die down and we shall see Palestine emerging into a peaceful country. ("Hear, hear!" Applause.)

The LECTURER: About the bridge across the Canal. It is very difficult to make a bridge across the Canal. If you make an ordinary bridge it has got to be sufficiently high to allow the ships to pass underneath, or you must make it so that it could be cut. The alternative would be to make a tunnel, which would have to be started five miles back, where it is sandy soil. The engineers say that if the sand shifted the tunnel would go. It is a very difficult question to make a bridge or tunnel, and it would cost a lot of money.

The CHAIRMAN: If there are no further questions to ask, or discussion to ensue, I will only ask you to join in thanking the lecturer for his very kind attention to the matter and the exposition of it that he has made to us to-day. I think on the whole he spoke hopefully. Anyhow, we must agree that whether we like the scheme or whether we don't like it, it is not likely to be changed, and we must hope that the best results will ensue from the fact that all classes of the population, and all nationalities, will undoubtedly perceive that the British Government, as mandatory Power, is absolutely impartial between them, and wishes to deal out justice right and left. They will get to learn this, that they can rely on the sense of justice of the authorities, and we shall see prosperity gradually develop. There still seems to be a good deal of suspicion on the part of the Arabs of the incoming Jews. I think it is a very natural feeling, although it seems that even before the Jews came the hostility of the Arabs was directed against the Christians. Now the incoming of the Jews has rather thrown Christians and Arabs together, and the hostility is between them and the Jews. But I think Colonel Costello spoke hopefully, and that he looks forward with his experience to results being obtained which will be not unlike those which we have seen develop with so much success in Canada, where the French and English elements have come to work together and to unite to form a great nation. We must all join in hoping that some results on those lines will ensue in Palestine. I do not know that any of us who have opposed the policy adopted by our Government in the matter will have been convinced by what we have heard to-day, but still I think we shall all go away feeling a little more hopeful than we did before. Evidently it was a country in very great need of development, and one does not quite see in what other way it was going to be developed except by opening the doors to an influx of foreigners, outsiders, and perhaps the Jews may have been the natural people to invite to develop the country, with their superior knowledge, intelligence, and so on. But we cannot expect for some time that the Arab majority will peacefully acquiesce, and we can only hope that the efforts of the Government, with such impartial and able administrators as, for instance, Sir Herbert Samuel, who has done such good work there, will in the end produce the peace and harmony which we all desire. I call upon you to show by your applause that you heartily thank the lecturer, as I am sure you all do, for telling us so much about the country. (Applause.)

PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA

By Lord Headley

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, October 25, 1923, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., when an address was given by Lord Headley on his Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The interest taken in the subject of the lecture we are to hear to-day is very apparent by the numbers who have come to hear it. We are all anxious to hear what Lord Headley has to tell us about his remarkable journey to Mecca. Mecca we used to look upon as a mysterious capital that was not accessible to others than Muslims, and for many other reasons was so difficult of approach that it kept its secret for a very long time. I think we knew very little about Mecca until we heard the results of the great traveller Burton's journey there, which he made in disguise and at the peril of his life. Our lecturer, I believe, went there as an honoured guest, and so had many advantages of which others who may have preceded him in the journey were deprived. Mecca takes us back to great antiquity; the Muslim world, we are told, even associates the Kaaba with the name of Abraham. However, ladies and gentlemen, I will not keep you, but will introduce you to Lord Headley, and ask him to be kind enough to give us his address. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with very great pleasure that I see so many friends here to-night to hear a few remarks concerning my recent visit to Mecca. The first idea of undertaking the pilgrimage was in the year of the war, 1914, when my old friend the Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and I booked our berths on the ill-fated P. and O. steamship *Persia,* which was later on sunk by a German mine or torpedo. All arrangements were complete when, on that memorable 4th of August, war was declared between England and Germany, and I abandoned my intended journey, as I did not feel justified in leaving a family of four young children at such a critical period. No further opportunity occurred until the end of last June, when the Khwaja Sheik Abdul Mohyi and myself took our passage out to Port Said on board the P. and O. steamship *Macedonia.* This time there were no lions in the path, though my doctor made a few rather discouraging remarks about my age and the heat of Central Arabia in July and August.

We left London on the 22nd of June, and, though I expected some sort of welcome in Egypt, I was quite unprepared for the extraordinary warmth of the reception in every direction, from the highest Princes and Ulimans down to the humblest peasants—the same hearty grip of the hand, the same kindly welcoming smile from all.

I felt not like a stranger in a strange land, but a brother in the midst of my brothers, and I had the feeling that there were fourteen million of them in Egypt alone, any one of whom would have given me shelter and shared with me his last crust of bread. The wondrous brotherhood of Islam—I never quite understood what it really meant until this pilgrimage was over, but now I do so most thoroughly.

I always knew that there was a strong feeling of attraction, a sort of bond of union, between us Muslims whatever land we belong to or under whichever sovereign we may serve—a real carrying out of the idea of beneficence to our fellow-creatures, which is the main feature of Islam.

It had been suggested that I should go to the East under the disguise of a Persian merchant—like my late friend Sir Richard Burton—and so pass into Egypt and Arabia quietly and unobserved; but disguise was impossible because the news of my sailing from England had become known in Egypt, where they had elected three reception committees—one at Port Said, one at Cairo, and one at Alexandria, headed by Prince Omer Toussoun. As soon as we had passed the Straits of Messina I was handed a long wireless message from Port Said, asking me to accept the hospitality of Egypt; a little farther on another message reached the ship offering me the loan of a very fine yacht during my stay, so I was not altogether unprepared for what followed. No sooner had the anchor dropped off Port Said than we were boarded by about fifty of the delegates appointed by the three reception committees, and three addresses were read and replied to.

On landing, we were taken round Port Said by our host, Khalil El-Kasseify, in a long procession of carriages; beautiful bouquets of flowers were presented, and altogether one felt almost like a royal personage instead of an ordinary pilgrim.

We only stayed about twenty-four hours in Port Said, and then went on to Cairo, where the welcome accorded to us was quite as warm, but, of course, on a much larger scale. There was a large crowd inside the station on the arrival platform and a much larger one outside in the big square; more bouquets were presented, and there was a beautiful motor-car waiting, lent by one of the leading ladies in Cairo for my use during our stay in the city. We then drove off to the house of our host, Shaik Achmed El-Bakri, under whose hospitable roof we stayed the whole of our time in Cairo. Amongst the notable people who received us with great cordiality

were the Grand Mufti of Egypt, Seyed Muhammad Biblawi, Seyed Abdul Hamid El-Bakri, Gefar Pasha Wali, Shaik Abdul Megdid Labban, Osman Pasha, Zaki Pasha, Nejib Barada Bey, Malik El-Khateeb (Representative of Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, in Cairo), Ahmed Shafeek Pasha, and Ehsan El-Bakri (the son of my host at the Manchiet El-Bakri).

Besides those I have mentioned, there were many well-known Ulimans, Muftis, and Imams, who gave us hearty welcome. There are no priests, properly so called, in Islam, but there are in all Muslim communities learned religious men who know the Quran better and can lead the services in the mosques with greater certainty than the majority of their co-religionists.

I wish to emphasize the fact that before starting for the East I was careful to point out that there was nothing of a political nature in the undertaking. It was purely a religious move. I said at the time: "My reverence and admiration for the Prophet is very great, and I am doing this in honour of his memory, and for that alone. There is no political significance whatever." But I am glad to find since my return that in the opinion of many influential Muslims and Christians a good effect has been produced. Many letters have reached me to this effect, and especially pointing out that it has tended to cement the feelings of kindness and brotherhood existing between Muslims of various nationalities.

During our stay in Cairo several banquets and entertainments were arranged in our honour, one of the principal being the grand reception at Khronfish, given by Seyed Abdul Hamid El-Bakri, and presided over by Seyed Muhammad Biblawi, the Grand Mufti.

We were much interested in the Alazhar Mosque, one of the largest educational establishments in the world. It is said that it is possible to accommodate ten thousand students in the great hall of the marble pillars. In this splendid institution they take in and feed numbers of poor people who cannot afford to pay for their education; board, lodging, and instruction are given free of all cost.

On July 8th we arrived at Alexandria, where our hearty reception was very similar to that which we had at Cairo. We were put up at the Savoy Palace Hotel in beautiful suites of rooms, and on the first day a reception was held in the great hall of the hotel. All the chief people came, headed by Prince Omer Toussoun, who took the chair. A great many speeches were made, and the recitation of poetry elicited hearty applause from the large audience. The Prince speaks excellent English, and we chatted on various matters connected with the Muslim world.

On the following day Prince Omer again presided at a banquet, which was attended by about a hundred of the Ulimans and other important people from Alexandria and the neighbourhood. Again

there were many speeches and several poems were recited; the interest was well kept up, for, though we sat down at 7.30, we did not rise from table till after midnight.

The Abousizi Mosque of Alexandria is a wonderful place, and in it the Khwaja and I spent some time in meditation; we also went to see the museum and other places of interest. We called on His Majesty King Fuad and Prince Omer, and had a very pleasant interview with Lord Allenby before our return to Cairo.

July 10th found us back in Cairo, where we dined with Malik El-Khateeb, the representative of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, and also busied ourselves with serious preparations for the pilgrimage to the Holy City. We made no long delay in Cairo, but pushed on to Suez, where on the 11th we boarded the Khedevial liner *Mansurah*, which was to take us down to Jiddah, the seaport of Mecca.

The skipper of the ship, a genial, good-natured Greek, was rather pessimistic about the weather and the heat we might expect. When we pushed off there was a refreshing north-west wind blowing, and it was pleasantly cool; but the captain looked at the sky, and said: "It will be very hot to-morrow." To-morrow came, and with it a freshening of the north-west wind, which was blowing at a much faster rate than our modest eight knots, and we were kept nice and cool. I said: "Well, now, captain, how about the weather?" He replied: "It will be very hot to-morrow." But though we were within very measurable distance of the Tropic of Cancer, the temperature, kept down by the following breeze, became cooler still. Again the captain insisted that it would be very hot the next day. His prognostications were always incorrect until we left Yenbo and anchored off Jiddah; then the wind fell, and we felt the heat considerably.

A sad accident happened when we arrived at Jiddah. There were two ships close together, and the second engineer in one of them was handing something across to a man on the other ship when he slipped and fell, striking his head against a projection of the ship. Being stunned, he could not see the ropes which were immediately thrown to him, and just then, whilst he was completely insensible, the ships came together and he was smashed to pieces between them. His body was at once eaten up by the sharks, which are very plentiful in that neighbourhood. On the previous day, when we had been anchored off Yenbo, the seaport for Medina, a great many of the diving-boys had swum out from the shore to dive for small coins thrown into the sea by the passengers, and, though I watched most carefully, I could not detect a sign of a shark during the whole time we were there. Certainly the sharks must be there, and it seems wonderful that not one attack was made on any of the swimmers. There were twenty or twenty-five of them, and many swam out all

the way from the shore quite alone. This reminds me of my first voyage out to India some thirty years ago. I was on board the old P. and O. steamship *Thames*, and we were anchored off Aden. The diving-boys were swimming all round the ship, when, all of a sudden, a shark appeared and snapped off the leg of one of the poor little chaps. We took him on board, and our doctor looked after the injury and tied up the stump. The strange thing is that a couple of years later the same boy was back at his old calling, diving for coins, and apparently as comfortable with one leg as he had been with two!

When we landed at Jiddah we were received by the King's representative and invited to a big dinner, which was attended by the Consuls of many foreign countries, including Mr. Bullard, the British Consul. With the thoughtfulness which characterizes him, and of which we had abundant evidence during our stay in Arabia, King Hussein had instructed his followers to arrange for us a most interesting entertainment for our after-dinner amusement. This was nothing less than a performance of the celebrated "sword dance," which has been for many generations the delight of Jiddah. The dancers come from the small towns and villages around about, and I was told that this same dance had been in favour for several hundreds of years. The dancers formed a very large circle, and we could look down upon them from the balcony of the big room in which we had dined. The scene was a weird one—the active, lithe figures, the firelight causing the shadows to dance upon the high white walls of the courtyard, reminded me of a scene in some opera, but I have forgotten which. There were perhaps a hundred dancers, all men, who stood in the circle with a curious clapping of the hands and rhythmic swaying movement of the body, accompanied by a monotonous singing. Tomtoms were going all the time, and the refrain was always the same, until it became almost tedious; but the thing that was not tedious was the dancing—it was energetic to the verge of frenzy. Every now and then two or three of the dancers would detach themselves from the ring and whirl towards the centre of the circle, twisting and turning with incredible speed. They twisted like tops, brandishing their swords in every direction, so that it seemed nothing short of a miracle that half the people present were not decapitated. As an exhibition of pirouetting and skilful swordsmanship it was truly wonderful; the risk of serious accident must be considerable, but I have not heard of any such having taken place. One could understand doing these sword feats on a perfectly lighted stage or in the clear daylight, but in the flickering and uncertain light thrown by a log fire the eye must often be deceived.

The dance went on for quite a long time; nothing seemed to tire the performers: it was we, the audience, who succumbed first, for we were very sleepy, and had to be ready for an early start for Mecca

the following morning. When the guests had departed the dance stopped, and we were soon asleep.

On the day following the dance the King very kindly sent his motor-car to bring us into Mecca; this was not quite unexpected, because Dr. Naji had told me before I left London that His Majesty intended to have me driven in instead of my having to ride in on camel-back, which takes a day and a half instead of two or three hours, which is the time taken by the car. On the way we only had one short delay, caused by a sand-drift, in which the wheels sank so deep that we had to get the assistance of some natives at a place called Hadda to pull us out. A very good road might be made between Jiddah and Mecca, as there are no stiff gradients, no rivers, no tunnels to construct. It is all almost dead level, and there is an abundance of excellent metal, fragments of the igneous rocks of which the steep little mountains are composed. I expect it is a case of "vested interests"—if the road were made, or a railway-line constructed, the occupation of the owners and drivers of camels, mules, and donkeys would be at an end, and there would be the usual outcry which invariably attends the march of useful devices for the benefit of mankind.

After about three hours' drive we reached Mecca, and we were immediately visited by the King's son and heir, the Amir Ali, who is also the Governor of Medina. The Foreign Minister, Fuad Khateeb, also called, and saw us installed in the beautiful house near the Grand Mosque, where from the upper windows we had a perfect view of the Kaaba, standing in all its grand and solemn simplicity in the midst of the great courtyard. We lost not a moment in preparing to see His Majesty, and I shall never forget the brotherly affection of his greeting. Here, again, as in Egypt, I was no stranger, and I did not feel like one. I was his brother from the West, inspired with exactly the same love of Islam, imbued with the same reverence for our Holy Prophet, and anxious to ever worship the same Almighty Allah. I know that both my dear brothers Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din and Abdul Mohyi felt as I did; we were in our home, and perfectly at rest and at our ease.

I must not forget to describe the "ihram," or sacred dress, in which all pilgrims, without any exception, must be garbed when they enter Mecca. Only two sheets are permitted, one for round the loins and the other for the shoulders. These have to be put on when some miles from the Holy City, and to the European they are not easy to manage or wear gracefully. They are cool, but one always feels anxious about them, because they are apt to slip off at all sorts of times.

I had some trouble one day when with the King, and when I wanted to look very dignified; one of these sheets slipped and as

nearly as possible came off altogether. I grabbed it only just in time and saved the situation. With the ihram dress you are supposed to wear nothing on the head and only sandals on the feet, leaving the instep bare. I had to point out that it would be impossible for me to go in the sun with my bald head, and that if it was expected that I should do so it would be just as well to dig my grave at once. I was allowed to wear a white turban and slippers.

Of course, the symbolic meaning of the ihram is very beautiful. We brought nothing into the world, and we give up worldly thoughts and approach our Maker in deepest humility, asking His blessing and direction in the right path: "Thee only do we worship, and of Thee alone do we beg assistance."

Having paid our respects to the King, we carried out two of the most important rites or ceremonies—viz., walking seven times round the Kaaba and kissing the black stone in the eastern corner of the building; and walking and running seven times between two small mounds outside the Grand Mosque, in memory of Hagar's search for water when she and her son Ishmael were perishing of thirst in the desert. The former rite is called the "Tawaf" and the last named the "Saiee," and both have to be performed again after the return from Arafat, where the sermon on the mount is preached.

There is a little misconception about the holy carpet. The Kaaba is an oblong stone building about 50 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 25 feet high. I did not measure it carefully, but the dimensions are about right. Round the sides the holy carpet is hung. It is made of very thick dark blue silk mounted on strong canvas, and has a broad belt of rich gold wire embroidery running round the edifice about 12 feet from the ground. This carpet, or curtain it might well be called, is changed each year, and a new one is put on, fresh from the busy hands which have been at work on it for twelve months. It is made in Cairo, and for many generations the work has gone on from father to son.

Having asked permission, I was at liberty to take photos of the Grand Mosque, the minarets, and, indeed, anything that I wished to be reminded of when away from the city. From the upper windows of the house we had been lent we also obtained a splendid view of the Seven Minarets, the Zam Zam Well, the Ali Gate, and the Way of the Saiee. Of course, I took advantage of this, and succeeded in getting quite a nice lot of snaps, which came out very sharp and clear, and I now reproduce some of them on the screen.

On the day of our arrival the King arranged a review of his troops, which proved interesting. The barracks are half a mile outside Mecca, and we saw the different units march past, after which there was a display of horsemanship, javelin-throwing, etc. After the review of the troops the King entertained us at a big dinner in the

barracks, and this was attended by a number of Ministers of the Crown, as well as by the chief officers in the army.

I must not forget to mention that we all visited the various shrines commemorative to those who were dearest to the Blessed Prophet—Amena, Khadeja, and Ayesha. We were now approaching the time when it would be necessary for us to make the journey to Arafat and Mina, both well within ten miles of the city; at the first named we should hear the sermon which is preached every year from Mount Arafat in memory of the Holy Prophet, who was wont to address his followers from a certain spot about halfway up the hill, which is not more than 250 feet high. This sermon was due to be preached on July 23rd, so on the 22nd we were off from Mecca at 4 a.m. The cavalcade was an imposing one. First came the Camel Corps of Bedouins, all armed to the teeth with scimitars, rifles, pistols, and javelins. Then we followed in a carriage drawn by four splendid mules, the quietest and best-behaved animals of their kind I ever came across. Immediately after us came the beautiful Arab stallions of the King's stable. These pure-bred animals were led in long procession, one after the other, by their grooms, and at a short interval came the King, riding upon a magnificent white Arab stallion and surrounded by his guards and standard-bearers. Immediately behind His Majesty rode the bearer of the golden umbrella, whose duty it was to ward off the heat and glare of the sun. The long procession was brought up by various units of the Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery. Our progress was slow, since it was regulated by the pace of the camels, who invariably adopt their own long, deliberate, shuffling stride, except when they scent water in the desert—but that is quite another story.

Our first stop was at Mina, where the guns boomed out a salute, the echoes of which seemed never to die out amongst the endless ranges of mountains. Here we stayed for prayers, and then pushed on to Bozan, where we slept under the stars and in delightful freedom from mosquitoes or other pests which are so often the curse of hot climates. Up very early on the 23rd, we passed on to Arafat, where we duly attended the service and listened to the sermon, from time to time calling out the well-known cry, "Labbayk, Labbayk," which means "I am here, Lord; I am here." After sunset we started on the return journey to Mecca, and this time broke the journey at Muzdalfah, where we again slept out in the open in the gentle breezes and in sight of the thousands of twinkling lights which illumined the vast plain and made it look almost like an inverted star-spangled vault of heaven. Both at Bozan and Muzdalfah I discovered that I had been using the King's camp-bed, whilst His Majesty slept on the ground. Needless to say, I was quite unaware of this till afterwards, and felt covered with confusion and remorse—

it was another instance of the King's thoughtfulness and kindness. He had evidently given instructions for the little camp bedstead to be placed so that I could use it, and I suppose I was too sleepy to ask any questions at the time.

From Muzdalfah we joined the cavalcade, and returned to Mecca in the same order in which we had arrived, and then, in company with the King and my two friends, the Khwaja and Abdul Mohyi, again repeated the circumambulation of the Kaaba or Tawaf and the journeys between Safa and Mawar, or Saiee. We now lost no time in returning to Mina, the place of the sacrifices. There is a good deal of nonsense talked about the cruelty of the sacrifices by people who should know better. There is no more cruelty than there is when your butcher kills a sheep which provides you with a mutton chop for lunch. All the slaughtered animals are eaten by the poor pilgrims, and the skins are turned into leather for the use of the people. We were provided with a very nice house in Mina, and from the windows there was a fine view of the never-ending and wonderful procession of pilgrims returning from Arafat. We saw thousands of camels, mules, and donkeys, sometimes four abreast, passing from earliest dawn to sunset. Almost every nationality one can think of passed by, and the scene, with the gorgeous colouring of the East, produced a succession of kaleidoscopic views entrancing to behold. There were Chinese, Japanese, Egyptians, Thibetans, Baluchis, Cingalese, Soudanese, Persians, Turks, Indians, Punjabis, Afghans, South Africans, North Africans, Somalis, Nubians, West Africans, and many others. Thoughts of the Brotherhood of Islam came into my mind very often when watching this ever-changing spectacle; all these people of widely differing temperament, different manners and customs, unable to speak each other's language, yet irresistibly drawn together by the great tie of earnest belief in the One and Only God and the Brotherhood of Man. I have not observed this kind of simple devotion in Christian countries, where the different sects seem to be kept apart by jealousy or dislike for each other's dogmas.

There is one ceremony in Mina which must be described. There are three different places where Abraham was tempted by the Devil. At these places, which are not many hundred yards from one another, stone pillars have been built. Each pillar is surrounded by a low wall, round which the pilgrims stand whilst they throw seven small stones at it. Each time a stone hits the pillar we invoke God's protection and defence against the wiles of Satan. This is done at each of the three places, so that twenty-one stones are thrown altogether, and each time we say: "In the name of Allah, and Allah is Almighty, I do this in hatred of the Devil and to his shame."

Having performed all the duties and rites connected with the pilgrimage, I received congratulations from many friends in the

market-place of Mina, and soon afterwards we returned to Mecca finally.

The King had given me a gold-embroidered robe, and it has been suggested that I should wear it on the occasions of my few lectures; but I think it is better to remain a Western in appearance, the tarbush, the turban, and the Arab head-dress all being somewhat out of place in this climate, besides which I have no wish to be accused of "showing off."

This pilgrimage was undertaken on religious grounds alone, and I am somewhat annoyed to find that certain mischievous persons have put about a report to the contrary, and endeavoured to show that there was a political meaning attached to it.

We saw a good deal of the preparations for the caravan to Medina, to which a number of the pilgrims were going. There was trouble anticipated from the Bedouin tribes, some of which are turbulent and lawless and give cause for grave anxiety; so the caravan had to be a strong one.

We were fortunate in seeing the changing of the holy carpet—a fresh one is placed round the Kaaba each year—and said good-bye to our most kind host, King Hussein, and also to his son. That very day, and after we had made all arrangements for the return journey to Jiddah, the Amir Ali called with Fuad Khateeb, the Foreign Minister, and in the name of the King invested me with the Order of the Nahda First Class, the highest order that can be given in Arabia. On the following morning we motored back to Jiddah in the King's car, and soon afterwards left by the same steamer, the *Mansurah*, which had brought us from Suez a month previously.

In due course we reached Suez, after being three days in quarantine at Tor, on the Sinai peninsula, and again stayed with our friends the El-Bakris in Cairo. Before leaving the country we went again to Alexandria, where we saw His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt, who gave us a long interview. We also said good-bye again to our most kind friend Prince Omer Toussoun, and soon afterwards our party broke up, as I had to return to London on business, my friend the Khwaja had to start for India, and Mohyi Abdul was detained in Cairo.

Personally I feel much improved by the pilgrimage, for it seems to have opened my mind to many things which were not so clear before. Recently I received letters which show that in the opinion of several people the journey has not been without good effects. Here are two. The first is from Sir Ahmed Hussein, Secretary to the Nyzam of Hyderabad. He writes: "I send you the second edition of the same book, which I trust your Lordship will accept as a token of the regard and esteem I entertain towards one whose courage and conviction have been an object-lesson to Muslims all over the world." And here is a letter from an Englishman in Government employ, rather an

important man: "Of one thing I am sure, that it [the pilgrimage] has helped greatly to bind anew the bonds between the East and the West, which is an object I have very much at heart." Such expressions are encouraging, for they seem to point to an honest desire to see a genuine and kindly feeling between us Muslims who are Britishers and the Muslims who owe allegiance to our King in various parts of the world, and also the Christians who are good and loyal subjects in many lands.

I have just come across a copy of an old report of the British Muslim Society, which is not without interest at the present moment, so I will read it. It is dated October, 1914, about two months after the war broke out. As President of the Society I had called a meeting, which was held at the Mosque, Woking, on Sunday, September 30, and proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by the Maulvie Sadr-ud-Din, and carried unanimously: "'We desire to offer our whole-hearted congratulations to our Eastern Brethren now at the front, and to express our delight to find that our co-religionists in Islam are fighting on the side of honour, truth, and justice, and are carrying into effect the principles of Islam as inculcated by the Holy Prophet Muhammad.' This has been sent to Lord Kitchener in Urdu, and his Lordship is forwarding it to the troops at the front."

That shows the interest we British Muslims were taking; we who were not in the fighting-line. Here are a few lines which occur in the same report under the heading "Comrades in Arms": "We are now putting together a glorious page of history, which countless generations of our descendants will read with honest and grateful pride. To feel that one actually belongs to a grand Empire, whose sons are freely pouring out their life-blood in defence of honour and for the love of truth and justice, and to think that one is permitted to live and see heroism and devotion on such a magnificent scale, thrills the soul to its very innermost recesses. If the spontaneous support forthcoming from all the British Colonies has elicited admiration, the equally spontaneous and affectionate outburst of loyalty and devotion from all parts of the Indian Empire has called into being a new consciousness of brotherly love, the somewhat cold and phlegmatic temperament of the Briton being thoroughly warmed to enthusiastic delight by the wholehearted and noble efforts of his Eastern brother. There has been no hanging back, and the spirit which hundreds of years ago animated the Holy Prophet Muhammad, when he was compelled to draw the sword in the cause of freedom, truth, and justice, now dominates all Britishers and Muslims who are fighting shoulder to shoulder in this war, righteously undertaken in defence of right against the might of arrogant oppression. The Muslims of the West are naturally proud of the efforts now being

made by their Eastern Muslim brethren, and those sentiments have been fittingly expressed at a recent meeting of the British Muslim Society, when a resolution was passed congratulating those followers of Islam who are privileged to assist in carrying into effect those principles which characterized the life and dealings of the Holy Prophet. When we declared war against Germany, I received letters from friends, who appeared horror-struck that we, a Protestant nation, 'should take up arms against another Protestant nation' in order to help 'idolatrous Roman Catholic countries like France and Belgium.' I wrote back, pointing out that this was in no sense a religious war, and that we were simply carrying out our promise, whilst Germany was deliberately breaking hers. The Germans might be of any religion or of no religion; it mattered not what they were; they were breaking a solemn and binding written promise, and placing a deep and never-to-be-forgotten insult on the British Empire by asking us to be a party to a great international crime. Were we to commit sin and break our word because the majority of Germans happened to be Protestants? Were we to lose our self-respect and do wrong because the national religion of France and Belgium happened to be Roman Catholic? One cannot help feeling intense thankfulness that we followed the example of the Holy Prophet, who always administered justice impartially, whether those appearing before him were Jews, Muslims, Christians, or idolaters. We did the right thing, quite irrespective of any religious leanings or beliefs, and took just the very course Muhammad would have taken had he been with us. In the end, when we have beaten the modern Huns, may the spirit of justice guide our hearts and keep us from blindly inflicting punishments in excess of what is required. The *lex talionis* cannot, of course, be applied; but do not let us lose sight of the necessity for so arranging matters that the whole civilized world shall not again be kept in an incessant state of feverish anxiety because one nation insists upon armaments on an enormous scale, and strives at her aggrandizement at the expense of the rest of the world. 'Insaf kerna hoga'—that means 'Justice shall be done'—has often been a watchword of talismanic power in the East, and, thank God, it has been, and will, I hope, be, our motto all through this war, in which Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Hindus are all showing the whole world that their moral sense of right and wrong is in no way warped by their particular religious views." There are some verses and a prayer, and the concluding paragraph: "We may not rejoice in ill-deeds because they appear to bring certain advantages; we cannot praise the Germans for their dishonourable conduct in starting the war, but there is no doubt at all that healthy and happy results are already becoming manifest as the outcome of one of the most outrageously unfair wars in the history of the world. Paradoxical as it may seem,

we are, in a sense, great gainers through this scourge; but for the urgency of the case and the need for concerted action, we should never have known, as we now know, how deeply attached we of the British Empire really are to one another. It is not merely a case of English-speaking races, but a case of some 250 million of our Eastern brethren as well. Thus out of the jangling clash of arms and falling buildings there is one note of sweetness which will echo for ever down the aisles of futurity—it is the note of brotherly love established between peoples who delight not in war, but, with true Islamic sincerity, in upholding the right at any cost."

I honestly think that there may be some little good come out of my pilgrimage. It may make people more sympathetic and brotherly. Let us try to see if we cannot regard ourselves as all equally loyal British subjects, bound together by ties of brotherly love, instead of looking down on others because they happen to be born on another part of the globe and are not quite like ourselves in some respects. I know that my brothers in the East love me and I love them. I don't say that I don't love you of the West also—I do, for I am one of you; but I love my Muslim brothers all over the world quite as much as I love anybody. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then declared the lecture open to discussion.

Mr. F. H. SKRINE: You, Sir, in introducing the Lecturer, mentioned that Sir Richard Burton had made this pilgrimage at the imminent risk of his life. Now a Muslim friend of mine, while I was serving in India, went three times to Mecca, on the first occasion as a fellow-traveller with Burton, and he told me that before the caravan had been an hour out of Jiddah every man, woman, and child knew that Burton was a European. But he had been so splendidly coached in all the intricacies of the *Namáz*, and performed the genuflections so perfectly that everyone in the caravan thought that he was a Muslim. Of course, things would have been quite different if they had known he was not a genuine Muslim, and I think he would have had his throat cut. But as a matter of fact there was no more risk than for you and me while travelling to Brighton in a Pullman car. There is no doubt that Burton was a master of words, and in his book, which came out four years afterwards, he keeps up a marvellous atmosphere of terror. It is really one of the most fascinating books I ever read, but it is entirely based on a misapprehension. One more remark, on Lord Headley's criticism of the Pyramids. It is rather curious; I do not know whether he is aware that the base of the Great Pyramid is of the same area as the whole of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Yet to Lord Headley they seemed small, and I found them so, too, until I began to think in figures. As a matter of fact, there is nothing to compare with them. There is a vast desert

around them, the adjacent buildings and trees are small, and you don't realize until you have been hauled up by the Arabs—as I was, and got nearly killed in the doing it—what an illusion the " smallness " of the Pyramids is. I wish to express the delight we have had in the charming lecture, and the entire agreement we have in the spirit in which Lord Headley performed the pilgrimage. I think it will do a vast amount of good, and create more sympathy between Christians and Muslims. We are not considered Kafirs or infidels by the latter; we are " People of the Book "; and Muslims will hold out the right hand of fellowship if we show some sympathy with their religious beliefs.

Mr. O'Reilly: I very much appreciated the lecture we have listened to; there is, perhaps, a little political undercurrent, unintentionally, in the reference to the Sherif as being head of the Arab world. Without bringing up a controversial political question, there are many of us who look towards a greater man in the Nejd in the north-east—it is perhaps a rather thorny subject to bring up—as a better and worthier ally of ours—Ibn Saud. (Some applause.) There will be some of us who, having been out there, will find Ibn Saud a better man to rest on; but that is a side-issue in politics which I do not wish to come in. We have had two or three times this evening reference to that most attractive book of Burton's, a book on which there are a great many controversies; and some of us, who remember traditions at Damascus, where Burton was well known, will be inclined to remember how much adulteration from Burckhardt there may be in the book, or what other sources he has used. There have been other visitors since the war, not so attractive as writers, but more reliable in detail. May I ask one question? I understand that pilgrims visiting the House of God are always, I suppose, conducted round by the guides, who teach them the correct ritual. I presume that Lord Headley is the first one who has openly gone as an Englishman, and I should like to ask what kind of a system is going to be used for English pilgrims. Who are the guides who will take them in hand, teach them the ritual and proper prayers? I presume some kind of procedure is now going to be established. I should wish to join my humble appreciation to those who have already thanked Lord Headley for his lecture, and those most interesting views that he has shown us. (Applause.)

Mr. B. L. Kaye: I should like to add a few words to the remarks of the previous speaker. In Sir Richard Burton's book, in the Kashèdá he says: " Do good, for good is good to do." I want to ask Lord Headley whether that comes from some Muslim thinker. I should like to add my humble appreciation of the lecture, which, so far as I am concerned, and I am sure a great number of others agree, has aroused an amount of appreciation that I am not able to explain

in language, not having the power of speech; and I should like to say this, that I think Lord Headley has done a very great service to humanity in telling us that he did not go to Mecca for any political purpose, but to show up the brotherhood of man, of which we in the West talk so much and act so little. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: With regard to my old friend Sir Richard Burton, the gentleman, Mr. Skrine, said that he did not go through any dangers. Well, the dangers and discomforts that he must have suffered in that journey, which I have just made so easily and so comfortably, show up the contrast in a most wonderful manner. He had to go the whole way from Alexandria to Suez by camels. He had the greatest difficulty in getting arrangements made. Mind you, this was in the year 1853, before I was born, that he had to do this. Then from Suez he had to go down to Jiddah in an uncomfortable zambook, one of those wretched sailing-boats with three times as many people on board as there ought to be, and in the greatest discomfort and danger, too. All through he had an extraordinarily uncomfortable time. I speak open to correction, but I do not think he was actually suspected of being a Britisher until quite at the end, when he said something which stamped him as a Britisher —not during the pilgrimage. I think it would be an exceedingly dangerous thing for a man to get into the Mosque under false pretences. I believe only twenty people have accomplished this by subterfuge. It is all done by trickery and disguises. I cannot understand why Burton did not say he was a Muslim and go in openly, because from my conversations with him—not that he ever said so in so many words—I am almost certain he was a Muslim. Of course, when he was dead they baptized and buried him in another Church, but that is another story. The line quoted by the gentleman here is attributed to the Prophet. Dr. Leon tells me it is one of the Prophet's sayings.

Professor H. LEON: "Do good because it is good to do good"— that is the exact translation.

The LECTURER: About the Pyramid. I am told the great test is to try and kick a football clear of the base, and that nobody has ever been able to do it. If it is the size of Lincoln's Inn Fields, I think if you tried to kick a football from the centre of Lincoln's Inn Fields to either of the sides it would be rather a long kick. They have tried over and over again, and it always drops on the stones. But I never said a word about King Hussein being the head of all Arabia, though I think myself that it would be a very good thing if he were. He is a man of very great character and very sound. He is about seventy years of age, but always on the *qui vive* to do whatever is good and useful for his country. About instructing Muslims over here: that if there were a lot of Muslims there would

be nobody to tell them how to pray, and all that. We have many Muslims here to tell them anything they want to know. It is very simple; there is no great difficulty in learning the bowing and prostration. The Fatiah is the prayer that is usually learned, and it is a very beautiful one. I do not think there is any other question. It only remains for me now to thank you very much for listening to me so long, and to apologize—I must do so—for being rather uncertain about some of these pictures. I hope you will excuse that. I hope for better luck next time. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I will not say now more than just a word, to agree most heartily with those who have already expressed the sentiment that great good has been done by the journey, undertaken on religious and moral and humanitarian grounds, by Lord Headley to Mecca. I have no doubt, as he has been assured in some of the letters already, it has contributed a good deal to promoting friendship between the great masses of different religions who are subjects of the King. We must remember—in fact, I think we always do remember—that the King has at least as many Muslim subjects as he has Christian subjects—probably many more, so that all of us must desire the most harmonious relations between them, and we shall not forget certainly the part that was played by the Indian Mussulmans who came to the front in our moment of peril. We shall not forget that, although, of course, we know there were other Mussulmans who were misled into an opposite camp. We feel that Mussulman feeling on the whole throughout the world was in sympathy with us, and we wish to do everything to promote that feeling. Lord Headley has taken a leading part in doing so, and will continue to do so, and to promote harmony between these great religions. He has given us a most interesting lecture, and I am sure you will allow me on your behalf to express the thanks of the entire meeting for the address he has given us. (Applause.)

THE DALAI LAMA; LHASA, 1921

By Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Services Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, November 8. The President of the Society, the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen, was in the chair, and the principal speaker was Sir Charles Bell.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not keep you a minute more than to say that our lecturer this evening is Sir Charles Bell, who, I suppose, more than anyone living, has had constant and continued experience of Tibet and Tibetan conditions. He has been for many years Political Resident in Sikkim and Bhutan and Tibet. He has made journeys to Gyangtse and many other parts of the country. He has entered into intimate relations with the Dalai Lama, who, I believe, looks upon him as a personal friend. He has mastered the Tibetan language, has a great knowledge of Tibetan history and literature, and, in fact, I can conceive of no one more able to enlighten us upon present conditions there. I may mention that his first introduction, I believe, to that country, was in the capacity of a member of Sir Francis Younghusband's first mission to Lhasa in 1904, of which we all know as a great historical event, which raised the veil from that mystic city and caused us to take an increasing interest in the fortunes of that country. That was the time when its independence appeared to be seriously threatened by Russia—a fear which was dispelled by the results of Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission. I believe that we are not going to dwell particularly on the political aspects of that, but I am sure that Sir Charles Bell will have many other aspects of the question to deal with this evening, and I will ask him now to be kind enough to give us his lecture.

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—During the latter years of the fourteenth century, A.D., there arose in Amdo, one of the north-eastern districts of Tibet, a man who was destined to play a large part in the national life. Buddhism had been introduced into the country several centuries earlier, but this man felt that reform was needed. He aimed at increasing priestly effort and strengthening priestly discipline. Among other measures he advocated the celibacy of the clergy and their abstinence from strong drink.

The name of this reformer was Tsong-ka-pa—*i.e.*, "The Man from the Land of Onions." When, however, his followers increased and multiplied, he received the name of Je Rim-po-che—*i.e.*, "The Noble

One of Great Price," a more dignified appellation than that which put him among the onions. His disciples became known as "Yellow Hats," from the colour of their headgear, in contradistinction to the "Red Hats" of the unreformed priests. They were also called Ge-luk-pa, as opposed to the Nying-ma-pa, or "The Old Sect." The word Ge-luk appears originally to have been taken from Gan-den-luk, "The Gan-den Sect," but is nowadays generally interpreted as "The Sect of Religious Merit."

Je Rim-po-che founded the great monastery, Gan-den, "The Joyous," which contains nominally 3,300 monks, but at the present day about 4,000, for the large monasteries in Tibet are mostly over strength. In Gan-den he lived and died; there, too, is his mausoleum in one of the large monastic buildings under the canopy of a Mongol tent. He founded also the large monastery, Sera, which now contains 6,000 monks, and, with the solitary exception of Dre-pung, is the largest in the country.

On his death Je Rim-po-che's power appears to have been assumed by Gan-den Trup-pa, a monk of the Gan-den monastery. The latter, after his death—by the system of reincarnation already familiar to Tibet—was believed to have passed his spirit into the body of a newly-born boy, who thus became the second of the series. In due course he died, and his reincarnation succeeded him under the name of So-nam Gya-tso. This one, the third, spread the religion in Mongolia, and received from one of his converts, a Mongol chief, the title Dalai Lama, or, more correctly, Ta-le Lama, to which was added Vajradhara (in Tibetan, Dorjechang), the whole meaning "The All-Embracing Lama, Holder of the Sacred Thunderbolt." It was thus that the title Dalai Lama originated.

The fifth in the series obtained, with the aid of one of his Mongol adherents, the sovereignty over the whole of Tibet. He is always regarded as the greatest of all. Others are referred to simply by their numbers—the eighth, the eleventh, and so on; he is styled Nga-pa Chem-po, "The Great Fifth." The present Dalai Lama is the thirteenth.

All are recognized as embodiments of Chen-re-zi, the Divine Buddha of Mercy, who is also by tradition the founder of the Tibetan race. The Tibetans anticipated Darwin by claiming descent from a monkey. The latter, an incarnation of Chen-re-zi, met a she-devil, and, after much hesitation, married her. They had six children, and thus the Tibetan race began. The Tibetans say that they inherit their good qualities from their first father and their failings from the she-devil.

During my nineteen years of service on the Tibetan borderland and in Tibet itself it was my good-fortune to be brought into close contact with the Dalai Lama on many occasions. In 1910 His Holiness, with

the leading members of his Government, fled to India from the Chinese invasion of Lhasa. They remained in Darjeeling and in Kalimpong—the main entrepôt of Indo-Tibetan trade and close to the Tibetan frontier—for over two years. I was in charge of them during this period, and had with the Dalai Lama frequent private interviews, at which he invariably dismissed all others from the room so that we two, sitting together alone, could converse without restraint.

After the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet in 1912 he frequently invited me to visit him at Lhasa. The Indian Government did not see their way to permit me to accept any of these invitations until October, 1920, when I was placed in charge of a diplomatic Mission to Lhasa. I remained in the Holy City for close on a year, and during this time also had frequent *tête-à-tête* interviews with the Dalai Lama in his country palace, two miles outside Lhasa. When I left the Tibetan capital I felt that there were few Orientals whom I knew as well as the mysterious personage who governs Tibet.

I should like to take this opportunity of putting on record my great obligations to the Tibetan Government and people for the unfailing hospitality and kindliness to myself and my colleagues throughout our visit. This is no formal expression of thanks, for the atmosphere of friendliness was far above the ordinary. Even when the country was on the verge of civil war I rode about unarmed and practically alone, receiving nothing but courtesy from both the contending parties. And, when the trouble broke out again a few months later, the priests—who are of all the most intolerant of foreigners—desired me to intervene in the dispute.

I was fortunate also in my colleagues. Lieut.-Col. Kennedy, I.M.S., was the only other white man in the party, and we met no others during our year together in Lhasa. He was proficient in the Tibetan language, in sympathy with the people, and surprised them in no small measure by his medical skill. To the others, too, my debt was very great, and perhaps most of all to Ku-sho Pa-lhe-se, a Tibetan nobleman, who had been working with me for some seventeen years.

The road from India to Lhasa leads through Sikkim and the Chumbi Valley to the uplands of Tibet, and affords a striking example of the climatic changes that may be encountered in seventy miles of travel on this frontier. Sikkim, with its dripping forests and dense undergrowth, has on parts of the road a rainfall of 200 inches per annum. Crossing the Sikkim-Tibetan frontier, you descend through pinewoods to the Chumbi Valley, where the rainfall averages only 55 to 60 inches yearly. Starting up this valley at an elevation of 9,400 feet, you keep by the river to its source on the Phari plain, pass Phari—a busy little mart where the trade converges from

India, Tibet, and Bhutan—and cross the main axis of the Himalaya, eleven miles farther on, by the Tang La, a pass 15,200 feet above sea-level. You are now on "The Plain of the Three Sisters," and the change in climate is complete. Here the yearly rainfall is only 7 or 8 inches on the average. For seventy miles there is no tree or shrub; not even a plant more than a few inches in height. It may, no doubt, be regarded as a desolate land, but it has an abiding fascination for those who come to know it. Among its varied charms it is—as, I think, Sir Francis Younghusband has remarked in one of his books—a land of beautiful sunsets.

Beggar minstrels are frequently passed on the road. They play, sing, and dance as one passes. They call for "Sö-re, sö-re," with the distinctive whine of the Tibetan beggar folk; and in some cases an increasing contact with the outside world has introduced that penetrating little word, "baksheesh."

The Gyantse fort and town stand midway between the Sikkim-Tibet frontier and Lhasa, 150 miles from each. The fort is a massive building, typical of Tibetan architecture; and in the days of bows and arrows and flint-lock muskets—days that are only now passing from Tibet—was well able to withstand such attacks as might be made against it. For many centuries Tibet was divided into a number of petty principalities, each chief or chieftainess holding the fort and governing the neighbourhood. It was then that the Tibetan saying came into common use:—

"The fort on the hill;
The fields on the plain."

It was the duty of the fort to defend the villages within its jurisdiction: it was equally the duty of the villagers to feed the fort.

We left Yatung in the Chumbi Valley for Lhasa on November 1, 1920, and Gyantse a few days later. From Gyantse onwards our party was in country but seldom visited by Europeans. I will, however, describe only a few incidents on this road, for the road itself has often been described before. Two officials (*dzong-pön*) hold joint charge over the Gyantse district, and one of these, Ne-tö Dzong-pön, being attached to my Mission, accompanied us to Lhasa and made all the travelling arrangements for us. We had now left behind the staging bungalows of the Indian Government and lodged in those belonging to the Government of Tibet or in the private houses of the people.

Forty miles from Gyantse we passed under the snow mountain known as Nö-jin Kang-sang, which is reputed to be the residence of a masterful demon, who would appear to take his cue from the Plagues of Egypt. He not only has the power of afflicting the population with boils, but joins with six other like-minded devils to send the hail-

storms that too often devastate the ripening fields of barley and peas. It seems to be in harmony with his character that the name of the mountain should have a troublesome spelling. *Nö-jin* is spelt *knotspyin*, while *kangs-psang* is responsible for *kang-sang*.

At this point we crossed the Ka-rö La, a pass between 16,000 and 17,000 feet above sea-level. A gentle but continuous descent was made to the Yamdro Tso, "The Lake of the Upland Pastures," sometimes also known as the Yu Tso, "Turquoise Lake." Continuing along it for some twenty-seven miles, we then crossed the pass, known as the Kam-ba La, which divides the province of Tsang, that of which Shigatse is the capital, from the province in which Lhasa itself lies. The latter province is known as Ü, "The Centre," spelt *Tpus*. A steep descent followed, first down the bare slope, clad with snow in patches, and then by shrubs of juniper, barberry and rose interspersed with plentiful clumps of edelweiss. Still lower down were willow-trees and cultivated fields. We had now reached the great river, usually mapped and referred to as the Tsang-po, which flows through Southern Tibet from west to east, and is known on maps of India as the Brahmaputra. The word Tsang-po, however, merely denotes a large river. The one we were to cross is known by different names on different portions of its course; here it is called the Tsang-chu, "The River of Tsang." During winter the water is low, so we went over it in a large, square wooden boat; in the summer floods you must cross in one of the coracles made of yak-hide.

On the other side, at Chu-shur, we were met by one of the Dalai Lama's Secretaries, who brought a message of welcome from His Holiness, and informed me that he, as well as Ne-tö Dzong-pön, would be attached to my Mission during its stay in Lhasa. I arranged to halt for one day at Chu-shur in order to arrive at Lhasa on November 17, an auspicious date in the Tibetan calendar. In order to meet the wishes of the people it is of the utmost importance in Tibet to observe dates in this way, and, as far as possible, to take up an important work on a day of good omen.

The Holy City is screened from view until one is within a mile of it by two low hills which stand side by side on the Lhasa plain. On one is the Temple of Medicine; on the other the Dalai Lama's palace, the world-famed Potala. It is not until one has passed under the long archway of the western entrance that the city of Lhasa is visible, barely a mile away.

We were now directly under the Potala, a huge and wonderful palace, nine storeys in front, and built into the rock at the back. It is filled partly by ecclesiastical officials and the Dalai Lama's private College of priests, partly by numerous chapels and mausolea, and partly by the Dalai Lama's private apartments. It was built originally some eleven hundred years ago as a fort, and on a much

smaller scale, by one of the early kings of Tibet. It was rebuilt, almost in its present form, by the Regent of Tibet, De-si Sang-gye Gya-tso, during the time of the fifth Dalai Lama. The walls are of stone, whitewashed except the portion enclosing the chapels, which are coloured red, and another small part, which is yellow. The massive grandeur of the great palace catches the eye and grips the imagination at all times, but perhaps most of all when the sunset lights up its gilded roofs.

At its base lies Potala Shö, a village of about a thousand inhabitants, ecclesiastical officials and others in the service of the Grand Lama. Farther on is the city of Lhasa. It lies well out in the plain, surrounded by groves of willow and poplar trees. The houses are large and solid, two or three storeys high, very often of stone below and of sun-dried bricks above. There are no brick-kilns. The people are fond of an outdoor life, and thus the groves, or parks (*ling-ka*), are in constant request, especially for the summer picnics, when the days are spent in singing, dancing, and gambling.

The members of the Mission were lodged in houses in the large grounds of the Kün-de-ling monastery, between the city and the Dalai Lama's country palace. To Lieut.-Col. Kennedy and myself was assigned the residence of a former Regent of Tibet, the Head Lama of this monastery. With the kindly consideration that is characteristic of him, the Dalai Lama had chosen this house for us, both because it was clean and because it was near his own residence, so that I could visit him frequently.

Shortly after our arrival in Lhasa my Personal Assistant, Rai Bahadur A-chuk Tse-ring, died of influenza contracted on the journey to Lhasa. He belonged to the Sikkimese branch of the Tibetan race, and was a man of exceptional political insight. In him I lost not only a trusted counsellor but an old friend, for we had worked together for some seventeen years. Three out of our small party of thirty died of this scourge, which is greatly dreaded in Tibet. It frequently turns to pneumonia, and the difficulty of breathing in these high altitudes necessarily lessens the patient's chance of recovery.

But let us return to the Dalai Lama. He was born in the province of Tak-po, a hundred miles east of Lhasa, of poor parents. His name is Nga-wang Lob-sang Tup-den Gya-tso. This name is, however, seldom used. His Holiness is ordinarily referred to as The Precious Protector, The Precious Sovereign, The Inmost Protector, The All-knowing Presence, or simply as The Presence.

Let me tell you something of the manner in which Tibetans discover the boy into whose body the spirit of the previous Dalai Lama is believed to have passed. The best way to do so will perhaps be to recount the story of the finding of the present Dalai Lama as it was told to me by the late Prime Minister of Tibet, a man of excep-

tional ability and shrewdness. I mention this latter point because, no doubt, the story may appear fantastic.

The chief oracle of the Tibetan Government, Ne-chung, gave the names of the father and mother; the oracle at Sam-ye added the news that the hill behind their house was shaped like an elephant. The committee of priests, which deals with such matters, then deputed a lama and some doctors of divinity to a certain lake, and told the former that he would see reflected in the lake a picture of the young Dalai Lama, a boy about three years of age. On reaching the lake the lama found it covered with snow, but soon afterwards a strong wind arose and blew the snow off the ice which covered the lake. The lake itself stood on end, and in it the lama saw the picture that had been promised. A vision that appeared to him the following night showed the young Dalai in his mother's arms. With such wealth of detail before him he soon found the young boy, with everything as shown by the oracles, the lake, and the vision. As a further confirmation the child indicated articles belonging to his predecessor, or, as we should more correctly say, to himself in his previous life. Among these was an image of Buddha, which he had given to the Chief of Li-tang, a district more than a month's journey distant. This Chief, from fear of losing the image, had hidden it in a beam in his house, and the little child was understood to disclose this fact. And the final confirmation that the boy was the true embodiment was made clear when they found on his person several of the distinguishing signs of Buddhahood.

The present Dalai Lama is somewhat below the average height of Tibetans, and the difference is accentuated by a slight stoop due to long hours spent in religious devotion. His eyebrows are arched and his moustache is larger than the average among those of his race. His face is slightly pitted with the marks of an old attack of smallpox. But when he speaks his face lights up with a peculiarly winning smile. He has a strong sense of humour, which shows itself not only in his conversation, but sometimes also in his administrative acts, and this is appreciated by his subjects, for the Tibetans are a laughter-loving people.

Of his four predecessors, none lived long enough to attain the temporal power. Against himself also an attempt was made, by witchcraft, when he was a young man, but he succeeded in defeating it. He is now about forty-nine years of age.

His Holiness spends as little time as possible in his great palace, the Potala. The dust and dirt of the city injure his health. He likes to take a fair amount of exercise, and he cannot take this except on the roof. So he has built himself his country palace, two miles from the town of Lhasa, in the ample grounds of Nor-bu Ling-ka, "The Jewel Park."

A good many are admitted to the outer grounds of the Jewel Park. But from the inner enclosure all except a few, very few, are excluded. Even Cabinet Ministers are barred. I was, so far as I know, the first white man to enter this. When the Dalai Lama showed me round, I was able to appreciate his fondness for animals, birds, and flowers. Huge Tibetan mastiffs of unappeasable ferocity are chained here and there, including one remarkably fine specimen from his own province, Tak-po. Deer and wild sheep, monkeys and porcupines, pheasants and snow-cock, are housed within the inner enclosure. Of the numerous flowers hydrangeas and sweet-peas are his especial favourites. A large artificial sheet of water adorns these inner precincts, and the Grand Lama not infrequently spends his time in a beautiful little pavilion built upon it.

His is a busy life. His days are long and arduous. He rises before six, in the cold grey dawn of a Tibetan morning; and, with but scanty intermissions for food and leisure, prays and works till after midnight. Sometimes, when a ceremony is unusually early, a journey has to be started, or arrears of work to be overtaken, he will rise at 3 a.m. His subjects gratefully recognize the promptitude with which he despatches the State business.

One among his multifarious duties is that of blessing each year the monks of the Dre-pung, Se-ra, and Gan-den monasteries, who total about 20,000. Each is blessed separately. Another is the delivery of a public sermon in the early morning of the fifteenth day of the first Tibetan month. His religious devotions, public and private services, take at least three or four hours a day, usually more. In addition, all important matters of Church and State—and many others which would seem to us of trivial concern—are laid before him for decision.

When one realizes the difficulties in governing such a wide and sparsely-populated dominion, over half a million miles in area, one must admit the general orderliness which the Tibetan Government are able to maintain throughout most of the country. It is far more orderly than the government of those parts of Tibetan territory which are occupied and administered by China; it is far more orderly than Chinese administration in China itself.

Much more might be said about the Grand Lama's many-sided activities. But time presses; I must close my remarks. He is more than a pope: he is god as well as king. The great majority of the people are well content that he should rule, for, as the couplet runs—

> **" The Ruler in this Life;**
> **The Uplifter in the Hereafter "**

—they have only one Authority to deal with; this simplifies life's problems.

On the whole, if one considers the peculiar difficulties of his position, there are many less able rulers in the world than His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet.*

The CHAIRMAN: I am now going to ask Sir Francis Younghusband, who is present, to speak to us. I need not tell you about him; his name is written on the pages of our history, and his journey to Tibet is famous, and one of the most interesting Missions, I suppose, ever undertaken is the one that led him to that mysterious capital; besides which, of course, as we all know, his travels in various parts of Central Asia have made known to us great regions of which before we knew very little, and are of thrilling interest to all who read them, as we all do. I will ask Sir Francis kindly to address us. (Applause.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very glad to take this opportunity of testifying to the splendid work that Sir Charles Bell has done in Tibet. (Applause.) As I dare say you have already gathered, Sir Charles Bell is not one of those who go out of their way to obtrude themselves on the public eye. It is therefore all the more necessary that societies like ours should accord him a real welcome, and should give testimony to our appreciation of the work which he has done. As he has already said, he was on the borders of Tibet and in Tibet for the last nineteen years. The reason he has been so successful is this, that in his quiet way, by learning the Tibetan language, understanding their literature, and getting as it were inside their skins, he has been able to get into the closest possible touch with all classes of the Tibetan people, and, more especially, with that most interesting and mysterious figure the Dalai Lama. I cannot say anything from personal experience of the Dalai Lama, because he was ungracious enough to depart when I went to Lhasa. He wrote me a letter when I was three marches off Lhasa, asking me not to come there, because if I went there I would spoil his religion and he would die. I wrote back to say that he had put me into a very awkward predicament, because I understood from him that if I went to Lhasa he would die, but, I said, on the other hand if I did not go to Lhasa I should die myself. And so he retired from Lhasa for what he described as three years' spiritual contemplation. Eventually, however, as Sir Charles Bell has related, he did come down to India, and, largely through the tact and experience of Sir Charles Bell, he was able to gather a favourable impression of our attitude towards him, with the result that our relations with Tibet have been on a friendly footing ever since. (Applause.) To me it is extremely interesting to look back from this distance, and over nineteen years' period of time, to what has been happening since I first went to Tibet. When I first went there three Lamas were sent down to the Tibetan camp opposite mine to curse me for a week.

* All rights reserved.

(Laughter.) I rode over unescorted and unannounced into the Tibetan camp, and I had the chance of seeing them in the actual practice of cursing me, and they seemed to be doing it in a very thorough way. So there were two great spiritual forces in opposition. On the one hand were the Tibetans cursing us. The Dalai Lama was supposed to have control over spiritual forces which could harm us, and those Lamas considered that they had control over them, too. They were shooting them out at us, and they really believed in their efficacy for destroying us. It was for a perfectly intelligible reason that they were cursing us. The reason was this, that they really did think that if we British got into Tibet we would, as they said, destroy their religion. It was very natural that they should resent this, and that with all the forces they had at their command should do their best to keep us out. But, on the other hand, opposed to that were the forces which we exercised. Part of those forces were extremely material. They were guns and rifles and bullets. But all the same there was behind these the spiritual force of goodwill, because after all we were not sent up there to destroy the Tibetans. We were sent to Tibet to put our relations on a good and friendly footing. We bore no malice against them. It was a matter of practical business to have the people inhabiting that great area of Tibet on a friendly footing with us instead of in a hostile temper. I was very fortunate to have as my assistant and secretary Captain O'Connor, a man who had studied the Tibetans, knew their language, and had himself a great liking for them. I had also Mr. Bell, as he then was, himself. He had the same kind of feeling towards the Tibetans. He naturally liked them, and they are a likeable people. The consequence was that we gradually got them round and obtained their goodwill. That is a practical point. And what Sir Charles Bell has said this evening gives evidence that during the last nineteen years this feeling of the Tibetans to us has been continually friendly. Not only Sir Charles Bell himself has been up there for a whole year in the most intimate relations with Dalai Lama himself, but other Englishmen have been there also. Sir Henry Hayden, who lost his life this year in the Alps, was the geologist in our Mission, and spent many months up there last year as geologist at the invitation of the Dalai Lama himself. And there have been telegraph officers there. A most interesting journey was also made through Tibet by General Pereira, who was received, I believe, by the Dalai Lama himself. That all goes to show that during the last nineteen years the efforts to get our relationship on a friendly footing have been successful, and any Englishman is now welcomed in Lhasa. I close these few remarks by offering to Sir Charles Bell the congratulations of the Society upon the fine work which he has accomplished and our high appreciation of his great services.

The CHAIRMAN: I believe that we have with us at this moment Dr. McGovern, who has lately published his most interesting account of his recent journey in Tibet. We should all be very glad to hear a few words from him if he would be kind enough to address us. (Applause.)

Dr. McGOVERN: First of all, I think I should like to echo very sincerely the words which have been uttered by Sir Francis Younghusband with reference to Sir Charles Bell himself. Although I was forced to go to Tibet under not quite the pleasant conditions which met Sir Charles Bell, during the course of my stay in Lhasa, where I came in contact with various notable officials, it was always of interest and a pleasure to me to find the extreme enthusiasm with which they spoke both of the personal character of Sir Charles Bell and the services which he has rendered to the Tibetan nation. (Applause.) The Dalai Lama himself, and his Cabinet, have had in the last few years a very strenuous tussle inside their camp. There are many of the prominent monks who are not by any means fond of the British Government, nor do they approve the known friendship of the Dalai Lama and his immediate Court for the British Government and officials, and certainly the Dalai Lama's task of attempting to win the friendship of his own people for India has been very largely helped by the very sympathetic nature of the negotiations which Sir Charles Bell has always kept with the Tibetan Government. (Applause.) We have therefore to say that the present condition, and the probable future condition of the country, will depend very largely upon the result of the policy which Sir Charles Bell has himself initiated. Jumping now from Sir Charles and his immediate service to Tibet, undoubtedly the thing that impresses one are the remarks that he made about the Dalai Lama himself—certainly a most extraordinary character; and perhaps, not being in the Diplomatic Service, it will be possible for me to speak more openly than was done by Sir Charles himself. His Holiness has had a career which is unique for Dalai Lamas in the past, and which has all the elements of the romances which were the delight of our childhood. Out of thirteen Dalai Lamas who have so far been on the throne, only two have really been of any importance—namely, the fifth and the present man, the thirteenth. The present has indeed been twice exiled from his own country. Two attempts have been made to get rid of him while still a boy—by witchcraft first of all, then by poison. Later, the trouble with the British forced him to retire to Mongolia and China; and, lastly, he was forced to fly into India in order to escape from the Chinese; and now, by the efforts of that extraordinary man, Tsarong Shapé of Lhasa, he has come back into his own. These vicissitudes in his career wholly modified his character and person. It is said—

I do not know upon what evidence—that as a young man he was full of violent passions, difficult to curb, and lacking in self-control, but as the result of his long vicissitudes of fortune he has united a caution and canniness that reminds one of the Scotch rather than the Tibetans. I think the next few years are going to see an interesting development in Tibetan politics because of the caution with which he has learned to face every issue. I think one point left out by previous speakers is the new position of Tibet since 1912, when the Dalai Lama went back in glory and triumph to Lhasa. Prior to that time the Chinese had been very much in power, and the Dalai Lama had been, to a certain extent, but only to a certain extent, a puppet in the hands of the Chinese. The situation is now changed, and he is practically an independent monarch who refuses to recognize any overlordship on the part of China. This is a situation fraught with much difficulty, not only to Tibet and China but to our own country, because we have to make up our minds in the next few years whether we are going to support the Dalai Lama and his claims to be an independent Sovereign, or whether we are to side with China as to Tibet being a part of her own empire. This is not the time to discuss that matter, but it is an interesting fact that this is a problem for Tibet in the near future. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then called on Sir John Jordan.

Sir JOHN JORDAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had hoped to escape the Chairman's vigilant eye and to avoid this ordeal. I really know hardly anything at all of the subject of the lecture to-night, and I can only express the very great interest with which I have listened to all that Sir Charles Bell has told us, especially his excellent pictures of Tibet. Naturally, coming from China, I look upon Tibet from a different angle, and if I say anything, I hope it will not be considered that I do not appreciate all that the lecturer has told us, but in China we do not see Tibet from the Indian point of view. It so happens, to begin with, that I have a personal grievance against Sir Charles Bell, Dr. McGovern, and all these explorers. When I went to China first there was some mystery about the Far East, and it was really a pleasant place to live in. In Pekin there was the mystery of the Imperial Palace. We knew nothing of what was going on. Chinese officials came there in flowing robes and stood before the Empress Dowager. Now, when you go to Pekin, you are ushered into the presence of the representative of a republic, practically nobody at all, who receives you perhaps not even in uniform, but in a frock-coat and ordinary morning dress. The Far East is changed and all its glamour has departed. The same with Korea, where I spent a few years. In my early days Korea was the Hermit Kingdom and everyone wanted to go to Korea, but now nobody wants to go there at all. Now they have opened up Tibet, the last remaining mystery, and

future generations will have no mystery to explore. As regards the Dalai Lama, I have met him and cannot altogether share the great admiration expressed for him. But my knowledge of him is of a very slender character indeed. He came to Pekin—I think it was in 1908—during one of those exiles, and I do not think he spent the time in that contemplation of which Dr. McGovern has spoken. (Laughter.) My American colleague was at that time Mr. Rockill, a very great Tibetan explorer and scholar. He was very anxious to see the Dalai Lama, and had made many efforts to enter Lhasa, but always unsuccessfully. The Dalai Lama came right across Asia with an immense retinue of people, who preyed upon the country like locusts—so the Chinese told us. He settled down for a time at Wu T'ai Shan, and Mr. Rockill was afraid he would not come to Pekin at all. He paid His Holiness a visit there, and gave us the same impression as Sir Charles has given us, of a very ethereal person. But when the Dalai Lama came to Pekin he did not strike us as being so ethereal as he has apparently since become. At that time he was very anxious to get back his temporal power. He wanted to recover the position held by the fifth Dalai Lama, of which the Chinese had deprived him; he spent probably three or four months in Pekin, and it was a time of very heated intrigue indeed. We all had private channels of communication. I had a very active Russian colleague, and I myself displayed a certain amount of activity. We all had these secret interviews as to the policy of Tibet and its relations with China. The whole Tibetan question was in the melting-pot. It so happened at the time that the Heir-Apparent of Sikkim was staying with me—and he, too, was a reincarnation of someone. He was a very nice little man, who had been educated at Oxford, and he used to go and see the Dalai Lama every morning. As an earnest Buddhist, he was deeply disappointed with the low state into which Buddhism had fallen in China. I always asked him what was going on; I wanted to get political information, but I got nothing but the latest sutra and prayer, and ecclesiastical news generally. Things became so bad that the Chinese did not know what to do to put an end to the intrigues. There was a man there, Chang Yin-t'ang, who had gone to India to conduct negotiations connected with Tibet, and the Chinese Foreign Office put him on the job. He was a very astute little person, and he thought out a plan. He said the Dalai Lama was too much engaged in spiritual duties to attend to all these mundane affairs, and that really the time must be limited. He sent out a circular, and said that in future the Dalai Lama, instead of having these private audiences, would receive from four to five every day, Sundays excepted, and that any person who wanted to see him—Members of the Legations or any of the foreign community of Pekin—had only to send an application to the Chinese Foreign Office and they

would be introduced by Mr. Chang. The receptions lost their attraction. The whole thing was reduced to the level of a ladies' tea-party, and after a short time nobody wanted to see the Dalai Lama any more. So there was no more trouble. That is really all I know about the Dalai Lama; but as this is a private meeting I might tell one little incident that occurred. It so happens that when you go to see His Holiness you have to take a *ka-ta,* a sort of silk scarf. Instead of taking a card you take a *ka-ta*, and we had some difficulty in Pekin in finding these *ka-tas*. They were rather expensive. I got one which cost me something, but some members of my Staff naturally objected to paying two or three pounds for a visiting-card; but one, a resourceful man among them, was a commercial Councillor, and he said: "I will supply you all with *ka-tas*. I have got remnants sent out from Manchester, and I will have them cut up into *ka-tas* for you." So they all got *ka-tas*, and I was rather disappointed—for their *ka-tas* all looked quite as good as mine. I mention this to show that the Dalai Lama, or his people, had a certain amount of worldly shrewdness. The custom is that you get back a *ka-ta* when you present one. I presented mine, and another handsome one was given me in return. The next man presented his *ka-ta*. They inspected it and gave it back to him. Then a procession came up, one after the other, and each *ka-ta* was given back. One of my colleagues did better than that. He went there not knowing about this custom at all, and they said: "You cannot see the Dalai Lama without a *ka-ta*." He said: "I have brought none." They said: "We will lend you one." And they lent him one, and he went up and presented this *ka-ta* to the Dalai Lama, who gave it back. He walked away with it, but they followed after him for some distance and said: "Look here, you brought nothing here and you are going to take nothing away." At that time the Dalai was not viewed with much favour by his co-religionists in North China. I think, looking rather far ahead, that China will have something to say about Tibet yet. I do not wish to dwell upon the relations between Great Britain and Tibet. I am sure they are all right and going on very well, but, of course, the Tibetans know they are a shuttlecock between two battledores, and, as always happens in such cases, the friendship is, to a certain extent, a lively sense of present needs and of favours to come. Although China is disorganized now, they have not altogether forgotten Tibet. If there is anything the Chinese will never give up, it is any remnant of suzerainty over any other country. So that although China has been turned out of Tibet for the present, and there is not a Chinese in it, the day may come when there will be some trouble over it. I do not think you can take it for granted that China will not try to get back.

The LECTURER: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

I am more grateful than I can say for the extremely kind remarks that have been made about me, and for your generous expression of thanks.

I have not much to say as regards the remarks of the other speakers, which to me were exceptionally interesting. As Sir John Jordan has quite rightly said, nothing in Tibet can be done without the little piece of silk cloth known as a *ka-ta*. If you go to see a person, you give a *ka-ta* and get one back, the same or another—it all depends upon intricate rules whether you get your own or another. If you write a letter you cannot merely put it into an envelope and send it; you must put it into a *ka-ta*. In fact, you must always use them. As regards their price, in Tibet this varies from eight shillings to a half-penny; and according to your rank you spend eight shillings or a half-penny, or something in between. There are eight recognized qualities of *ka-ta*.

As regards Sir John Jordan's and Sir Francis Younghusband's experiences with the Dalai Lama, there is no doubt, as Dr. McGovern has said, that his character has been considerably modified by the force of adverse circumstances. If anybody has been schooled in adversity, the Dalai Lama has certainly been that man. He has always been a man of quick temper. He has likewise always been a man of strong will, and in many ways a very strong character. No doubt he has said and written things which seem peculiar to us, but Tibetans do not look at these things in the same way as Western people. When, for instance, the Dalai Lama fled to India from the Chinese invasion there were many who said: "What a coward he is to run away and leave his people to their fate!" That was, one may say, a very common Western view, but the Tibetans did not look upon it in that way at all. They knew that, if the Dalai Lama remained in Tibet and was captured by the Chinese, not only would he be stripped of his temporal power, but possibly be made to issue orders and edicts in his own name that were really inspired by the Chinese. They knew that if he was captured it would be the end of the national hopes of Tibet. Tibet is very much opposed to Chinese domination; so the Tibetans hold that the Dalai Lama was perfectly right to flee. I only mention this as an example to show how the Tibetan point of view may differ from that held by European peoples.

The political questions at issue between Tibet and other countries are very complex, and—although, of course, I have had a great deal to do with them—I do not think it would serve any useful purpose if I entered into them now, nor indeed would there be time to do so.

TURKEY, FROM THE ARMISTICE TO THE PEACE

By Colonel D. I. Shuttleworth

A meeting of the Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on November 22. The Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided.

The Chairman introduced the lecturer, Colonel Shuttleworth, who commanded a brigade under Sir Charles Harington in Constantinople, and at Chanak.

The Lecturer: On October 30, 1918, an Armistice was signed by Admiral Calthorpe on behalf of the Allies, and Raouf Bey on behalf of Turkey. It was actually signed in H.M.S. *Agamemnon*, off Mudros. On November 9, units of the British 28th Division occupied the Dardanelles, and on November 13, French and British units, belonging to the 122nd French Division and the 28th British Division, entered Constantinople. The Turks immediately protested that the occupation of Constantinople was against the conditions of the Armistice; but the Allied Governments upheld the occupation on the grounds that it was necessary to guard the Headquarters of the British and French Commands and of our High Commissioners, and to safeguard and take over the munitions of war, and arms and equipment of all sorts, which Turkey had agreed to surrender to the Allies. The Turks, at that time, claimed to have some four hundred thousand men under arms, but this claim was grossly exaggerated, and, in addition, it included men who were too old for war. The Turkish strength was actually distributed in the Ninth Army in the Caucasus, the Sixth Army, north of Mosul, and the Yilderim Army in Syria. With the exception of the Ninth Caucasian Army, the Turks had been completely defeated, and the Turkish Army, as a whole, was demoralized and useless for war. The Ninth Caucasian Army, on the other hand, had just completed a victorious march to the Caspian Sea. It had founded there the two independent Turkish Republics of Azerbaijan and the Northern Caucasian Republic, and was in process of forming a third Mohammedan State, on the shores of the Black Sea, at Batum. The British took action, and British troops were despatched from North-West Persia to Baku, on the shores of the Caspian, and from Salonica to Batum, on the shores of the Black Sea. The Turks were compelled, reluctantly, to withdraw

and to submit to disarmament, but though disarmed, the Turkish Ninth Army was not beaten, and it never has been beaten, and it has supplied the nucleus of the Turkish Army of to-day, augmented by over a hundred thousand prisoners of war, who were returned to Turkey by the British after the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres. That point I will deal with later, but it is important for us all to remember that that Ninth Army has inherited victorious traditions in the Caucasus, which are remembered to-day by its leaders, and which may have an important bearing in the shaping of the future.

The position actually in Constantinople was not an easy one. The Allied Command commenced at once to demobilize the Turkish Army, but as a preliminary step the Turkish units had to be brought in to their territorial centres. The Turkish Government, under the Armistice of Mudros, was entitled to be consulted before the future strength of the Turkish Army was definitely fixed. In addition, they were authorized to maintain 52,000 gendarmes on a territorial pre-War basis. There was no exact definition of responsibility between the French and British High Commands, and as a result there was a considerable amount of misunderstanding. General Franchet d'Esperey, who was in command of the Allied Armies of the Orient, resided in Constantinople. General Sir George Milne, the British Commander-in-Chief, also had his headquarters in Constantinople; but General Sir George Milne, though subordinate to General Franchet d'Esperey, was independent, in so far as Turkey was concerned, and was in command of all Allied troops in the Constantinople area, which was inclusive of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. General Franchet d'Esperey wished to allot to the French the European shore as their sphere, and to the British the Asiatic shore; but General Sir George Milne was unable to accede to the request to limit the British troops to the Asiatic shore. The question was referred to the British and French Governments, but no decision was made, but, as it became of paramount importance in the autumn of 1922, when the French withdrew their troops from Chanak, I will describe the position in detail in 1919, and give it again as it was in 1921 when the Turks threatened Constantinople, and finally in 1922.

In 1919 the British occupied both shores of the Bosphorus and the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. In addition, they held Constantinople, and British detachments were spread along the railway as far as Angora and Afiun Qarahisar, both inclusive.

The French occupied Constantinople, and held the European shore of the Dardanelles, and French detachments were spread along the railway that leads to Thrace. The French, on the other hand, had a battalion at Zangaldak, in the centre of a coal-bearing area, which was of economic interest to our Allies; so that actually in 1919 the British had not accepted the limitation of their troops to the

Asiatic shore, but were in Constantinople, while the French had not limited their troops to the European shore, but were also in Anatolia. In January, 1920, the first Italian battalion arrived in Constantinople, and, in addition, the Italians took over Konia and Adana, so that Allied co-operation was complete.

The Turkish position at that time was, broadly, satisfactory. The Turks were loyally carrying out the Armistice they had signed, and they commenced in Thrace and Anatolia to hand in war material—in Thrace, to the French; in Anatolia, to the British. To give you some idea of the quantities involved, the British had in Constantinople some twelve hundred breech-blocks of field-guns. Transportation difficulties, owing to the winter, had made it impossible to get the guns themselves in from Anatolia, but as well as the twelve hundred breech-blocks, we had 630,000 bolts of rifles—transportation again not being available for the rifles themselves—and we actually had 3,500 machine-guns. The French also had large quantities of war material of all sorts entrusted to their keeping.

Allied relations were satisfactory, as I said before; and the French and British were working closely together, assisted by the Italians, when in March, 1919, M. Venizelos proceeded to Paris and made out a strong case for the Greeks. He proved by statistics that prior to 1914 the Greeks had a numerical preponderancy in Smyrna and along the littoral. The statistics were examined by an Allied committee, and finally the Supreme Council decided that Greece was to occupy Smyrna. This was carried out on May 15, 1919. The situation then became impossible—that is a strong word to use, but it is very difficult for you here to realize the state of feeling which existed then, at the end of the War. The racial feeling was intense. The Turks wrongly refused to accept Greek equality. To them the Greeks were a subject race, who would never have obtained their independence without assistance. The Greeks, on the other hand, realized their superior civilization and claimed, at least, equality with the Turks. Theoretically it was all right, but practically the difficulties were extreme. A very highly placed American, the representative of the United States, visiting Smyrna at the time, said the tension was unbelievable. The only way he could describe it was to say that it was as if the Southern States of America had been taken away from the Southerners and placed under an alien and negro administration by a foreign Power. The language is very strong, but that is exactly what I was told. The position became unworkable, and the Supreme Council realized this, and made General Sir George Milne Allied Commander-in-Chief for the Smyrna area, regarding the Greeks as a mandatory. General Sir George Milne proceeded to Smyrna, and, working in conjunction with the Greek Command, fixed territorial limits for the Greek occupation, and a neutral zone beyond, which

was to be respected by the Greeks and also by the Turks. The responsibility was Allied, but moral only. There were no troops available, and in this part of the world very little can be done without troops; British and Allied officers were sent with a watching brief, and any encroachment on the neutral zone was to be reported to the British Commander-in-Chief. The arrangement worked pretty satisfactorily for a short period.

In Turkey there was an immediate reaction to the occupation, and two movements started—one in Anatolia under Mustapha Kemal, and the other in Constantinople, where Raouf Bey led a constitutional movement against the illegality of the occupation, and at the same time collected money, arms, and munitions for Mustapha Kemal. The Great Powers decided that the matter required immediate attention, and in June, 1919, there was a conference in Paris, which was attended by Turkish representatives. It is stated that the United States were offered a mandate for Turkey, and it is also stated that they refused. At any rate, at that Conference nothing definite occurred, and the situation was once more allowed to drift on, while, apparently, the local Allied commanders were trusted to keep things steady.

In October, 1919, the British commenced to hand over Cilicia to the French, and there was considerable resentment, it is said, on behalf of the Mohammedan population, because the French were supposed to be giving preference to the Armenians. I have no first-hand knowledge. The French at that time were committed in South Russia, as were we. The French took a certain number of Greek elements to Odessa, and so it is legitimate to say that the question of employing the Greeks as a mandatory in that area was, possibly, under consideration. But, at that time, the French had trouble. Their troops in South-West Russia refused to advance or fight against the Bolsheviks, and one of the French battleships in the Black Sea hoisted the Red Flag. The trouble was suppressed, but the French realized that the position in the Near East required very careful handling. The Italians, too, at that time, experienced trouble. They were about to send a detachment to Albania, when the troops refused to embark at Valona. Italy also had just refused the mandate for the Caucasus, so that Italy, too, commenced to hedge. We British were engaged in demobilization, and we had our difficulties; but thanks to the discipline that Sir George Milne enforced we had no actual trouble, but our British commitments were reduced, by withdrawal from the Caucasus in August, 1919, with the exception of the port and district of Batum. Broadly, all three Great Powers realized that their position in the Middle East required serious consideration and curtailment wherever possible, but their methods were different.

In January, 1920, fighting commenced, and the Turks attacked the French in Cilicia. Marash was invested. The French withdrew from Marash, and later the Turks invested Urfa. After two months' siege the French were unable to extricate the garrison, which withdrew, by agreement with the Turks, but was treacherously attacked on the march, and surrendered. The effects of that surrender reacted in Constantinople. There, there was marked hostility to the Allies, especially towards the British, who were considered to be the direct supporters of the Greeks. The Turks were secretly sending arms and equipment into Anatolia, and strong diplomatic action was taken by the Allies with the Turkish Government without success. Finally, reconciliation was attempted and an announcement was made in Paris that Constantinople was not to be taken away from the Turks. It was hoped, probably, that that announcement would result in an improvement of the situation, but it did not. Turkish intrigue continued, and later a French detachment at the Dardanelles, on the north shore, was overpowered, and the arms and munitions it guarded were taken to Anatolia. The time had come for military action.

The Allies considered the possibility of a military occupation of Constantinople, to stop Turkish preparation for war. It was originally to be an Allied operation carried out by all the three Governments, but there were delays on the part of our Allies, and, as a result, on March 16, 1920, the British occupied the Turkish War Office and the Admiralty building. It was a combined operation, carried out by the Royal Navy and the Army. It was anticipated that the Turks would oppose, but the occupation was carried through with very little bloodshed, and a few days later the French and Italians joined, so that the operation became an Allied operation and the control effective. The control actually was control of all communications, land and sea, including the Bosphorus—control of customs, passports, posts and telegraphs—and a censorship of letters and newspapers. In addition to that, earlier, the Allies had started Allied police in Constantinople and an Allied sanitary commission. So that Constantinople was completely under Allied control, but worked by the Turks themselves, under supervision. The War Office and Admiralty were controlled, and effective, close supervision prevented further preparation for war.

The news of the occupation of Constantinople reached Anatolia, and the Turks moved from Angora against the British detachment at Eskishehr. The British, at Eskishehr, had postponed their departure in order to give the Italians, who were at Konia, time to withdraw through Eskishehr; but communications were interrupted, it was impossible for the Italians to get out that way, and they came through Afiun Qarahisar to Smyrna. The British detachment—a small one

—was surrounded, and withdrew, losing some first-line transport animals and some followers. General Milne immediately gave Mustapha Kemal an ultimatum, and demanded the surrender of the men and animals. The Turks complied.

In Constantinople, the Sultan appointed a Government which took strong measures against its opponents, and certain arrests of Turkish leaders were carried out by the British section of the Allied police, and they were sent to Malta, where they remained for two years. The Turkish Government tried to raise troops, regular and irregular, to be used against Mustapha Kemal, and the Sultan himself assisted, by issuing a *fetwa* of excommunication against Mustapha Kemal. It was hoped by this means to arouse the religious ardour of Turkish officers and men, but the result was a failure, and it was proved that patriotism and nationalism were more potent factors than fanaticism or religion. The Turkish Government took stronger action, and decided to stop the pay of military officers not actually serving in the Sultan's forces. Presumably, the object of that was to obtain recruits for the Sultan's forces, but the results were contrary. There was an exodus of military officers to Angora to join the Kemalists, as they were then called.

In April, 1920, the outline of the Treaty of Sèvres reached Constantinople, and it had a hardening effect. All the Turks who up to that time had been anti-Kemalists left Constantinople for Angora, except for an active minority who remained behind to obstruct the Turkish Government. It may be said that for all practical purposes the Turkish Government ceased to be representative.

In May, 1920, the French concluded an armistice in Cilicia. This relatively improved their local position. Equally, it made our position the harder.

In June, 1920, the Turks advanced from Eskishehr and attacked the Sultan's troops, who were then near Ismid. They drove these troops behind the British detachment at Ismid, which was itself attacked, and resisted attack. The French at Zangaldak exchanged shots with the Turks, and the French battalion was brought back from that place to Constantinople. The situation was reported to Paris, and the Supreme Council decided to take further action, and the Greeks were given permission to occupy Brussa and Western Thrace. The Greek operation was carried out very succesfully, and when it was over the Greeks placed a division at Ismid, under the nominal control of General Sir George Milne. At the same time British connection with the Smyrna *vilayet* ceased. During this month Batum was evacuated, and the British finally left the Caucasus. This was inevitable, but the withdrawal encouraged the Turks, who realized that Great Britain, too, intended to limit her military commitments.

In July, 1920, there was an extraordinary amount of unrest in the Mohammedan world. In Egypt, India, and North Persia there was trouble. There was active rebellion in Mesopotamia, and the French themselves had trouble in Syria, where they ejected the Arabian National Government from Damascus, while the Turks invaded the Caucasus, defeating the Armenians, and captured the fortress of Kars.

In August, 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed. In September, 1920, the Sultan's Government resigned, and a moderate Nationalist Government took over, and this Government remained in control until November 5, 1922, when Rafet Pasha, one of Mustapha Kemal's lieutenants, created a change by a *coup d'état*. That I will come to later. As peace had been signed, Great Britain could no longer retain the 130,000 prisoners of war taken in Egypt and Mesopotamia. These were sent back to Anatolia, and after a short rest rejoined the colours and, with the Ninth Turkish Army, formed the force under Mustapha Kemal. It was my duty to see these Turks when they went through, and they were then very much impressed with the way they had been treated as prisoners. They had been given regular work and regular food, had been well looked after and been medically attended, and had got their pay as prisoners of war each week. It was a wonderful thing for them.

In Europe four events happened which affected the Turkish situation extraordinarily—the Bolshevik defeat by the Poles, the Bolshevik success against the White Forces under Wrangel, the fall of M. Venizelos (the friend of the Entente), and the accession of King Constantine. The French were committed to an active support of Wrangel, and when he was compelled to evacuate Russia, they rather naturally looked for a counterpoise to replace him to the south, and they commenced to negotiate secretly with the Turks. The fall of Venizelos gave them the opportunity to change their Greek policy. As far as the Turks were concerned, the success of the Bolsheviks to the South and their defeat to the North probably gave Mustapha Kemal a direct line. He was now able to measure their strength and their weakness, and from that time onwards he used the Bolsheviks as an active lever to force his pact of Angora—his national pact which had been signed in Angora in January, 1920—and he used them, apparently, without any fear of the future consequences of Russian aggression, which is an interesting fact.

In October, 1920, General Sir George Milne was recalled. Personally, as an officer who served under him, I would like to pay a tribute to what he did for our country. He established law and order in the Caucasus, in Anatolia, and in those portions of the Balkans which were entrusted to the British. He worked loyally with our Allies, and he did his best to stabilize the situation by sup-

porting Governments in the areas for which he was responsible militarily, and, above all, he was firm, he was moderate, and he was absolutely just. He worked selflessly, and increased our military reputation and prestige, and actually put the Englishman once again on the high level which he always had occupied in that part of the world. (Applause.)

General Harington took over as Allied Commander-in-Chief, to enforce the military provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres. His position, theoretically, was easy, but actually, under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, he did not commence to exercise his command until ratification, and the Treaty was never ratified. It was his own personality and the qualities he possesses which alone enabled him to carry on the Allied work loyally and successfully. General Charpy, who commanded the French, and General Mombelli, who commanded the Italians, worked with and under General Harington, despite difficulties, until the end.

As soon as King Constantine had ascended the Greek throne, the Allies proclaimed strict neutrality, and the British handed over the nominal command of the division at Ismid to the Greeks. It was now necessary to organize neutral zones to cover the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles from attack. The High Commissioners issued a proclamation definitely fixing boundaries, which were accepted by everybody to whom they were communicated. At that time the Kemalist Government was not recognized, and they were not informed, but, of course, they knew all about it. It was decided by the British to organize a Turkish force to keep law and order in the areas which had been entrusted to them, and permission was obtained by General Harington to form two gendarmerie battalions, without prejudice to the Treaty of Sèvres: one battalion for the Ismid area and the other for the Chanak area. These battalions were equipped, paid, officered, and commanded by Turks. The supervising officers were British, who worked closely in liaison with the Turkish officers, and themselves took orders from British Commanders who were responsible to the Commander-in-chief for the areas under British occupation—namely, Ismid and Chanak. The system worked satisfactorily. General Harington tried also to obtain a declaration of neutrality to cover the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, but in this he was not successful. The Greek warships were permitted to use these waters until the autumn of 1922.

In March, 1921, the Indian troops who had been brought into the area to enable the British troops to demobilize, and had done excellent and loyal service, were repatriated to India. They were relieved by British units, whose strength at Constantinople was fixed at one British cavalry regiment, five infantry battalions, and a brigade of artillery, with a field company, and necessary military services

attached. General Harington, seeing the delays in ratification, came to the deliberate conclusion that the British force was too large to keep the flag flying and too small to enforce respect for itself, and he recommended its withdrawal.

At the time the Greeks and Turks were making final preparations for war. Shortly afterwards, the Greek threat in Anatolia made the possibility of a Turkish advance on Constantinople feasible, and it was decided by the Allies to take up a defensive position covering Constantinople. In the summer of 1921, a position was selected, ten and a half miles in extent, which was called the Dodolu line. The southern portion of this line was held by the British, the northern by the French, while the Italians were in reserve. In the summer of 1921, locally at any rate, the French troops were committed to the Asiatic shore, but the Dodolu position was never occupied because the Greeks were ready first, and after a preliminary check, near Brussa, advanced and drove the Turks from Afiun Qarahisar and Eskishehr, thereby clearing and securing the main railway. At that time General Harington considered the Greek strength sufficient to occupy the railway, but he deprecated any further advance into the interior as beyond the Greek strength. To him it was preferable to keep the Greek army undefeated and its morale high, rather than to follow an elusive enemy into a hostile country. However, the Greeks themselves were very confident in their troops and after restoring railway communications, decided to advance to Angora. There was hard and prolonged fighting on the Sakharia River, in which the Greeks fought well, as did the Turks, but the Greeks were checked and finally withdrew, and went into winter quarters at Eskishehr and Afiun Qarahisar, guarding the railway line. The use of Turkish cavalry to harass Greek communications was the noticeable feature of this fighting. That was the position at the end of 1921. It is important to note that during the year the French had agreed to support us on the Asiatic shore against the Turks had they advanced.

At the beginning of 1922 the situation was dragging on, and there was a conference held in Paris to try and get a solution. The Allies decided to offer to negotiate on certain conditions. They decided to give the Turks Western Thrace up to a line called the Midia-Lule-Burgas-Ganos line. The Allies also offered a plebiscite in Anatolia which, if it showed Turkish numerical superiority, was to result in a Greek withdrawal, and a temporary Allied administration of the Smyrna area until such time as conditions stabilized. This offer was being considered by the Greeks when it was rejected by the Turks. The proposed partition of Thrace did not comply with the Turkish National Pact; that was the actual reason for rejection.

The financial strain of keeping troops in Anatolia was felt by the Greeks, and there was a change of Greek command. General

Hadjianestis, an untried man, was appointed to command the Greek army, and it was anticipated that there would be some change of the Greek military plan. General Hadjianestis proceeded to the interior of Anatolia and inspected his units, and did what appeared to be a foolish thing: he told those Greek troops who were guarding the railway that the Greek Government contemplated the possibility of withdrawing them, at a future date, to the Smyrna area. That must have undermined their morale. Rumours were spread about in Constantinople that the Greeks intended to advance on Constantinople. It was unbelievable, and was not believed, but there were movements of Greek troops in Western Thrace, and, finally, the actual transference of Greek forces from Anatolia to Western Thrace was noted, and the matter was no longer in doubt. General Harington issued a proclamation recalling the neutrality of the neutral zones, and stating that the Allies would defend those zones against any attack. French, Italian, and British troops were moved out to Chatalja under General Charpy, and the British and French navies were prepared to assist on the flanks, if necessary. However, the situation was arranged peacefully, and the Greeks did not advance. Undoubtedly this check diminished the morale of the Greek troops, but at the same time it reacted upon the Turks. The Turks became apprehensive of their capital, and the situation appeared favourable for further negotiations, when certain speeches were made in this country which finally decided the Turks to take the desperate expedient of attacking.

The plan of Turkish attack was drawn up by Mustapha Kemal, assisted, it is said, by Ismet and Rafet Pashas. It was simple and very bold. It entailed a concentration of every available man at Afiun Qarahisar to break the Greek right, while towards Eskishehr and towards Brussa, with minimum forces, the Turks were to be particularly active to cover the real concentration. Secrecy was essential, and was obtained: the Turkisk attack came as a complete surprise to the Greeks. The Greeks fought very bravely; there is no question about that. There were four days' desperate fighting, and the Turks were continually repelled, but superiority in numbers told, and they broke through. The Turks made use of their superior cavalry, just as they had made use of it at the Sakharia River battle in the year before, which showed that Ismet Pasha had learned from Lord Allenby in Syria; and the result was the débâcle which terminated in the burning of Smyrna and the evacuation of the Greek divisions from Panderma. The situation had changed dramatically.

General Harington realized that the danger-point was now the Dardanelles, and he arranged to organize a mobile force consisting of detachments of all three Allies to show the flag in the Chanak area. It was considered that Allied forces on the neutral line would keep the

Turks back, and, as an additional safeguard, the Sultan's Government asked to be allowed to extend its sovereignty over the whole of the Chanak Mutassarifate, or district. Up to this the British had occupied only a portion of the district, while the Greeks had held the remainder. This subdivision of an administrative area had been a great inconvenience; revenues had been collected in the British area by the Turks and expended by them; revenues in the Greek area had been collected and spent by the Greeks. In the confusion of the Greek withdrawal the Sultan's Government hoped to recover the whole district. Had the Sultan's Government's administration been established, there would have been an additional buffer between the Kemalists and the Allies. To secure this the Turkish gendarmerie battalion was to be used, but the Commander-in-Chief's instructions were that the British officers were not to break neutrality by crossing the neutral line. That was the situation on September 9, 1922.

On September 20, 1922, the French Government, basing itself on General Franchet d'Esperey's contention in 1919, which it had not upheld in 1921, decided to withdraw French troops to the European shore, and the Italian Government did the same. At that time French and British cavalry detachments were out on the neutral line, and French and British flags were flying side by side on the main approach. Recall orders were at once sent to the French cavalry, and the French flag was taken down from the frontier; on the evening of the 22nd the French and Italian detachments embarked, and were ferried across to Gallipoli town on the European shore. Information was received locally that 17,500 rations had been baked for Turkish troops at Ezine, to the south-east, while at Karabigah, north of Chanak, the small British detachment left there, under the Navy's protection, reported the movement of Turkish troops from Panderma and the presence of Turkish cavalry in considerable bodies in the immediate vicinity. A telegram was received from the Commander-in-Chief saying that the Turkish Second Army (strength 40,000) was advancing on the Dardanelles, and with the approval of the home Government, Chanak was to be defended against any attacks. Work on the defences had been in progress for twelve days, practically day and night, and in addition civilian labour gangs had been employed to their maximum extent; but the troops on shore could never have done the job without the absolutely loyal and wholehearted co-operation of the Navy, who landed every available man to assist.

On the morning of September 23, at 5 a.m., the Turks crossed the neutral line: they were met by British cavalry and requested to halt and withdraw. The Turks said that their Government recognized no neutral line, that they were at war with the Greeks, that they intended to pursue the Greek army, and that they were moving

down to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus with the intention of crossing. They had no quarrel with the British.

The situation was unexpected. Peaceful penetration had not been foreseen. It looked as if the Turks did not intend to open fire, because the butts of their rifles were slung over their shoulders. Eleven hundred men were counted and behind them formed bodies, and in the distance dust-clouds could be seen. Orders were issued that fire was not to be opened unless the Turks fired, and the British cavalry squadron remained in contact, hampering the Turks and blocking the road. Progress was slow. The Turkish mounted men only made seven miles that day. That night the situation was anxious. Actually, the British had ninety-five sabres of the 3rd Hussars, and behind them forty mounted infantry belonging to the Loyal Regiment. In Chanak itself, over twenty miles away, was the original garrison of one battalion, augmented by two battalions sent from Malta, and a battery, which with the squadron of 3rd Hussars had arrived from Constantinople. General Harington, with characteristic generosity, on receipt of news of the Turkish intentions, had immediately stripped Constantinople and sent one additional battalion and two batteries, which was all he could spare: these were actually being disembarked at Chanak. On the way to Chanak, from Egypt, were two battalions, while two more were leaving Gibraltar; at sea, also, despatched from Egypt, Malta, and Gibraltar, were pack, field, and medium brigades of artillery, approaching ever closer and behind were British reinforcements, leaving England, and the British Government had promised its full support. Actually, off Chanak itself, were four battleships of the Mediterranean Fleet, and the bulk of the light cruisers and destroyers in close support of the garrison, which at that time totalled some three thousand.

The situation demanded delay, if delay could be obtained. The Turkish advance had been very slow. On the morning of the 25th they were still at Erenkeui, which they had reached the first day. The Turkish halt possibly indicated indecision, or it might be accounted for by the time taken, to close up the Army before attack. If there was indecision, a British advance might cause the Turks to withdraw and so free the Dardanelles, while, from our point of view, an advance would make it clear that our Government intended to uphold the principle of the neutrality of the Dardanelles. With the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief a mobile force of three and a half battalions and two batteries, sufficiently strong to look after itself, moved out on the afternoon of September 25th, to get close to the Turks and delay them. There was no intention of attacking the Turks, unless the Turks attacked, or unless the general situation necessitated it. This did not appear to be likely for the moment, at any rate, because the Commander-in-Chief had informed us that he was negotiating

with Mustapha Kemal, and that he hoped to be able to arrange a meeting. He informed us that Lord Curzon was in Paris striving for Allied unity, but he told us also that the Turks were to be kept from advancing on Chanak. Boldness, therefore, was necessary, and an advance seemed to be advisable. The night of the 25th passed without any movement. That night General Marden arrived and took over the command of the ever-increasing forces, and on the afternoon of the 26th the Turks advanced from Erenkeui and tried to interpose between the British advanced troops and Chanak itself, thus proving definitely their aggressive intentions. The British force was withdrawn, but still hung on to the high ground overlooking Chanak until the evening of the 28th, when it was drawn back within the defences of Chanak. The position, although overlooked and lacking in depth, was held by the best equipped force England has ever put into the field at the beginning of a campaign. The Turks advanced right up to our wire, and for days the tension continued to be extreme. Our men showed good discipline, and although night and day our sentries and patrols were in bodily contact with the Turks, there was no actual fighting.

During this time Lord Curzon, in Paris, succeeded in obtaining Allied unity, and General Harington, authorized by our Government, and assisted by Generals Charpy and Mombelli, at Mudania, obtained the signing of the Mudania Convention. That was a great achievement. Success was due chiefly to the effect that General Harington's firmness and straightness had upon the Turks. Under the Mudania Convention, the Turks agreed to withdraw from Chanak. As a matter of fact the Convention was signed at 3.15 a.m., and General Marden's plan, at Chanak, was, in the event of failure, an ultimatum at 5 a.m., when hostilities would have commenced, as the British had done everything possible to avoid war. I mention this to give some idea of how close things were—but war was averted and the Turkish troops actually had to withdraw from the Chanak defences on the morning after the signing of the Convention, and they hated it—their withdrawal was an outward sign of our moral victory. (Applause.)

The reasons for holding Chanak have been criticized. At first, Chanak was to be held only as a rearguard position, but later it had to be held against any attack because it was necessary from a naval point of view to cover the Narrows, which are the most difficult portion of the navigation. Had the Turks emplaced concealed artillery in Chanak, it would have been very difficult for ships to get up the Narrows at night. Then, although Chanak itself is overlooked by the heights of Asmali Tepe, within artillery range, the heights themselves are difficult obstacles for an infantry attack, because, to capture Chanak by assault, a serious attack would have had to be staged,

and the Turkish infantry could not have secured sufficient deploying room owing to the proximity of the hills to our wire. Again, the heights themselves are difficult obstacles for artillery, owing to the steepness of the ground. The Turks also were short of artillery ammunition, and so continuous bombardment was unlikely. Their reserves were not up to war standard, and their railhead was a hundred miles distant, with bad roads, and winter rain and snow in sight. Had hostilities commenced, the British would have had absolute aerial superiority, behind them would have been a powerful artillery, and supporting them the Fleet. The position was a selected one, and, except to the north, was strongly wired. It was known to all our men that the Turks had never turned British infantry out of extemporized trenches; much more difficult, then, would it have been for them to turn British infantry from positions carefully selected and defended. Behind lay the European shore of the Dardanelles, with inspiring memories of Helles and Anzac, and the British force, as I have said, was very well equipped. The regimental officers had actual battle experience, and if collision had come, the result would not have been so certain as our Allies have tried to make out. The Turks, although numerically much superior, would have experienced very great difficulty in overwhelming the British force, which awaited attack with quiet confidence. I will give you some idea of Turkish numerical superiority later on, but I wish to make it clear that the position was not untenable, because our Allies have criticized General Harington's decision to hold Chanak. Besides, withdrawal would have been fatal to British prestige.

The Mudania Convention was signed on October 11th, 1922. Under it the British were not allowed to improve their defences, either at Chanak or on the Ismid peninsula covering Constantinople, while the Turks had complete liberty of action. They utilized this to regroup their army (strength 140,000) into three groups. One army remained opposite Chanak, another came round the Bosphorus and threatened Constantinople, and the reserve was placed about Brussa to reinforce whichever wing needed it. The situation dragged on. One point to notice is that the Turks had troops within our defensive areas. Those troops were designed to attack the Allies, and the Allies were prepared to deal first with those troops. On the European shores there was a total of 20,000 men. Therefore, the local internal situation was not as easy for the Commander-in-Chief as has been supposed in certain places.

The Lausanne Conference met on November 20, and the delay made the Turks suspicious. But delays were inevitable owing to changes in Government in Great Britain and Italy. During this time the Allied Generals, under the Mudania Convention, supervised the withdrawal of the Greek armed forces from Thrace, and the

Greek population to the other side of the Maritza River. This was carried out by the Greeks themselves, assisted, as possible, by the Allies, and was a very orderly move, well carried out.

The Turkish Commander-Designate of Thrace, Rafet Pasha, was allowed into Constantinople, to wait there, until Thrace was cleared and ready for Turkish administration. He used his liberty to scheme against the Allies, and on November 5, 1922, a *coup d'état* was carried out against the Sultan's Government, and the Kemalists obtained control of Constantinople. It was intended at first to use force and declare a state of siege in Constantinople, but the French and Italians were unable to accept anything but moral responsibility, which meant that the British would have had to act alone, and as the Commander-in-Chief did not consider that the military position made this possible, the declaration of a state of siege in Constantinople was deferred indefinitely.

Gradually the Turks obtained control of the civil administration, and the position became as before March, 1920. It was annoying and exasperating to those of us who were there, but looking back on it, it was probably the best way gradually to get stability before the Allied withdrawal. On December 5th, the Turks forced an Allied guard on board ship in the Bosphorus, and arrested some Greeks and Armenians who had Allied passports. British detachments went down and recovered all the men. Although the situation was difficult, fighting was avoided. Lord Curzon protested in Lausanne, and as a result the Kemalists removed Rafet Pasha. Incidents often happened, but they were ably handled by the Commander-in-Chief. Gradually the local position appeared to improve, until suddenly the Lausanne Conference terminated without peace. The situation was not understood, by either Turks or Allies, locally, and there was confusion and uncertainty at first, which resulted in the Smyrna incident, when war was narrowly avoided. After that, the Conference reassembled, and finally peace was obtained, although on one occasion war was extremely close when the question of the indemnity to be paid by the Greeks became acute. However, in July, 1923, the Treaty was signed.

The final withdrawal was an orderly one, and to the surprise of the British, the population of Constantinople was demonstrative, especially towards our men; and I think it can be said without boasting that the British private soldier—and I include the sailor and the airman—has left behind a record which at least is equal to that of any of our Allies. During this three years' occupation, and during the period of stress, each nation stamped its civilization and nationality upon Constantinople, and in the years to come the acts of the men will be criticized and discussed in many Turkish homes,

and I think our soldiers will at least, as I have said, hold their own with those of our Allies. (Applause.)

There is one thing I would like to say. We are British, neither Turk nor Greek, but it must be admitted that the tenacity of the Turk in sticking to the pact of Angora, signed in 1920, has to be recognized. Admittedly the Turkish leader to-day is a strong man and a man of vision, who cannot be ignored. The Turks believe, in principle, in representative government: it sounds an anomaly to say this with the situation as it is; but at present their leaders, who have been tried in war and who have been educated in distress, realize that strong control is absolutely necessary. Nationalism and independence is the dominant note to-day, and we see the Turks true to nationalism even at the expense of their religion. The situation is difficult—more difficult than before the peace almost, but I think that the Turkish leaders are educated enough and long-headed enough to realize its difficulties. The problem for them is mainly an economic one. They desire independence, but I believe they would accept guidance and assistance from any of the Allies, or the United States of America, provided that assistance was disinterested and just. On the other hand, they must realize that until the situation is stabilized no financial assistance will be forthcoming, except from adventurers.

As far as the British are concerned, before closing, I cannot help saying that our country is greatly indebted to our Commander-in-Chief. General Harington's sympathetic genius and his absolute uprightness impressed themselves on everybody. There was teamwork all through—the British Navy, Army and Air Force co-operated to carry out the orders of our Government, and worked in harmony with Mr. Neville Henderson, our acting High Commissioner, who remained at Constantinople while our diplomats wrestled for peace at Lausanne. This teamwork extended beyond the British, thanks again to the personality of the Commander-in-Chief, who carried with him the Allied Commanders and the representatives of the associated Powers. As a result he was given an extraordinary tribute when the Allies departed from Constantinople, and to-day our prestige is high, and our reputation for justice is, I think, re-established; but a wide gulf exists, and although the old tradition of friendship towards England still remains, mistrust also remains, and it must be remembered that we are not liked—we are extremely disliked.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Captain Tweedie, who commanded the flagship in the naval operations at Chanak in October, 1922.

Captain TWEEDIE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had no idea when I came here of being asked to say anything. I can only say the Navy had the greatest pleasure, and a most interesting time, in

supporting Colonel Shuttleworth, as we found him with his one battalion, as he has told us, at Chanak. The whole of the credit is due to him; there is no question about that. We were there to give what support we could to the military forces we found. We landed everybody, and helped to dig and wire trenches, because we were there, and because it was the obvious thing that was necessary for us to do—there was nothing else for us to do just then. Colonel Shuttleworth directed the whole thing and told us what he wanted. We had 500 or 600 men who could be spared to land, and naturally we did all we could to help him. I do not think there is any more I can detain you about; the part of the Navy was a very small one. (Applause.)

A very hearty vote of thanks was then accorded to Colonel Shuttleworth.

‘IRAQ SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR

ANY survey of the progress of affairs in ‘Iraq during the past few months must necessarily be divided under three separate heads—Kurdistan, Mosul, and internal affairs generally. Reference has already been made in this *Journal* to the activities of the Turks in and about Rowanduz, the evacuation of Sulaimaniyah, the return thither of Sheikh Mahmud, the signature of the Anglo-‘Iraq Treaty, and the opposition to the election of the members of the National Assembly. It must be the business of this note to follow the development of the movements then appearing, and trace their progress up to the present time.

Sheikh Mahmud had not been long in Sulaimaniyah before it became obvious that he was coquetting with the Turks, and from the Baghdad point of view getting out of hand. His administration of the country, too, left much to be desired, and finally he was instructed by the High Commissioner to come to Baghdad in order that his position might be made clear and misunderstandings removed. This he refused to do, and on a demonstration being made over the town by the Air Force, he left it with a large following and made off northwards. From that time the state of affairs in Sulaimaniyah has been very indefinite, and but little accurate information has been obtainable. Deputations from the town and district have from time to time come to Baghdad, and an influential body, including the High Commissioner and the Prime Minister, visited the town by air from Baghdad in the early summer, to report on its return that Sulaimaniyah was warmly desirous of union with ‘Iraq and of coming under the Baghdad Government. Sheikh Mahmud returned, however, a short time later, and set about ill-treating and oppressing all those who had shown themselves at all well disposed to the British or to the Baghdad Government, while Turkish influence began to be seen with increasing clearness.

Rowanduz was the only way by which Turkish intriguers could reach Sulaimaniyah and become a serious danger to ‘Iraq, and it was therefore decided to occupy that town. A large force, composed principally of Assyrian levies, moved up there in the early summer, and occupied the town almost without a fight. This force has remained there, and its presence has done much to render that part of the country less restless and to make the leading Kurdish

Aghas, who have for long been a thorn in the flesh of the Government, tender their submission.

At the same time a force composed largely of Indian troops moved in the direction of Sulaimaniyah, and had no difficulty in occupying the town. Sheikh Mahmud, however, escaped capture by fleeing over the frontier to Persian Kurdistan. Those who had been ground down under the Sheikh's oppressive government were much elated at the reoccupation of the town by the British troops, but were horrified to find that no sooner had the troops arrived than they again evacuated it, leaving it to Sheikh Mahmud's tender mercies. A large proportion of the population, therefore, rather than face the consequences of Sheikh Mahmud's return, left the town with the troops, and migrated to Kirkuk and other places under effective British protection. This second evacuation of Sulaimaniyah, with its second betrayal of the people into Sheikh Mahmud's hands, has completely destroyed British prestige in Southern Kurdistan, and has only rendered much more difficult the solution of the thorny problem of the future of the Sulaimaniyah liwa. As with 'Iraq, there are no doubt many persons in high places who "wish we had never gone there."

During the early months of the year Mosul was the principal subject of conversation in Baghdad, and the possibilities of its return to the Turks were eagerly canvassed. When at the time of the final overthrow of the Greeks by the Turks, and the threat of the Turkish forces to the British forces at Chanak, the Baghdad garrison was moved up to Mosul, the wildest stories became current, and it soon became obvious that one of the methods employed by Turkish agents to win the Mosulawis and other 'Iraqis over to their side was the spreading of false reports of fierce battles almost within sight of Mosul, resulting in severe casualties among the British troops. These stories were countered by reports of the arrival of enormous numbers of British reinforcements at Basra, and of trains full of Turkish prisoners from Mosul. This was followed by a violent newspaper campaign against the Turks in the local Arabic press, when, amid much abuse of the Turks, attempts were made to prove the connection of Mosul with 'Iraq on historical, ethnographical, and linguistic grounds. As, however, the Lausanne Conference dragged out its weary way, interest in this question flagged until it came to be regarded as a matter of more or less academic interest in which only a very few politicians were actively interested. The movement of the British troops to Mosul and the offensive against Rowanduz was regarded by most of the Arabs as a sure sign that the British Government had no intention of giving back Mosul to the Turks, and did much to allay apprehension and to suppress excitement. At the same time the people of Mosul, who have always maintained close touch with the Turks, and who had been inclined to view with favour

a reversion of their town to its former master, decided that, for the time being at any rate, it would probably be wise to suppress any open indication of their feelings, and on the face of it became anxious for union with 'Iraq. Events have, however, occurred in such a way as to make many of them return to their former allegiance, and at the moment pro-Turkish feeling appears to be again making headway in the town, though the Kurdish districts appear to be more reconciled than hitherto to the prospect of Arab rule.

Religion plays an important part in formulating the political views of the people of Mosul. The Christian population, though considerable, does not possess political influence commensurate with its numerical importance, while the number of Jews in the town and Wilaiyat is negligible. Political power is therefore entirely in the hands of the Muhammadans, who are all Sunni and distinctly inclined to fanaticism. It is unfortunate, then, that this fanaticism has, partly avoidably and partly not, had fuel on which to grow. The Assyrian levies were raised in order to defend the northern frontier of 'Iraq from foreign aggression and to relieve British Imperial forces, and so enable a reduction to be made in the Imperial garrison. Previous to the enlistment of the Assyrians, the levies had been composed of Arabs and Kurds, but for various reasons, not the least of which was the institution of the 'Iraq army and the difficulty which was experienced in obtaining recruits for it owing to the fact that all would-be recruits preferred service under British officers to service under Arabs, it was decided to suspend almost entirely the recruitment of Arabs and Kurds for the levies and concentrate on Assyrians. It was hoped in this way to kill two birds with one stone, and, besides obtaining a reliable fighting force for frontier defence, to provide a solution of the difficult question of the future of the Assyrian nation. Being primarily intended for frontier defence, the headquarters of the levies was necessarily placed at Mosul, and there has usually been a considerable number of Assyrians in the town. From time to time minor quarrels have occurred between the levies and the Arab army and between the levies and the townpeople, with the result that the levies have become exceedingly unpopular among the Muhammadans, and a general anti-Christian feeling has gradually arisen, which showed itself very clearly during August, when, as the result of a minor quarrel between a levy private and a soldier of the Arab army, the town became very excited and full of rumours of serious trouble between the Muhammadans and the Christians. It is unfortunate that this ill-feeling should have been allowed to grow up, the more so as to a large extent it might have been prevented. The levies, being paid for by the British Government and officered by British officers, have been encouraged by their officers to regard themselves as much superior to the Arab army—as, indeed, they un-

doubtedly are—and so have come to look down on and despise them, referring to them in a sneering way as "Faisal's men," and to themselves as "George's men." This, while no doubt useful in inculcating *esprit de corps* among the levies, has sown dangerous seeds, which are now beginning to sprout and produce very bitter fruit.

Shiah *v.* Sunni feeling has also played a part in forming the opinions of the people of Mosul. Being Sunni, they have viewed with disapproval the manner in which Faisal has coquetted with the Shiah religious leaders in order to obtain from them *fatwahs* designed to further his political ideas. The action of the 'Iraq Government, however, in banishing from the country Sheikh Mahdi al Khalisi, one of the leading Shiah *ulama*, who had issued a *fatwah* denouncing participation by the Shiahs in the elections to the National Assembly, pleased well the people of Mosul, and bid fair to wean some of them from their Turkish sympathies. Fear is now felt in some quarters that if it be true that an attempt is now being made to persuade the Shiah *ulama*, who left the country for Persia at the time of the banishment of Sheikh Mahdi al Khalisi, to return again, the effect on Mosul will be disastrous, and may be sufficient to alienate entirely and irrevocably any sympathy with the 'Iraq Government, and make the people vote solidly for reinclusion in Turkey. If it be true that pro-Turkish feeling is growing in Mosul, it is to the religious question, coupled to an irresolute handling of the situation by Government, that this movement can be traced.

Internal politics have centred entirely round the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty and its protocol and the elections to the National Assembly, whose business it will be to ratify or reject the treaty and the protocol and to pass the organic law of the country. On both questions, the treaty and the elections, the country is divided on almost identically the same lines—on the one side those who have a stake in the country, and on the other those who have not. The first class contains most of the big landlords and merchants and the majority of tribal Sheikhs; the latter class is composed principally of actual and would-be Government officials and professional politicians. The landlords, the merchants, and most of the Sheikhs, have now experienced a period of security, have seen efforts made to repair and maintain the river-bunds which protect their lands and crops from annual inundation, and have seen a slow but gradual movement towards a proper execution of the existing land laws; and they are now loath to return to a system such as that obtaining under the Turks, where no flood-protection works were maintained and no one was sure of reaping what he had sown, and when security was at so low an ebb that no merchant could be sure that his merchandise would not be looted on the road. As is the case in all countries, however, these classes who have everything to lose as a result of

weak government have no idea of organizing into a compact political party; most of them are apathetic towards politics, believing that it is the work of the professional politician and not a thing for them to meddle with, and as a result their views are rarely put forward and the body as a whole is almost completely inarticulate. The other party, on the other hand, has some organization, though, as a rule, the conflicting interests of the individuals composing it render almost impossible the formulation and pursuance of a party policy. It is also very articulate, and more than makes up in volume of sound for what it lacks in numbers.

This latter party, disappointed at the Anglo-'Iraq Treaty, with its provision for British assistance and advice for twenty years, hailed with joy the publication of the protocol with its shorter period of advice and the possibility of the complete evacuation of the country within a very short period if 'Iraq could gain admission to membership of the League of Nations. This party is now bent on securing the election of the National Assembly, and there is reason to believe that the treaty and the protocol will meet with little or no opposition, while most of this party will vote for the continuance of the monarchy, with Faisal as King. The landlord party, on the other hand, is fearful of what will happen in the country when the British troops move out, and are therefore anxious that they shall remain here as long as possible. They do not regard the protocol with approval, and there are many of them who are strongly opposed to Faisal as King. Their opposition is not likely, however, to find verbal expression, owing to their belief that the British Government has determined that Faisal shall remain King, and that the High Commissioner will banish from the country anyone who raises his voice in opposition to him. Partly as a result of this, they are taking practically no interest in the elections, and, though not abstaining from participation in them, are performing their duties in that connection in a purely perfunctory manner.

In general there exists in the country a conspicuous failure to realize the responsibilities which complete independence will involve, and little serious attempt is being made to place the country or the administration in a position to stand alone when the evacuation by the British forces actually takes place. The Arab army is quite unable to take over by itself the duties of national defence or the task of coercing recalcitrant tribes which elect openly to defy Government, a task which is now being performed as a rule by the Royal Air Force. It is noticeable, too, that it is frequently those officials who are loudest in their demand for complete independence and for the removal of the British forces and advisers who are also the first to cry out for the assistance of British aeroplanes if things do not go as well as they would desire.

Meanwhile there appears to be a growing opposition from the local officials to the British advisory staff. On the surface, relations between the Arab officials and their advisers appear to be cordial and eminently satisfactory; but beneath the surface there exists a spirit of sullen opposition to any measures proposed by or supported by the advisers, an opposition which is making many of the advisers lose heart and interest in their work. Many of the best of them have already gone, and should many more go the question of recruiting others to take their place will arise. As Government has not yet given contracts to or even produced terms of service for those who are now here, it is improbable that a call for recruits would meet with a very hearty response, or that the type of person so obtained, probably knowing little Arabic and with no knowledge of the country and the people, would be much value as an adviser.

Meanwhile internal order and security have remained surprisingly good. At one time it was feared that there might be some trouble on the Euphrates near Ramadi and Falluja, but the bursting of the Sirriyah Bund and the flooding of the country between Falluja and Baghdad appeared to damp the ardour of those who were fomenting the trouble, and nothing came of it. Otherwise even the troublous districts of the Middle Euphrates have remained quiet and orderly, so much so that, Shiahs though the tribes are to a man, they took no notice of the action of Government in banishing their religious leaders. This was perhaps one of the most encouraging signs of the year, as showing that to a certain extent the power of Government is making headway against the theocratic power of the Shiah *ulama*, which has hitherto threatened to render the position of the civil Government almost impossible.

Strenuous efforts are being made to place the finances of the country on a sounder basis, and as a necessary preliminary an attempt is being made to balance the budget. The published budget for this financial year shows revenue and expenditure as balancing, but little reliance is placed on these figures, as it is not known when the figures were actually prepared or on what basis they were worked out. The serious floods on both the Tigris and the Euphrates in the spring of this year did much damage to bridges, bunds, and crops, which has seriously reduced the revenue from the winter grain crops, and has made it necessary for Government to incur very heavy expenses in repairing the damage done. In addition, the low price of grain and the almost complete stagnation of trade has seriously reduced the amounts which might have been expected to accrue to the exchequer from land revenue and customs duties. If, therefore, the budget was made out before these events occurred and the full weight of these adverse factors became evident, it is obvious that the figures

on the revenue side are of little value and apt only to be misleading. On the expenditure side the amount devoted to pay of officials is still excessive. Despite the efforts of the advisers to reduce staff, it is difficult to get the Arab officials to make any move in this direction. They are still far too much inclined to create appointments for individuals rather than to appoint individuals to existing posts; and as long as this goes on the tendency will be for the number of officials to increase rather than to decrease. Unfortunately, the Ministry of Finance, which has issued repeated circulars emphasizing the extreme necessity of effecting all possible economies, has not set such an example as would encourage other ministries to answer the call. Especially in the revenue-collecting departments the tendency to increase the number of petty officials has been very marked, and there would appear to be some ground for the accusations made by other Ministries that the Ministry of Finance is failing to practise what it preaches.

The country is on the eve of the elections, and a good deal will depend on the result of them and on the amount of influence the Assembly can obtain for itself over the King and the Cabinet. A strong Assembly will be able to make both King and Cabinet bend to its will. It seems probable, however, that difference of opinion producing dissension between towns and tribes and between Sunnis and Shiahs will seriously weaken the influence of the Assembly and leave the King and the Cabinet in a fairly strong position, and that in practice government after the elections will be not unlike the form of government obtaining at the present time. What is required more than anything else is a period of tranquillity, both within the country and without, and a greater willingness on the part of the Arabs of every class to get down to honest hard work and devote less attention and energy to underhand intrigue, which merely consumes their energies without producing any benefit.

THE COMING OF THE ARABS TO THE SUDAN

THE two facts concerning the Sudan most likely to cause some surprise to those who have not travelled through it are perhaps its great extent—about a million square miles, stretching from the Sahara to the Congo—and the variety of its population. The northernmost districts, the valley of the Nile excepted, are little more than an arid waste. The southern provinces, on the other hand, are a vast expanse of forest and swamp, deluged by torrential rains. The intermediate districts, from French Equatorial Africa to the frontiers of Abyssinia and Eritrea, are for the most part sandy and fertile, with a moderate rainfall, well suited to agriculture and pasturage.

With the southern provinces we are not for the moment concerned, for the people inhabiting them are not Arabs, but negroes. Almost the whole of the country to the north is Mohammedan in religion, and claims to be Arab in race—a claim for which there is a certain justification in some parts and practically none in others.

The object of this paper is to attempt some general account of the causes which brought the Mohammedan Arab element to the Sudan, the times and ways in which they came, and their present general distribution there.

It is important, in the first place, to bear in mind the great resemblance which the Northern Sudan bears to Arabia itself. Pages of Doughty and Palgrave descriptive of the general prospect, the climatic conditions, the stony surfaces scored by the dry beds of small water-courses, the sparse scrub and desert grasses, might have been written of the country between the Red Sea and the Nile or of the Dongola hinterland and the steppes of Northern Kordofan. This is easily understandable, for the Red Sea is but an accident of Nature, and the countries flanking it on either side are essentially the same. It is a truism to say that, when a people are led by one cause or another to migrate from their own country and settle in another, they tend to choose one which resembles their old home—one to which their naturally acquired methods of livelihood and their customs are easily adaptable. Once arrived, too, it is only to be expected that they should gradually push farther afield into districts which, though their climatic and vegetative conditions are less similar to those they have left, are equally suitable for their existing needs, suggest fresh desiderata, and hold out prospects of greater wealth and fields for new

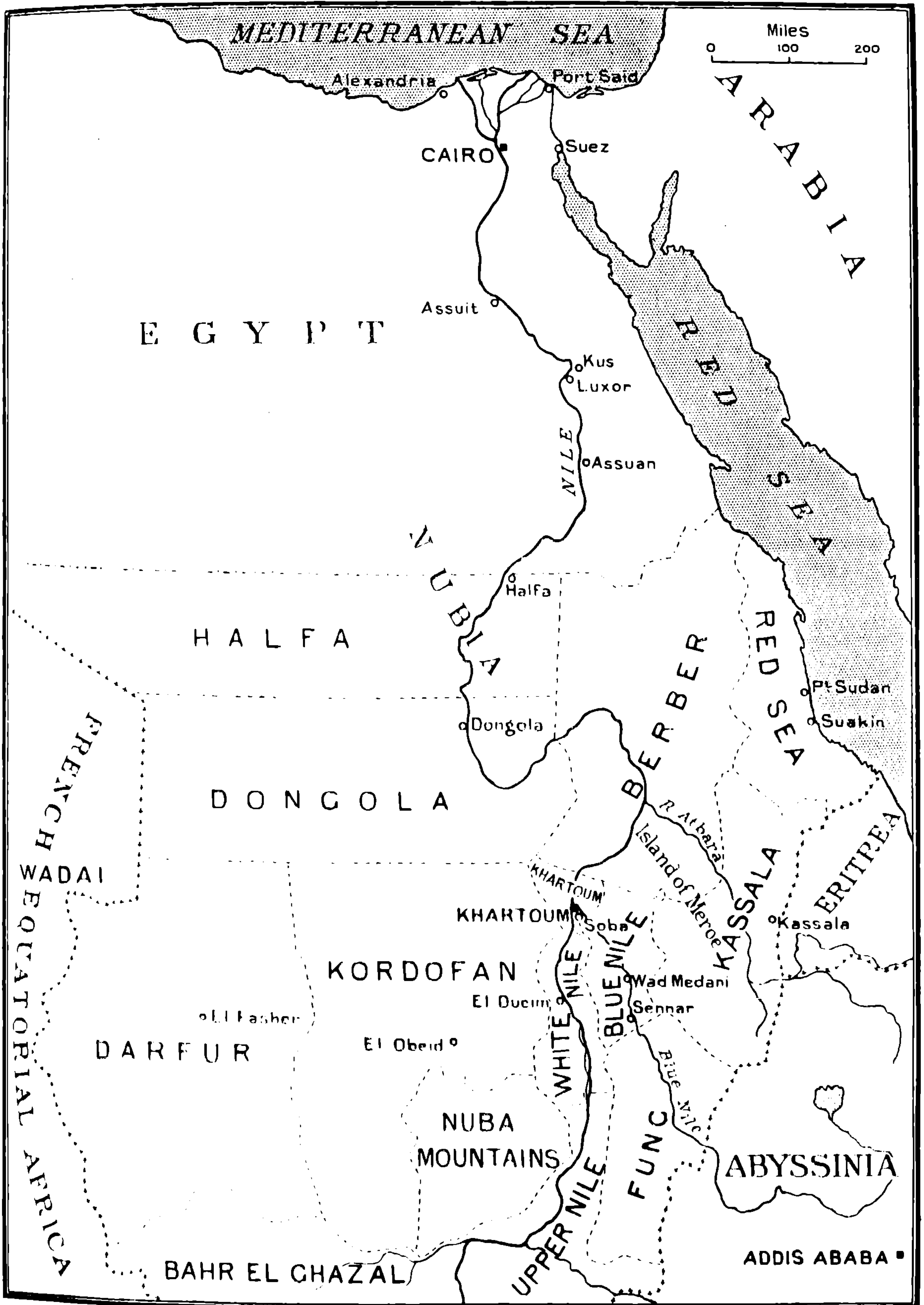
enterprise. A naturally concomitant development is the partial assimilation of many of the social and professional habits of the indigenous peoples among whom the newcomers settle and with whom they intermarry. Such as take to agriculture and industry adopt the local methods; such as marry into local families often find it necessary for the peace of the home, and, in fact, a condition of acceptance, to follow at least some of the local rites and ceremonies. Methods of dress, forms of sport, dances, and all the thousand and one amenities of social intercourse, all present points of attraction which are borrowed bit by bit and so become absorbed into the social system.

The case of the Arabs was no exception; and when causes which are to be mentioned had led them to Africa, a number of them found their way, not only to the Mediterranean hinterland and the outlying districts of Egypt, but also to the Northern Sudan, and thence to the more fertile districts inland, where in some cases they amalgamated with, and became almost indistinguishable from, the local population, though in others, particularly in that of the nomadic tribes, they retained much of their original tribal integrity and physical characteristics, merely adopting a certain number of customs and superstitions.

Though the Arab armies conquered Egypt in the seventh century, it was not until the thirteenth and fourteenth, when the barrier of the Christian Kingdom of Dongola had finally collapsed, that the main flood of their immigration broke into the Sudan.

Before we say more of this, however, it is as well to make clear the fact that there had been some contact and immigration for centuries before. There is evidence dating from very early times of a trade in gold, ivory, and aromatic gums, and probably ostrich feathers, conducted across the Red Sea by Arabian merchants, though one can only guess for what commodities these were exchanged. As trade developed, small settlements were formed on the Egyptian and Sudan coasts, and the more adventurous spirits even found their way along the valleys to the Nile; and, having reached it, we may assume they moved north and south along its banks to whatever extent the local rulers permitted them. At the same time, as early as the second millennium B.C. that is, we know that the Himyarites of the Yemen were beginning to colonize the Abyssinian highlands, and cross-currents of migration across the narrow straits of Bab el Mandeb periodically took place during the following centuries. It is a probable inference that a certain number of these Arabs during this period found their way in search of trade down the valley of the Blue Nile.

By the time of the Ptolemies, there is no question, commerce with the Sudan was flourishing, for all along the coast were trading-stations; and early Nubian traditions point to the settlement on the Nile of a certain number of Himyarites.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BLUE NILE
Wad Medani
El Ducim
Sennar
DARFUR
El Obeid
Blue Nile
NUBA MOUNTAINS
FUNG
ABYSSINIA
UPPER NILE
ADDIS ABABA
BAHR EL GHAZAL

The earliest suggestion of Arab penetration into the Sudan for other than such peaceful purposes is the story of an incursion by the Himyarite King Dhu el Manar about 100 B.C. This is so vague that it is perhaps hardly worth recording; but there is stronger evidence for the fact that, a century later, a successor, Abu Malik, made an expedition in quest of emeralds into the deserts of the Beja—the Berber and Red Sea Provinces of to-day—and there perished with most of his army.

By the fourth century A.D. the volume of trade between the Himyarites and Axumites of Abyssinia, both now converts to Christianity, was very considerable; but about A.D. 500 the Yemen adopted Judaism, and relations between the two parties became hostile. A century later we hear of another Himyarite King, Seif ibn Dhu Yazan, who, after enslaving or expelling from his dominions some 600 Abyssinians, was murdered by others. The most interesting point about this monarch, however, is that he is fabled to have founded the ruling dynasty of Kanem in Central Africa. Literally taken, this is, of course, ridiculous; but the story is so preposterously unlikely that there is the greater need to devise some explanation for it. The most reasonable theory seems to be that by this period parties of Arabs had succeeded in pushing their way far afield to the west, and had settled there. It would be only characteristic of the Arab if some of these sought to impress the ignorant savages by claiming kinship with the "great king" of Southern Arabia, and equally characteristic of the savage if the allegation were swallowed. If this happened, it is easy to surmise that the particular group to which the Arab colonists allied themselves by intermarriage would, as happened in Wadai and Darfur and elsewhere, soon obtain the control of affairs, and so become founders of a dynasty.

In the year 641 Egypt passed under the rule of the Arabs, lately converted to the faith of Islam and fairly embarked upon that wonderful invasion which in a short space of time was to subject half of Asia and Africa and the fringes of Europe to their creed and domination. It was not long before the northern districts of the Sudan felt the effect. No sooner had Egypt been subdued than an expedition was dispatched under Abdulla Saad to invade Nubia and exact a tribute. Ten years later, in 651, Abdulla, now Governor of Egypt, made a second incursion and penetrated as far upstream as Dongola, the capital, and bombarded it with catapults and destroyed the Christian church. The Nubians then sued for peace. The terms of the treaty which was imposed upon them were by no means oppressive; and since it continued in force for more than six centuries, during which the tribute was, with interludes, paid yearly—presents of an almost equivalent value being repaid to the Nubians—the main provisions may be quoted:

"In the name of God, etc. . . . This is the treaty granted by the Amir Abdulla ibn Saad ibn Abu Sarh to the chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions . . . from the frontier of Aswan to the frontier of Aloa.* Abdulla ibn Saad ordains security and peace between them and the Muslims. . . . Ye people of Nubia, ye shall dwell in safety under the safeguard of God and his apostle. . . . We will not attack you, nor wage war on you, nor make incursions against you, so long as ye abide by the terms settled between us and you. When ye enter our country, it shall be but as travellers, not as settlers, and when we enter your country it shall be but as travellers, not settlers. Ye shall protect those Muslims or their allies who come into your land and travel there, until they quit it. Ye shall give us the slaves of Muslims who seek refuge among you, and send them back to the country of Islam; and likewise the Muslim fugitive who is at war with the Muslims, him ye shall expel from your country to the realm of Islam; ye shall not espouse his cause nor prevent his capture. Ye shall put no obstacle in the way of a Muslim, but render him aid until he quit your territory. Ye shall take care of the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirts of your city, and hinder none from praying there; ye shall clean it, and light it, and honour it. Every year ye shall pay 360 head of slaves to the leader of the Muslims, of the middle class of slaves of your country, without bodily defects, males and females, but no old men nor old women nor young children. . . . No Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from Aloa to Aswan."

In the event of any breach of these conditions it was laid down that war would be renewed.

For many years, no doubt, relations between the Arabs and the Nubians were confined to minor trade, occasional quarrels, and a certain amount of intermarriage in the border districts. In Egypt, though Arab immigration continued on a large scale, the Copts were for the first 200 years after the conquest still numerically preponderant, and many thousands of the Arab tribesmen pushed west along the north coast of Africa into the Berber country, while others retired to Upper Egypt.

In A.D. 750 occurred one of those cataclysms to which Islam has periodically been subject, and the Abbasid dynasty supplanted the Ommeyyad. A period of civil war and ruthless extermination supervened. Whole tribes were compelled to migrate from Arabia and seek a home in distant lands. It was in direct connection with these movements that certain parties of Ommeyyads, numerically insignificant but historically noteworthy, appear to have found their way across the Red Sea into the Sudan. One band is said to have entered by way of Abyssinia and found its way thence to the Blue Nile, where

* That is, Soba, just above the junction of the Blue Nile with the White.

its leader married the daughter of the King of the Fung negroids, who were to attain a position of local pre-eminence at the end of the fourteenth century. A second band, led by Abdulla and Obeidulla, the sons of Marwan, last of the Ommeyyad caliphs, accompanied by their families and dependants, entered the Sudan via Aswan, and took temporary refuge on the Red Sea coast; and though most of them sailed thence after losing a proportion of their numbers, tombs found near Akik prove that others settled there.

By A.D. 832 the Mohammedans outnumbered the Christians in Egypt, and from this year, too, may be dated the beginning of the wholesale settlement of Arabs in the villages and on the land, instead of in the great cities only. At the same period, too, trouble was experienced from the Beja tribes living between Aswan and the coast north-eastwards. These people may in the dim mists of antiquity have crossed over from Arabia: they were not, however, Arabs in the same sense as were the Semitic people known to history by the name, but rather "Hamitic" in descent and, of course, entirely pagan. Their modern representatives are the Ababda Bisharin and Hadendoa --the "Fuzzy-Wuzzies" of more modern days. They were speedily repressed, and accepted a treaty of the same type as that in force between the Arabs and the riverain Nubians. About twenty years later they rebelled and raided Upper Egypt in the days of Anbasa, the last and best of the Arab Governors. Forces sent eastward from Kus, and westward from the Red Sea, again subjugated them, and peace was renewed, this time with stress laid on the facilities to be granted to the Arabs to work the ancient mines of the Red Sea littoral.

With the recall of Anbasa and his replacement by a series of Turkish Governors, the status of the Arabs in Egypt naturally altered for the worse. Finding themselves in disfavour and oppressed, they began to migrate elsewhere, to the south and west. Large bodies of Guhayna and Rabia decamped to the Beja country; others settled round Aswan and in Northern Nubia, where they bought land and allied themselves to the local inhabitants by marriage. How far these latter may have pushed their way southwards during the next 300 years we do not know; but matters certainly did not remain stationary, and by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, after the fall of the Fatimite and the rise of the Ayyubite dynasty in Egypt, there appear to have been strong independent colonies of Arabs of mixed blood in power from Aswan for some distance to the south, and expeditions had to be sent from time to time against them and the Nubians.

In 1250 the Ayyubites were succeeded by the Bahrite Mamlukes, and the lot of the Arabs in Egypt became even more hard than before, and their unavailing revolts more frequent. The kingdom of Nubia was now beginning to disintegrate, and each expedition sent from Egypt in the thirteenth century and the early years of the fourteenth

penetrated farther south than the last, dealt a heavier blow at the tottering fabric of negro organization, and was followed by more and more Arab settlers.

In 1316 a Mohammedan succeeded to the kingship of Nubia, and the payment of tribute consequently ceased. It was now that the floodgates were finally opened to the full. Hordes of Guhayna, Fezara, and other tribes, poured southwards and spread out like a fan to east and west. The camel- and sheep-owning nomads extended over Northern Kordofan to Darfur, and even to Wadai, and into the ancient Island of Meroë, and up the Atbara and the Blue Nile to the borders of Abyssinia. Other Arabs, probably those whose herds were smaller, and who were therefore drawn towards agriculture or trade, settled on the Nile banks; and among these were a proportion from the towns of Egypt or Arabia, who had a smattering of learning and therefore a reputation for sanctity. These latter took to proselytizing the Christian and pagan tribes, opened small schools, and exercised an ever-increasing influence at the courts of the local rulers. They almost invariably represented themselves as Ashraf, members of the Prophet's own tribe, or as Ansar, fellow-tribesmen of the "Helpers" of the Prophet, or as descendants of Zubeir ibn el Awwam, Abu Bukr, or some other famous "Companion" of the Prophet. All were Sunnis, and practically all followed the tenets of Malik ibn Anas, which still hold the field in the Mohammedan Sudan.

The Arab immigrants probably owned few, if any, cattle to begin with; but in time branches of the nomadic tribes, chiefly Guhayna it appears, finding that the broad belt of country to the north of latitude 10° was eminently suitable for the purpose, took to acquiring cattle from the negroes. The rainfall here is fairly heavy, the ground is muddy rather than sandy, and vegetation is thicker. Camels cannot live because of "fly" and poisonous creepers, but cattle thrive. The Arabs who settled here committed themselves to a definite change of life and became the forefathers of the populous and warlike Baggara Arabs—Beni Selim, Awlad Hammayd, Kenana, Hawazma, Messiria, Humr, Rizeigat, Habbania, Taaïsha, Beni Helba, Beni Khuzam, Beni Rashid, Ziud, Salamat, etc., of the present. As a result of admixture with the negroes they are darker than the camel-owning Arabs, but they have, generally speaking, preserved the Arab cast of countenance and build. In the dry weather they take their cattle south to the great western tributary of the Nile, called after them the Bahr el Arab, and there come into contact with the Nilotic Dinka and the "Fertit" group of negroes. In the rains they move northwards to the fringes of the sandy agricultural country of the villagers. They are all horsemen, and carry the long broad-bladed spear.

The rest of the Arabs had also adjusted themselves similarly to local conditions. It is especially important to remember that the

matrilinear system in force on the main Nile at the beginning of the fourteenth century was all to their advantage. In the words of Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406): "Then the tribes of the Guhayna Arabs spread over their country and settled in it and ruled it and filled it with rapine and disorder. At first the kings of the Nuba attempted to repulse them, but they failed: then they won them over by giving them their daughters in marriage. Thus was their kingdom disintegrated, and it passed to certain of the sons of Guhayna on account of their mothers, according to the custom of the infidels as to the succession of the sister or the sister's son. So their kingdom fell to pieces, and the A'arab of Guhayna took possession of it. But their rule showed none of the marks of statesmanship because of the inherent weakness of a system which is opposed to discipline and the subordination of one to another. Consequently they are still divided up into parties, and there is no vestige of authority in their land, but they remain nomads, following the rainfall like the A'arab of Arabia. . . ."

In the course of time some of these Arabs, who, though mainly Guhayna, included families drawn from half the tribes of Arabia, took to agriculture and village life. These by intermarriage and concubinage tended naturally to become more and more closely assimilated to the Nubian and negroid types, and are represented at the present day in the Central Provinces of the Sudan and on the river by many so-called Arab tribes—Gaaliin, Shaigia, sedentary Rufaa, Gawamaa Bederia, Hamar, and the like, who, though Mohammedans and claiming to be Arabs, are often in reality of a more distinctively negroid type. Their claim to noble Arab descent is generally in inverse ratio to the purity of their origin.

A considerable number of the Arabs, however, have retained a great measure of their racial characteristics, their ancient customs, and even some of the old-fashioned phraseology of their mother-country. These, as would be expected, are the great pastoral tribes, Kababish, Kawahla, Lahawiin, Shukria, Batahin, nomad Hasania, etc., who avoid unnecessary contact with the settled villagers and spend all or most of the year with their flocks in the more distant and cleaner grazing-grounds.

But no clearly defined line of racial cleavage can be drawn between all these various categories. Generally speaking, the different clans and families of immigrant Guhayna and Fezara tended to regroup themselves in the Sudan into nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes, whether Baggara or breeders of camels and sheep; and the sections of the Sudanese-Arab tribes thus formed have since been continually reshuffling themselves into fresh combinations on account of such causes as feuds, dissatisfaction with a sheikh, the need for fresh pasturage, etc. The Kuraysh, Kays Aylan, "Ansar" group, and the

thousand and one others who had perhaps been less nomadic in habit and more used to a sedentary life, inclined to settle into villages and disintegrate into innumerable small and indeterminate clans, or else entirely to lose any form of corporate cohesion but that of the village, which they shared with others of similar tastes. It would probably be true of every "Arab" community in the Sudan to say, firstly, that it contains elements drawn from many different Arabian tribes; secondly, that groups of other similarly mixed communities have been incorporated with it; thirdly, that, in the case of all, these elements have been modified, though in very different degrees, by centuries of intermarriage with other tribes of debased origin and the older inhabitants of the country.

Nothing has yet been said of any immigration of Arabs to the Sudan later than the early years of the fourteenth century; and while there is no reason to suppose that the influx which then took place came to a sudden stop, since the same attractions existed in the Sudan in subsequent centuries, and the same lack of attraction in Egypt for many years at least, it must not be forgotten that the cessation of migration to Egypt from Arabia must have made a great difference. Thus, even when such opportunities occurred as the coalition of the Gawasma Arabs with the local Fung and the foundation of a kingdom at Sennar on the Blue Nile in 1504, or the fusion of the ruling Kungara Fur of Darfur with one family of Arabs and of the local negroes in Wadai with another at a slightly later date, there is no reason to suppose that any fresh bodies of Arabs were induced thereby to immigrate from outside the Sudan, though undoubtedly individuals with their families came in pursuit of trade or of the emoluments pertaining to a smattering of learning and a reputation for piety. There has been nothing in the nature of wholesale tribal immigration from Egypt or Arabia since the fifteenth century, except for the small but persistent stream of Arabs, chiefly Rashaida and Zebedia, that has been trickling across the narrow waters of the Red Sea to the Eastern Sudan and Eritrea, there to continue their normal life of pasturage with a greater sense of security.

The tribes of Arabia are proverbially wild and restless of control, given to feuds that last from one generation to another and flame periodically into internecine warfare. Pillaging fat convoys and even pilgrim caravans bound for the Holy Places seems to savour to them of gallantry and sport. The same propensities, *mutatis mutandis*, characterized the nomadic Arabs of the Sudan in the days of the Fung dynasty and in the periods of Turkish and Dervish rule. In the first case the rulers of the land were a sedentary negroid people with no sympathy to spare for Arabs and no understanding of their ways. They regarded them much as the Mamluks of Egypt or the late Sultan of Darfur did—as a tiresome and somewhat dangerous

element, only useful in so far as they could be fleeced. The Turko-Egyptian attitude towards them was much the same; and in both cases there was no inducement to the Arab to cease living as the children of Ishmael had always lived. In the next period the "Arabs" were themselves Dervishes, and the whole country was given over to an orgy of rapine and feud.

That a complete change has now taken place; that tribal fights on a large scale practically never occur; that raids, even against the pagan negroes of the south, are almost a thing of the past; that merchant caravans, so far from being plundered, are in fact always convoyed in perfect safety over great distances inland by the Arabs themselves, is due entirely to the Pax Britannica, which has induced a realization that the old ways did not and cannot pay, and that the new order brings greater content and prosperity.

There is no appreciable tendency on the part of the nomads to forsake the life of pasturage and break away from the tribal system and settle into villages. On the contrary, as flocks and herds increase, a number of the richer villagers are wont to spend more and more of their time driving them in search of the best grazing-grounds, leaving the folk in whom the ancient instincts have become more submerged in the life agricultural to till the fields.

In consequence the Arabs of the Sudan are richer and more contented than they have ever been, trust the Government, are prepared to accept its rulings, and probably give less trouble to the authorities than any other class of the population. They have effectively disproved the theory that the Arab is incapable of peaceful development.

H. A. MacMichael.

THE ASSYRIANS

In writing about the Assyrians, I would like to explain that they are a people distinct from the Syrians, and that both these peoples have from earliest times inhabited entirely different countries.

Assyria—that is, ancient Assyria—lay to the east of Mesopotamia. On its northern border lay Armenia, to the south was Babylonia, modern Kurdistan limited its eastern frontier, and to the west it embraced a certain part of the country on the west bank of the Tigris. Thus it will be realized that Mesopotamia proper lay between it and Syria, whose eastern boundary was the Euphrates. It was during the eighth century B.C. that the Assyrians overran Syria.

Assyrian history dates back to some 700 years before Shalmeneser I., who lived and reigned about 1320 B.C. The earliest known capital of this race was Assur, now called Kalaat Shergat, but about the time of Shalmeneser I. they appear to have transferred to the better known city of Nineveh. This latter town fell before the Medes early in the seventh century B.C., and with its collapse the Assyrian empire ceased to exist.

From this race of old antiquity the present Assyrian claims descent, and certainly when compared with ancient archæological discoveries their features in some cases bear testimony to the truth of their contention.

The Assyrian of to-day, or rather of the period before the war, occupied the mountainous country to the north and north-east of Mosul, and from around Julamerk they stretched or, so to speak, scattered themselves as far as Lake Van to the north and Urmia to the north-east. Like the Kurd, their villages were to be found in Mesopotamia, Turkey, and Persia.

The old Assyrian religion differed only slightly from the Babylonian, but, if tradition be true, they deserted their ancient idolatry for the teaching of Christ towards the end of the first century, and Mar Adai is regarded as the founder of their Church. The Assyrians now are Nestorians, though a certain number owe allegiance to the Patriarch of Antioch, and even a greater number regard the Pope of Rome as their spiritual head. Thus among the Assyrians we find Nestorians, Jacobites, and Chaldæans. The Nestorians follow the doctrine of one Nestorius, who was Patriarch of Constantinople in A.D. 428. They hold that there are two natures as well as two

persons in Jesus Christ, and recognize only their own patriarch, who is known as the Mar Shimun. The Jacobites, on the contrary, are Monophysites, following the heresy of Jacob, a monk of Phasilta, who denied the existence of two natures in Christ. They are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. Lastly, the Chaldæans are those who were converted from Nestorianism to the Roman or Latin Church.

Thus it will be seen that the Assyrians, while claiming to belong to a race which dates back some 4,000 years, rightly assert that their nation was among the first to accept Christianity. They have clung to this faith for nearly 2,000 years, in spite of the fact that their overlords have successively been followers of Zoroaster and Mahomed, and notwithstanding the fact that their neighbours, the Yezidis, even now worship his Satanic majesty!

In past history the Assyrians not only derived their religion but apparently their language also from the Babylonians. To-day, however, though still speaking a Semitic tongue, they have acquired a language called Syriac, which is more like the Aramaic, as spoken by our Lord, than any other language of the present time. Arabic, on the other hand, is the language of the Syrian.

The reader must forgive this rather lengthy prologue, but I have tried to compare in an accurate and clear manner the present Assyrians with those of the past, and also to emphasize the fact that the Assyrian is distinct in race, religion, language, and history from the Syrian.

It is, then, of the present Nestorian Assyrian that I am anxious to write a short account. Many, I fear, hardly realize his existence, and to the majority the part he played in the war and after it is totally unknown. So at a time when the future of this people is under consideration, it is perhaps not out of place to remind members of the Central Asian Society of their past history, and more especially of their recent achievements.

Briefly, then, this small Christian nation in 1915 threw in their lot with the Allies, and not unnaturally made an effort to shake off the yoke of a Moslem Power. Situated as they were in the Kurdish hills, their villages lying side by side with those of the Kurds and, as it were, straddling Northern Mesopotamia, South-East Turkey and North-West Persia, their position was anything but an enviable one.

It has, I believe, been suggested that the Assyrians were disloyal to the Turks in that they took up arms against them. To quote Dr. Wigram: "When [in November] . . . Turkey entered the lists as a combatant, that event was signalized by the pillaging of all the Christian villages near Bashkala* with the practically open approval of the local Ottoman authority." Urmia was among the

* **Bashkala lies about thirty-five miles to the north-east of Julamerk.**

first to reap the calamity of war, for after the Russian evacuation some hundreds of Christians were massacred. Is it surprising, then, that in 1915 the Assyrian mountaineers accepted the Russian invitation to side with them?

During the following years of the war the Assyrians had their full share of fighting. Space forbids me to follow their history too closely, and I will merely summarize the events which bring them up to the present day. Dr. Wigram, in his book, "The Cradle of Mankind," has done them full justice, and has given an account of all they went through from 1915 to the end of the war.

And so these mountaineers, led by their Mar Shimun—Benyamin—held their own against Kurdish attacks until the autumn of 1915, when the want of food as much as their desire to join hands with the Russians, who had advanced south again, compelled them to fight their way through with their families and their flocks to Urmia in North-West Persia. Here a juncture with the Russians was made, and from this district until the spring of 1918 a successful guerrilla warfare was carried on against the Kurds and Turks.

It was about this time that the Assyrians lost their leader, Benyamin Mar Shimun, through the treachery of Simco Agha of the Shekak Kurds. Polus, his brother, stepped into his place. The position of the Assyrians now became desperate, for, with the collapse of Russia, they were left alone at Urmia to face the hostile Turk, Kurd, and Persian. Once more necessity compelled them to break through, and this time south, to join the small British column in North-West Persia. Once more there was an exodus of this people with their families, and once more they achieved their object, but at terrible cost, for their casualties probably amounted to some 15,000 men, women, and children. The remnants found shelter with the British, and travelling south by way of Hamadan and Kermanshah, they were finally encamped near Baghdad.

From this period until the present day the question of the repatriation of the Assyrians has been a perplexing one. An effort was made in the autumn of 1920 to resettle them in their native hills, but the result was not successful.

In 1921 an Assyrian force was raised and commanded by British officers. It formed the nucleus of the Levy Force which exists to-day, and numbered some 3,000 men. At the same time another and more fortunate effort was made to re-establish some of the tribesmen in their native homes.

The position of the Assyrians, then, in 1922 was that a certain number were back in their mountain districts within the 'Iraq frontier, others were settled on the Mosul plain, which is, unfortunately, unhealthy, and those who drifted here suffered a good deal from malaria. A portion were enlisted in the Levy Force, and lived in

military camps with their families, while a few sought employment in Baghdad, and some, facing all difficulties, tried to find their way back through Persia to Urmia. This, briefly, is their position to-day. The country which was theirs to the north and beyond the 'Iraq frontier lies in Turkey, and is it to be wondered at that from the low-lying plain of Mosul they still look away to the distant snow-capped mountains and long for the day when they can return to the land of their fathers?

It was in the winter of 1922-1923 that the Assyrians, as a Levy battalion, held the northern frontier of 'Iraq and withstood the threatened Kemalist thrust for Mosul. It may be of interest here to refer to Sir Percy Cox's recent report on 'Iraq. On p. 110 he writes: "In justice to the Assyrians it must be added that during the first three months of this year, when a Turkish attack was always a possibility, they have proved their strategic value on the 'Iraq frontier. In March, over 2,000 enlisted in the Levies within three weeks. It is far from improbable that this instant response on the part of a people whose qualities as fighting men are renowned was the main reason which induced the Kemalists to abandon their projected attack. Led by British officers, they are a native force second to none. Their quickness in picking up discipline and their mettle in battle has surprised and delighted all who have been concerned with them."

If during the first three months of this year they proved their strategic value, they more than justified their existence during the next three months. As an Assyrian brigade they marched via Erbil to Rowanduz, which latter town, lying about forty miles within the 'Iraq frontier, had been held by the Turks for the last three years. Rowanduz was occupied with hardly a shot being fired. It was not without interest that the explanation, given by the Kurds of the district, for this hasty and somewhat undignified evacuation of Rowanduz was the fact that the vengeance of the Assyrians was feared. Such is the prestige of the Assyrian as a fighter among his neighbours.

Having spent some twelve months with the Assyrian Levies, I can testify to their efficiency as soldiers, and, in my opinion, it is not too much to say that they compare more than favourably with our best native troops, which is saying a good deal. A healthy mountain race, they can face and endure hardship and resist the worst weather conditions, and a winter in Northern Kurdistan can be as cruel as any English one. I can see these men now, at the end of a weary march, which had led over mountains and through icy torrents, undaunted even by the streaming rain, with linked arms, enlivening the bivouac with song and dance.

Already, I am afraid, I have occupied more space in the *Journal*

than was my original intention, yet, even so, much has been left unsaid.

I feel I can only close my remarks on this interesting and virile race by expressing the hope that "our smallest Ally" may eventually reap the fruits of victory and enjoy again the mountain districts that once were theirs. Here, then, let us leave the Assyrians looking with eager eyes towards their homes, which still lie very far off.

A. D. W. BENTINCK.

REVIEWS

TALES OF TRAVEL. By the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston, K.G. Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. 28s. net.

It is a serious thing to undertake to review the work of a distinguished scholar, statesman, and traveller, when he seeks " literary distraction " in reviewing " memories of the past," and in placing on record the result of observation and study brought to bear upon scenes and incidents in diverse portions of the globe. The professional reviewer usually shelters himself behind anonymity, but the Society of which the author is the President does not encourage " protection " on those lines. From the standpoint of review, the Society is essentially a free-trader. What a member writes, he acknowledges. Working on these terms the reviewer may well find a pleasure in visiting scenes and considering subjects with some of which travel and study have made him more or less familiar. The striking Introduction is to the reader—especially if he or she too be a traveller—a direct incentive to the resuscitation of those " mind-pictures " which, as Lord Curzon says, are the " spiritual possession " of each of us. And I venture to add that there are few Societies which share that " spiritual possession " more fully than does the Central Asian.

" The Dreams of Kairwan " touch on the fringe of a meteoric career—that of General Boulanger. The mere name awakens memories. When the author first met the General, in 1885, he was commanding the French army of occupation in Tunis, and the " alert and springy figure and the blonde hair of the youthful General," as whose son the author posed for a day or two, are vividly set before us. To that temporary adoption Mr. Curzon (as he then was) was indebted for his introduction to that weird scene in the " sanctuary of Aissa " which he has so clearly and vividly described. When I try myself to recall somewhat similar scenes in Constantinople and Cairo, my mind-picture is lamentably obscure. In vain do I call upon the mind's eye to revive the scene in clear outline. These orgies of fanaticism have again and again been described in books, periodicals, and journals. The *dénouement* in this case links itself alike with comedy and tragedy. This escapade as *le fils du Général Boulanger* reached the ears of the Southport electors, and furnished the Radical newspapers of that constituency with a mischief-making *pabulum* of which they made unscrupulous use. The tragic side

of the picture is the "middle-aged civilian" of increasing bulk and grizzled beard whom the author met at a private house in London some five or six years later, "a little while before the melancholy catastrophe" (in the cemetery at Brussels) "which ended his life."

The Amir Abdur Rahman Khan is a figure in history which I have learnt to regard with marked respect. Sir West Ridgeway had as good an opportunity as any Briton of taking his measure, and his opinion, put in black and white, was that he was one of the greatest monarchs and rulers of his age. It is understood that Sir West is now writing his Memoirs, and, if that is so, we may hope to see the portrait of the Amir Abdur Rahman from his pen. For existing portraits we may turn, if we can lay our hands upon the books, to Angus Hamilton's "Afghanistan," to the "Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.," by Sultan Mahomed Khan, published by Mr. John Murray in 1900, or to "Under the Absolute Amir," by Mr. Frank Martin; but for a description and estimate of the man we can look to no higher authority than the statesman who visited him in Kabul as the Amir's guest in 1894, and who subsequently, as Viceroy of India, had to deal with him as a Moslem potentate who, in a very guarded fashion, had placed himself under British protection. The Amir is set before us by Lord Curzon under various aspects, but we here will confine ourselves to one only. On p. 61 we find mentioned his "calculated rudeness," and that in response to the invitation of our Queen Victoria. Not a few of us can remember the visit to Great Britain in 1895 of Sardar Nasrullah Khan, the second son of Abdur Rahman, and his equally "calculated rudeness." Speaking from memory, I think that I am right in saying that Nasrullah's first appearance in public in London was on the occasion of Her Majesty's Birthday Parade. I was present among the spectators, and awaiting the arrival of the Afghan Sardar were the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Edinburgh, Connaught, and Cambridge. Nasrullah was forty minutes late. It is supposed that this breach of etiquette and manners was in obedience to a calculated policy impressed upon him by his father before he left Kabul. His conduct alienated from him all British sympathy and completely vetoed the Amir's ambition, which was to establish an Afghan Legation in London. I came more or less into touch again with Nasrullah at Glasgow. A friend of mine, a municipal functionary of that city, gave me a little sketch of his experiences of Li Hung Chang and Nasrullah, who visited Glasgow within a few days of each other. The Chinese statesman was described as "somewhat irrepressible" (and so Lord Curzon found him: *vide* "Humours of Travel" vi., pp. 243-247), but for Nasrullah there was only one epithet—"impossible."

It is interesting to compare the photograph of the Amir Abdur

Rahman taken in 1894 and reproduced by Lord Curzon, and that taken between 1870-80 and used as a frontispiece to Sultan Mahomed Khan's Life. The latter presents the man in his full health and vigour, whereas the former shows only too clearly the havoc that a lapse of twenty years can work in an originally magnificent physique and constitution.

The Amir died in 1901, seven years after Lord Curzon's visit to him.

Apropos of his exile in Russian Turkistan, the Amir mentioned to his visitor that "the greater part of his Russian pension was systematically filched from him by peculation." It has been not unfrequently contended that, had the Government of India shown more liberality to the Amir Dost Mahommed, the first Afghan War need never have taken place. I have in my possession some very interesting private letters written by Sir Alexander Burnes from Kabul to his great friend, George Le Grand Jacob, in which it is specifically stated that a few lakhs accorded at the outset of the negotiations between the Governor-General and the Amir Dost Mahommed might have obviated what in the long run cost many crores. It has been in my mind to publish these letters, the last of which was written very shortly before Burnes was murdered in Kabul, but, being very much occupied, I have found no time. When I was at Mashhad in the spring of 1885 I met Sardar Mahommed Hashim Khan, a son-in-law of the Amir Sher Ali, who had himself in 1880 had some pretensions to the throne of Kabul. However, as soon as he knew that Sardar Abdur Rahman was the favoured aspirant, he left Kabul quietly and expeditiously and took refuge in Persia. There I met him soon after the battle of Pandjeh, and a very interesting talk I had with him (*vide* "The Afghan Boundary Commission," pp. 373-377). Later I again met him at Karachi, when he settled there, having accepted an invitation from the Government of India to reside within their territory.

"The Voice of Memnon" is a scholarly study of a natural phenomenon on which, as it seems to me, no one who has not visited Thebes and at least seen the Vocal Columns is entitled to make any comment, and still less to offer criticism. The solution of the problem, if indeed it is to be solved, seems to lie within the province of the scholar and the scientist.

The two next sections, or chapters, with their admirable photographic illustrations, set before the reader a graphic description of the great waterfalls of the world. What other writer has thus summarized this topic within a score of pages? If we turn to an encyclopædia, mere statistics meet the eye. The great Victoria Falls still attract the adventurous traveller. It is but a few weeks ago that, before the Royal Geographical Society, Colonel J. C. B.

Statham told the thrilling story, well illustrated on the screen, of his and his wife's perilous progress by land and water from Mossamedes on the coast of Portuguese Angola to the great falls on the Zambesi, a distance of at least 1,500 miles. As the audience sat and listened, it realized the dangers through which that devoted couple had passed, and the cause there was for sincere thankfulness that no fatal accident had marred the ultimate success of the venture.

The sections of Lord Curzon's "Tales of Travel" entitled "Lest we Forget," "The Palæstra of Japan," "Pages of a Diary," and "Humours of Travel," are not ones upon which the reviewer can justifiably linger. He will merely remark that he trusts that that Amir, of whose merciless spirit the author gives us only too clear a conception, had also some little sense of humour, and spared that "Havildar of Sarhad" for his cool self-possession and ingenuity. The saving sense of humour might well have had a look-in there, and we can detect that thought underlying the author's narrative.

The final section, on "The Singing Sands," is a remarkable *échantillon* of that thoroughness of research for which Lord Curzon as an author is famous. I remember, years ago, listening to his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society on "The Sources of the River Oxus," and being struck by the completeness with which the evidence on that disputed subject had been collected and martialled. It is the same with "The Singing Sands," and one cannot but read this treatise with absorbed interest from start to finish. It is interesting to note that the chief authority on the "Rig-i-Rawán" (the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names will, I trust, accept this transliteration) at Kalah-i-Kah, in Seistan, is Major-General Beresford Lovett, who, after a long life and distinguished career in Persia, has since 1918 been a member of the Central Asian Society. I myself passed close to the Singing Sand-drift of Imam Zaid in November, 1884, and as I passed a Kizilbash guide who was riding with me told me its legend. I have embodied what he told me in my "Afghan Boundary Commission," pp. 112-113. Just about ten years ago, Mr. Cecil Carus Wilson gave an address to children in the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society on "The Secrets of Sand," and illustrated the vocal and musical powers of sand by a series of experiments. The interest aroused by this remarkable lecture was reflected in letters and articles which appeared in the Press from January to April, 1913. It will be noted that Lord Curzon refers to him as "the principal British student of the phenomenon of singing sand." As far as I remember, Mr. Vaughan-Cornish has confined his studies to the formation of sand.

"The Singing Sand" is a genuinely fascinating subject with which to conclude a volume which will be valued in the Library of the Central Asian Society both for its author's and donor's sake, and

for its own merit and interest. We shall look forward to the "successor" volume, of which the Introduction (p. 9) throws out a hint.

A. C. YATE.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST, FROM THE FOUNDING OF CONSTANTINOPLE. By William Stearns Davis, Ph.D. Macmillan.

Dr. Davis is an American, and his father was formerly a professor in the American college at Constantinople. He writes, therefore, with inherited sympathy and knowledge, and at the same time with historical detachment. Almost all European nations and all Balkan nations have been so long involved in the destinies of the Near East that writers on this side of the Atlantic are seldom free from a certain amount of political prejudice, from which American writers are more easily immune, as the United States have kept aloof from the long-drawn entanglements of the Eastern question, and the activities of its citizens have been mainly educational and humanitarian. Dr. Davis has produced within the compass of one moderate-sized volume a singularly lucid picture of what he calls "the agelong debate betwixt East and West, whereof perhaps the first real non-legendary argument was held at the battle of Marathon." He divides his subject into three main sections: (1) The Byzantine Empire; (2) The Birth of Islam and the Saracenic Caliphates; (3) The Growth and Decline of the Turkish Empire, down to the Greek Crisis of 1922. The same ugly thread runs through each of these periods, and we see the Near East torn by racial and religious passions, which Western Europe exploits for its own ambitious purposes, and often to its own undoing. The "New Rome" founded by Constantine the Great soon becomes a cockpit of fierce rivalry between its own Hellenistic civilization and that of the old Rome. Whilst this rivalry, invading the domain of religion, led to the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and Byzantium was, on the other hand, hard pressed by the incoming Slavonic tide, a still greater danger arose to threaten both Eastern and Western Christendom with the birth of the new militant creed of Islam in Arabia, whose followers swept within less than a century, the Koran in one hand the sword in the other, through North Africa to Spain and Southern France, and through Persia and Asia Minor to the Black Sea. Constantinople withstood the Saracenic onslaught, but when the Turanian Turks were emerging from Central Asia on their own career of Mohamedan conquest, the enfeebled forces of Byzantine resistance were recklessly undermined by the ambitions of the West, which suddenly deflected the Twelfth Crusade from its religious purpose in order to found a short-lived Latin Empire at Constantinople.

It was as allies and mercenaries in turn of the warring Greeks

and Serbs and Bulgars that the Turks first crossed the Bosporus into South-Eastern Europe, and, after they had conquered Constantinople and poured like a devastating flood over a large part of Eastern Europe, it was only in rare instances, such as at Lepanto and under the walls of Vienna, that Western Christendom could momentarily unite for common action against them. It was the long duel between France and the House of Hapsburg, and later on the Austrian dread of Russian ambitions, that repeatedly saved the Ottoman Empire in the first stages of its rapid decline, whilst in the nineteenth century England herself was chiefly instrumental in bolstering up Turkey as a so-called bulwark against Russian expansion in Asia towards the gates of India. When Lord Salisbury came to the belated conclusion that in backing Turkey we had been backing the wrong horse, the German Empire took up the running in our stead, and William II. threw his mantle over Abdul Hamid. Even when the Great War seemed to have sealed the doom of Turkey, old jealousies broke out afresh between the Western allies, and the perhaps unduly harsh Treaty of Sèvres was whittled down to the illusory Treaty of Lausanne, in which the Turks successfully turned the tables upon the victors of 1918. It is a story which from beginning to end reflects little credit upon Western nations in general, or upon ourselves in particular, and our American author tells it well and only too truly.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

"AU CARREFOUR DES ROUTES DE PERSE." By A. Poidebard. (Georges Criés et Cie, Paris.)

It is unfortunate that this book, which has just been published in Paris, should not be more readily obtainable in England, as it contains an interesting account of recent happenings in N.W. Persia and the Caucasus, and a lucid statement of the political factors which so vitally affect British interests in the Middle East.

The author, who had travelled extensively in Armenia before the war, was sent in 1917 on a French Mission to Persia and the Caucasus to support the resistance which the Armenians were putting up against the Turks.

The book is divided into three parts, the first giving an account of the author's own experiences when attached to "Dunsterforce," and later when, after the Armistice, he was in Armenia superintending the evacuation of the Turkish forces.

Next follows a geographical survey of the Iranian plateau which sets forth in a very clear manner the great strategic importance of the main routes to the East.

In the last part M. Poidebard gives a carefully compiled summary

of events in the Caucasus since the Armistice, and describes in some detail the efforts of the Georgian, Armenian, and Azerbaijan Republics to establish themselves and their subsequent destruction at the hands of the Bolsheviks and Turks.

British policy in this part of the world comes in for a good deal of criticism, but the author is always moderate in his observations, and realizes the difficulties the British experienced in keeping large garrisons abroad during the period of demobilization.

In the final section of the book the coming antagonism between Turks and Russians in the Middle East is foreshadowed, and the conflicting aims of Pan-Turanianism and Bolshevik expansion are demonstrated.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in his book "Kings of Arabia" Colonel Jacob recalls how, in a conversation he had with Ali Said Pasha at Aden, the latter advocated the promotion of the Turanian movement by England on the grounds that a solid block of Turkish peoples stretching from Anatolia to Central Asia would form a complete barrier between Russia and Britain's Asiatic interests. M. Poidebard does not go so far as to say this, but his argument suggests a similar policy.

The book contains many good photographs, and is furnished with excellent maps.

J. A. de C. H.

History of the Great War. Based on Official Documents: The Campaign in Mesopotamia. Compiled by Brig.-Gen. F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O. Price 15s. (complete with maps).

The campaign in Mesopotamia has an appeal peculiar to itself. It was fought amidst historic surroundings by a combination of all our Services—a war of movement by land, river, lake, and eventually by air. The forces engaged were not too bulky to envisage, and the opposing commanders were faced by strategic and tactical problems of great interest.

We have awaited the official story, and it is good to find the true and vivid account which General Moberly now gives us of its earlier phases—up to the first battle of Kut El Amara. His outlook is broad; he throws light on the larger strategic and tactical problems whilst going into detail where detail is required.

The maps, which are included in the cost of the volume, are convenient and clear, but it is a pity that more photographs are not produced to illustrate the nature of the country and the heterogeneous description of improvised river transport, etc.

This first volume tells of risks boldly faced, of difficulties overcome, of hardships bravely borne—a proud tale of victory; but it

faces facts and recognizes incipient causes of the dark chapters to come when instead of success we must hear of lost opportunity, of neglect, vacillation, and reverse, prior to the great but costly effort which finally brought us victory in this secondary theatre of the war.

The four introductory chapters, seventy-four pages in all, should certainly be studied. They are pleasantly written and in a brief, pithy manner present to us the country and its people, its Turkish rulers, the Baghdad Railway and the Persian Gulf, the policies of India and the functions of our Indian Army. We hear of 10 per cent. of the British officers with Indian units being taken for duty with British battalions on the Western Front, of an Indian Army Reserve of only forty odd British officers, of the impossibility of replacing casualties or raising new units with officers who did not know the language of the men they were now called on to lead.

The fifth chapter relates the inception of these operations, how and why we came to make this detachment in Mesopotamia; it tells us of oil and of other interests. It quotes in full Mr. Winston Churchill's note of September 1, 1914: "There is little hope of any troops being available for the purpose [defending oil interests]. Indian forces must be used at the decisive point. We shall have to buy our oil elsewhere. The Turk also can be dealt with better at the centre. I have told Lord Crewe that Europe and Egypt have greater claims than we [the Admiralty] have on the Indian Army." It is instructive to hear of the attitude of India and the India Office towards the East African Expedition, to see how the idea of despatching a small force to "demonstrate at the head of the Persian Gulf" grows from a mixed Brigade to a Division and then to a Corps, prevents the despatch to the Western Front of the 6th Indian Division, and eventually leads to the recall of the two Divisions already there. In these campaigns, as in that of the Dardanelles, we suffered from our own indecision and lack of purpose.

We are told how our policy was influenced by suggestions official and "private." We may hope that the lesson has been learnt.

But these greater considerations do not detract from the thrilling story to which we now come, of battle and of venture in this land of rivers and floods, of desert, dust-storms, and dancing mirage with its many tricks which may "make a row of duck appear to be a battalion of infantry."

The operations leading up to the occupation of Basra and the considerations affecting further advance are described excellently. Once more we meet the bane of a "private" telegram "ventilating" the question of an advance on Baghdad. We learn of delay in provision of river transport, but the explanation will fail to satisfy those who have seen the river flotillas of the Irrawaddy and of the Brahmaputra. Nor is there mention of the fact that our first acquaintance

with hand grenades was made when the Turks used them in their night raid against Mazaire on January 29-30, 1915.

The next phase commences with General Nixon's arrival, and is full of energetic action, the gallant Melliss' defeat of the great Turkish offensive against our flank and rear through Shaiba, where his detachment fought, whilst other troops watched them across the intervening flood, a soldiers' battle, a fire fight with practically every rifle in line, where 5,300 British and Indian troops worsted 7,000 Turkish Regulars and 18,000 Arabs.

We follow Gorringe in his pursuit of the Turks and Arabs threatening Ahwaz, his operations towards Amara; Townshend's meteoric appearance, his attack across the Qurna floods, his regatta to Amara; Gorringe again in his move at the hottest time of year across the Hamar Lake in every variety of craft and his capture of Nasiriyeh.

Then comes Townshend's return from sick-leave and his victory at the first battle of Kut, which completed the occupation of the Basra Vilayet and ended this season of great heat during which our British and Indian soldiers had displayed much stamina, endurance, and gallantry. Their moral was high and they had realized the value of their peace training. They had defeated the enemy wherever met and were prepared to answer any call that might be made on them. General Moberly is to be congratulated on the good use to which he has put the material at his disposal in this first volume and we shall look forward to those that are to follow.

E. W. C.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MESOPOTAMIA, PALESTINE, AND SYRIA. By J. de V. Loder. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

Mr. Loder is to be congratulated on having produced an excellent little book, which everyone interested in the Middle East, even every student of contemporary foreign politics, should possess. It is, in fact, a handbook of the Arab question, written in a style eminently lucid and impartial, and supplemented by appendices containing all the important treaties and conventions bearing on the subject, from the mischievous Sykes-Picot Agreement to the texts of the various mandates and the treaty of 1922 between Great Britain and 'Iraq.

The sketches of the history of the Arab movement in Syria and 'Iraq are models of condensation, without the dryness to which condensation is so prone to lead; but perhaps the most interesting portion of Mr. Loder's book will be found in the chapter on "British, Arabs, and Jews in Palestine." One gathers that, while presenting the case for both sides with commendable fairness, the sympathies of the author are with the Arabs rather than with the Zionists

in the question of providing a National Home for Jews in an Arab country; and, with due deference to the contrary opinion expressed by Lord Robert Cecil in his Foreword, it is probable that most impartial persons not led away by sentiment will agree with him. The extracts from the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Jaffa riots of May, 1921, are very illuminating in respect to Zionist aims and Arab apprehensions.

The story of British relations with the Arab race since the war affords rather depressing reading. Animated by the best intentions and the most respectable motives, we seem to have succeeded only in transforming regard into dislike and confidence into mistrust. It is but a meagre consolation to know that the French have made an even worse hash of matters than ourselves.

In these days of expensive literature it is refreshing to note that Mr. Loder's book is sold for the modest price of seven shillings and sixpence.

A. C. W.

THE SEMITIC RELIGIONS. By D. M. Kay, D.S.O., D.D., Regius Professor of Semitic Languages at St. Andrews University. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

Professor Kay's book on the Semitic Religions consists of six lectures delivered in St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, in the spring of the year. The headings he gives to them indicate their scope—(*a*) Hebrew Religion, Primitive and Prophetic; (*b*) Hebrew Religion from Cyrus to Vespasian, 530 B.C. to A.D. 70; (*c*) Judaism; (*d*) Christianity; (*e*) the Muslim Religion; and (*f*) The Heritage and Obligation of the Semitic Religions. In these six lectures he describes briefly but with much lucidity the gradual evolution of Semitic religion (originally the offspring of the desert and born in sandy Arabia) from its first origins to its three great developments, Judaism, Christianity and Muhammadanism. As regards the origins, he accepts the position of the modern Biblical critic as to the respective historical authority of the various books of the Old Testament and the periods in which they were written. Perhaps he does not give sufficient importance to the Assyrian conquests of the eighth century B.C., which destroyed small principalities one after another and substituted a universal monarchy, thus suggesting a universal and a severe God in the place of the numerous Baalims of the earlier epoch, but otherwise the account given by him, though brief, is comprehensive and eminently fair.

To many of his readers the most interesting of the lectures will be the one on the Muslim religion, in which is to be found mention of his personal experience. Five years' residence in Constantinople, with its various races and creeds, and four years with the army

fighting against the Turks and their allies, supplied the writer with the means of judging the Muslim religion by its fruits, and his experience during these years is the chief determinant of his conclusions. These conclusions are exceedingly favourable; the contented labour of the sober working-man, his unassuming prayers—either in mosque or on the hillside—his kindness to animals, his cleanliness, and his toleration, all appeal strongly to the Professor. Of the other side—particularly of his fanaticism when it is roused—he says nothing. The Professor's personal experience seems to be confined to the Turk in Constantinople; a broader experience would probably bring considerable modification; for after all, in determining character, race as well as religion plays a considerable part.

One important point in weighing Islam he does not consider—the binding authority of the dead hand. The Koran lays down rules, the New Testament does not, only inculcates principles. Hence the difficulty in Muhammadan countries in making the conditions of modern life tally with the Koran.

P. K.

ARAB ASIA: SYRIA, PALESTINE, IRAK, AND ARABIA. By Lamie Paton Dana.

As the author tells us in the Preface, this book is intended to meet the need of a simple geography for study in such of the secondary schools in Arab Asia as use English in their curriculum.

It is well got up and clearly printed, but lacks co-ordination and is likely to confuse the youth of these countries, as it contains many inaccuracies and contradictions, besides Americanisms in spelling and in grammar which will play havoc with other portions of the curriculum, in which accuracy should be the first essential.

Those who have experienced the winter rains and mud of Mesopotamia will not agree in considering the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates as "practically rainless." It is distinctly confusing to find three different levels given for the Dead Sea in three different places, and it gives a wrong impression to be informed that "Arabic is spoken by one-fifteenth of the world's population," or that "each of the maritime plains of Syria is watered by one of the various perennial streams that flow into the sea."

It is distinctly incorrect and objectionable to state, as an accepted fact, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem is "well within the limits of the city walls of Christ's time which have been traced by several archæologists," whereas the bulk of expert opinion considers that the traces of old wall found between the church and the old city are the remains of the original walls beyond which Calvary lay.

The author attempts to provide a real want, but gives the impres-

sion of insufficient acquaintance with the subject, and of material which has not been thoroughly digested. In its present form it is not suitable for use in the schools for which it is intended.

E. W. C.

THE ARAB CONQUESTS OF CENTRAL ASIA. By H. A. R. Gibb, M.A. Royal Asiatic Society. 8s. 6d.

This forms the second volume of the James G. Forlong Series, published by the Royal Asiatic Society. It is based on a revised and enlarged thesis offered for the London M.A. degree in 1922, and one may assume, therefore, that its author is a young Orientalist. It has suffered somewhat, perhaps inevitably, from its change of form —mostly in such clerical matters as, *e.g.*, too vague references to encyclopædias.

The book is interesting both by its matter and its manner. It does not claim to tell the full story of the Arabs in Central Asia; its intention is solely to make mention of authorities hitherto examined in less detail. As it omits much that is easily accessible in existing writings, it needs that its readers should bring over from those earlier works the framework for its summary. But short though it is, it shows a great deal of work done in its compilation. Some scholars may demur that Ubaydullah and not his chief, Jazid, is made "the murderer of Husayn" (p. 17); there is also a clerical error (p. 20) by which Sa'id and not the hostages is murdered. It might too fairly be said that Hajjaj was admired in spite of his great severity.

The manner of the writing is in refreshing contrast to that of many summaries, for to many is denied what makes Mr. Gibb's attractive—namely, a spontaneity of diction that bespeaks the author's strong interest in his subject and good grip of memory on his details, all arresting a reader's attention and sympathy, and all of good augury for future work.

H. B. AND A. S. B.

PALESTINE, THE LAND OF THREE FAITHS. By Philip Graves. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d. net.

The aim of Mr. Graves has been to give an account of the recent history and present situation in Palestine. He is well qualified for the task, and his book is a valuable contribution towards an understanding of the Palestine problem. He makes his own position clear. He does not believe in political Zionism, and he does not believe that Arabs without Jewish brains and money can develop the country. He holds that we should unquestionably carry out our Mandate, in the interests of both Britain and Palestine.

Although unrest continues, and obstacles—which need never have arisen—have to be faced, there seems hardly ground for "official

pessimism." British genius has solved far greater problems in the past. It cannot be denied that local troubles are mainly due to the unfortunate "Balfour Declaration," which promised that Palestine should become a National Home for the Jews. This certainly implied that the Jews should become the dominant element in the population, which numbers some 757,200 persons. The "Zionist Organization," the strongest body in Jewry, so interpreted it. Jews were to come to a "land without a people," which was to become as Jewish as England is English, and—as extremists said—Jewish would gradually supersede British administration. In proportion as Zionists were encouraged in their aspirations, so the Arabs, as well as many Christians and some Jews, feared for the future. They would be swamped by alien immigration, if not ejected from the country, while a Jewish flag would fly over the mosque of El-Aksa. The Moslem-Christian League which was soon formed naturally assumed that we acquiesced in the Zionist interpretation, since the British Government waited for four years—till 1922—before "explaining" what they really did mean. The Duke of Devonshire has spoken of encouragement given in England to the Arab view; but such support as has been given is no sign of unpatriotism, but a recognition of what is just in Arab claims and grievances, and is due to desire for fair play all round.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, when commenting on the lecture given by Sir Wyndham Deedes to the Society, explained the position of the British Government and the cause of the strained relations. In 1918 Lord Allenby issued a proclamation on behalf of the British and French Governments, which stated that the Allies were far from wishing to impose a form of government on the people against their will. This (to say nothing of our pledge to King Hussein) was incompatible with the Balfour Declaration, which blocks the way. We have not kept our word. Mr. Graves holds that the British Government was not to blame for adopting a vague and chaotic formula at a moment when the future was far from clear. He also contends that a letter of Sir H. McMahon refutes the general view that the Declaration conflicts with our previous pledges to King Hussein of the Hedjaz. Mr. Hogarth, whose judicious Introduction to the volume should be borne in mind throughout, rightly remarks that "if the letter of the promises made through King Hussein to the Arabs can be forced into agreement with that of the Balfour Declaration, the spirit in which we preached Nationalism to the Arabs cannot." As it is, we have disappointed both Jews and Arabs. Ninety-three per cent. of the Palestinian people are opposed to our administration. Support of the Arab Delegation is said to be diminishing, but the "National Party" actively pushes its programme. It aims at the recognition of Palestine as part of the

Arab Confederation, and at Pan-Arab unity. It opposes all claims of the Zionists as foreigners, and desires the establishment of a truly national Government—to replace the present Constitution—as alone compatible with British pledges.

Those who require instruction regarding Jewish communities, the Zionist organization, and its offshoots, will find copious information, and the volume is supplemented by four useful appendices. An interesting chapter deals with "Frontiers and Neighbours." In Trans-Jordania, which is not a bed of roses, the rule of our good friend the Emir Abdullah is not yet very firmly established, though he maintains good relations with many Bedouin tribes. His task is not an easy one. Mr. Graves mentions a suggestion that we might do worse than make him ruler of Palestine; but his ambitions by no means lie in that direction. It is most desirable that his Defence Force should remain under British officers.

The British Administration is doing admirable work. Sir Herbert Samuel, of whose ability, zeal, tact, and driving power there is no question, is ably supported in all departments, which, without exception, call for reorganization.

Most readers will turn with particular interest to the chapter which deals with our present and future policy. When all is said, Britain's course is clear, and it is one to which Mr. Graves points. Our interests coincide with the real interests of the people. It is our duty to hold on and carry out the Mandate given by the Allies and their associates. To begin with the interests of Palestine. Were we to abandon it, as some desire, it would inevitably become a prey to anarchy, and would be promptly occupied by another Power. The material advantages which British rule will bring are certain. If "we have already accomplished more in five years than the Turks did in 500," the country is bound to recover its lost prosperity—for example, by increased irrigation through hydro-electric power, chiefly from the Jordan, in now arid areas where few or no springs exist. The declared intention of the British Government is to foster the establishment of a full measure of self-government; though recent experience indicates that larger control in administration, and in the Legislative Council, can hardly be given until the people have gained more experience in the art of government. It is reasonable to expect that animosities will die down when it is realized more fully that we have a firm as well as impartial policy. Moslems and Jews have lived amicably together, here as well as elsewhere, in the past. The Balfour Declaration must be carried out in the modified and limited interpretation which Zionists now accept. While encouragement must be given to Jews to establish educational and social institutions, they cannot be allowed to prejudice other communities, or to aim at predominance. Scattered as they are all over the world,

they may look to a new Palestine as their spiritual home, and a certain number may with advantage migrate there, though the volume of immigration will, of course, be determined by the economic capacity of the country to absorb newcomers; and at present this is very limited. As Sir Herbert Samuel has explained to Arab notables, Britain will never allow Jews to dominate a non-Jewish majority. We have to encourage the moderate element, who may indulge in the dream that they may some day "play the part of intermediary and perhaps mediator between East and West."

With regard to British interests, it has been our destiny to obtain, and we must retain in Palestine a better hinterland for our forces on the Suez Canal zone—"the spinal cord of the Empire." As long as this vital point in our communications is likely to be threatened, we must see to it that our inflence is not endangered. It is essential that we should guard this "bridgehead" of the Canal, which, as a French paper has put it, is one of the key-points on the line of communication between East and West. Moreover, it is one of the principal stations of our air line to the East.

Mr. Graves sees clearly that these strategic considerations alone are sufficient to indicate the policy which we must firmly pursue. The peaceful development of the country can alone bring prosperity and increased population. Whatever the present difficulties, if we hold the balance fairly between the different races, there seems no reason why our administration of the Mandate should not stand the test.

R. L. N. M.

AWAKENING PALESTINE. By various Authors. Edited by Leon Simon and Leonard Stein. London: John Murray. 7s. 6d. net.

This is a handy compilation of articles describing Palestine and the present Return of the Jews from a Zionist standpoint, expressed by Zionists or others who see them as they would wish to be seen.

Unpleasant subjects are glossed over, we have nothing of friction between orthodox and other Jews, unemployment amongst Jews, failures, of whether the old Jewish colonies are really self-supporting, or money forthcoming for the Rutenberg schemes, of when we may expect completion of his larger schemes.

Dr. Eder refers to some of the Jewish societies formed, but his allusion to their "abstention from class war" is significant, and it is poor comfort to be told that "the real trend of the Labour parties in Palestine can be judged . . . not from their theoretical programmes, but from their practical activities." This is equivalent to asserting that a live shell is not dangerous unless it is exploded. The reader at once asks whether these "theoretical programmes" have come from Russia.

All these are points on which the British taxpayer and voter wishes to be informed whilst carrying out his mandatory control of the immigration tap—the flow from which will, as shown in this book, eventually be greater than the present Palestinian population, and will enable the newcomers to fashion the State at will. The immediate establishment of the Jewish State has failed; the British taxpayer now has it in his power to establish it gradually, without ousting present citizens from their private holdings. There is spare room, and he is fully entitled to dispose of his conquest in this way, but he wants to know what he is doing, and this book would be of more value to him if it faced facts fully, which is a pity, as it is otherwise a readable and excellent handbook.

A note of optimism pervades the articles. They commence with an assertion by Sir A. Mond of Jewish tenacity of purpose in rebuilding Palestine, which conservative estimates show "as capable of supporting 3,000,000, if not considerably more," and where "the Jewish National Home is not a question of whether there are more Jews or Arabs . . . at a given moment." It is doubtful, however, whether the present 700,000 Arabs can be expected to regard the prospect with like equanimity!

The glamour of pioneering has appealed to some of the writers, but it remains to be proved that the Jews can produce a real peasant agriculturist type as distinct from the horticulturist of garden cities; pious hopes for this are many, but real achievements are few.

The chapters on Hebrew Education, Physical Features, Immigration, Labour, Economics, Industrial Development, Land Settlement, and Self-Government, are of great interest. The embodiment of the text of the Mandate and of the Rutenberg Concession enables us to refresh our memory regarding our responsibilities "for safeguarding the Civil-Religious rights of all the inhabitants," as well as regarding the extent of the concession to a company to be formed by September 21, 1923.

E. W. C.

To the Alps of Chinese Tibet. By J. W. Gregory, D.Sc., F.R.S., and C. J. Gregory, B.Sc. Seeley, Service and Co. 25s. net.

The record of Professor Gregory as a traveller, an author, and an authority on geology, ensures the book under review being both interesting and instructive. The authors and publishers are alike to be congratulated on a notable addition to the bibliography of Yünnan.

The book is well arranged, clearly printed and annotated, and is furnished with a good general map of the country traversed and the route followed by the authors. There are, besides, several clear diagrams to illustrate geological and ethnological arguments, and a

number of photographs (of unequal merit) of people and places. The æsthetic merit of the work is enhanced by appropriate poetical headings to the chapters. Eight of these headings are translations from Chinese poetry, in some cases of great antiquity. The style of the narrative is simple and direct and, here and there, not devoid of humour; and the writers have the knack, by skilful word-painting, of presenting a very clear mental picture of the scenes and incidents they describe. To those, especially, who have travelled in Yünnan, a perusal of these pages will evoke many pleasant memories of that fascinating region. They will see again the great parallel ranges and the snow patches peeping out through rifts in the swirling mists; rushing rivers; blue lakes nestling amid the hills; sunlit plains; the stupendous turbans of the ladies of Shan-land; the wild Lisu with his cross-bow, reminiscent of William Tell; the uncouth, unwashed Tibetan and his fierce mastiffs; the industrious Minchia husbandman flailing his grain. They will see, once more, the crowded markets with their chaffering throngs of diverse races; and the patient buffaloes ploughing the flooded rice fields, knee-deep in mud and water. They will hear again the gongs that guide the gaily-decorated mule caravans; the soughing of the wind in the fir tops; the "thump, thump" of the rice huskers, wielded by sturdy feminine arms, or automatically worked by water power; the droning chant of monk and acolyte in dimly-lighted, incense-scented Buddhist temples; and the din that announces the presence of a school where all the little scholars are learning their lessons, each, independently, at the top of his voice. Above all they will recall to mind the unspeakable difficulties of the road; here a sea of slippery, parallel, clay ridges between which the plodding pack-beasts flounder, at every step, into troughs of tenacious mud and water; there a toilsome ascent up a steeply-graded roadway paved with great blocks of stone set at all sorts of angles; a kind of road that, as the Chinese proverb says, is "good for ten years, bad for ten thousand." Much more might be said, but time and space forbid. There is hardly any aspect of the local life that the authors do not touch on. Civil administration, education, religion, Chinese etiquette, agriculture, mining, village life and industries, geographical, geological, and ethnological questions all find a place in these pages. A tribute is paid to the work of the Christian missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic (somewhat qualified, perhaps, as regards the former). The travellers were evidently impressed with the vitality of the Chinese character and the influence thereon of the Chinese system of education. They came across but little evidence of poppy cultivation. Formerly opium was one of the main products of Yünnan.

The absence, in a work so largely devoted to geological considerations, of mention of coal is remarkable. Coal is found cropping out

on the surface in many parts of Yünnan, more especially in Eastern Yünnan.

The object of the journey, as stated in the Preface, was to compare the physical history of parts of East Africa with that of South-Eastern Asia. The book, therefore, is, first and foremost, a contribution to scientific knowledge and, more especially, geological knowledge. The opening chapter deals with various problems and theories relating to the successive earth-convulsions which have brought about the existing arrangement of the mountain masses and river valleys, and the remote origins of the fauna and flora of the region; and the last sets forth the geographical (or rather geological) conclusions arrived at by the authors, as the result of their investigations. The penultimate chapter deals with the people of Chinese Tibet and its borderlands, and the remainder of the book is occupied with the story of the authors' journey through North-Western Yünnan and back. Starting from Bhamo the travellers proceeded by the well-trodden main Burma-Yünnan-fu trade route as far as Pan-Chiao (a little beyond Yung Chang). Here they struck off north by a side-track, crossed the Mekong by the Fei-lung bridge and travelled *via* Yun-lung and Chien Chuan to Li-Chiang. After a brief halt there they moved on to Wei-hsi and A-tun-tzu, making a détour in the mountains to the west of the Mekong valley, from Tsedrong to Pe-ha-lo (near the Salween) and back to the Mekong at Yang-tsa. In the neighbourhood of A-tun-tzu a few days were spent in excursions to neighbouring high mountains and passes. Here they were among snowclad peaks and glaciers. Bad weather interfered with climbing. The return journey was by a mountain route on the Mekong-Yangtze divide, as far as Chi-tsung, and thence down the right bank of the latter river to Lan Shui Ko and so back *via* Li-Chiang, Ho-ching and Ta-li to Hsia Kuan, whence they returned to Bhamo by the main well-known trade route. It will thus be seen that the travellers covered but little new ground. The value of the journey lies rather in their scientific investigations. The journey was carried out, for the most part, in the rainy season, and the narrative is a record of most arduous and sustained exertion, often under circumstances of extreme discomfort. The travellers were, assuredly, somewhat exacting taskmasters to their muleteers, porters, and escorts.

Where there is so much to commend in this book, it seems almost hypercritical to draw attention to certain minor slips and inaccuracies.

On page 30 Sir John Jordan is described as then (*i.e.*, 1922) "British ambassador" at Peking. The British (and other) diplomatic missions in China have only the status of legations (not embassies); Sir John Jordan, moreover, retired from the service in

August, 1920. The British Minister in Peking, in 1922 (up to September of that year), was Sir Beilby Alston.

In describing a visit from a Chinese (p. 43) it is remarked that the chief "instinctively *doffed his topee*, whereupon the newcomer untied the ribbons beneath his chin which secured the great straw hat, slipped it off and lifted the close-fitting cap underneath." According to the old-fashioned Chinese etiquette it was a mark of discourtesy to take off one's hat during a formal visit, unless specially invited to do so by one's host.

The Commissioner of Customs at Teng-Yüeh is (p. 45) styled the "Chief Commissioner of Customs." The former is the correct title. The road to the north from Yun-lung, up the Lo-ma-ho (p. 77), understood by the authors to be previously unvisited by Europeans, had, in fact, been travelled over by the present writer in the spring of 1914.

The remark of the Yun-lung school teacher (p. 89) that "since the Revolution the people had become more peaceable and law-abiding" is a surprising one, and hardly borne out by facts.

The mountain shown in the frontispiece should be spelt "*pai* ma shan" (white horse mountain) not "*pei* ma shan" (north horse mountain), and Shih-ku (p. 134) means "stone drum," not the "place of the stone drum." "Lung wang miao" (p. 116) means "Dragon Prince temple" (not Black Dragon temple).

The remarks (p. 119) on the handicap imposed on the Protestant missions by their late entry into the field, two and a half centuries after the Jesuits began their work in China, seem rather to imply that the entry of the Jesuits into Macao in 1552 marked the very beginning of Christian missionary effort in Cathay. That is, however, by no means the case. The Nestorian Church commenced operations in China in the seventh century A.D. In the middle of the thirteenth century some Franciscan monks made their way to Mongolia, and a few decades later Friar John of Monte Corvino was duly recognized by the Pope and appointed Archbishop of Cambaluc (Peking), and missionary work, under the favour of the reigning Mongol emperor, took root in widely separated regions of China, viz., Chih-li, Kiang-Su and Fu-Kien.

The origin of the strong anti-foreign feeling which culminated in the Boxer rising of 1900 is laid (p. 123) at the door of the early Protestant missionaries, who, on p. 122, are accused of "fanaticism and ignorant intolerance." Without disputing this allegation, it is at least arguable that political causes, such as the competitive land-grabbing tendencies of the Western Powers, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, had a large share in arousing anti-foreign sentiment.

Referring to the mention on p. 233 of alluvial gold-mining, it

may be remarked that in many places in this auriferous region of the Upper Yangtze and its tributaries, there is a considerable amount of gold washing by individuals content to make infinitesimal profit, compared with the effort expended. The writer remembers two such gold washers intruding, one winter's evening in 1904, into his room at the inn at Li-Chiang and offering for sale two small leather bags of gold dust obtained from the Yangtze valley near by.

The charge of inaccuracy in describing the big native Burmese cheroots as white in colour (p. 287) is ill-founded. The outer covering is fine husk and very nearly white.

The authors' prognostication of the ultimate Sinesization (a somewhat cumbrous term) of Upper Burma is probably unlikely to be realized. The process was certainly taking place by "peaceful penetration" so long as the great northern triangle of Upper Burma remained "unadministered territory." It was mainly to guard against this danger that the Government of India eventually decided, in 1913, to bring this territory, now the district of Putao, under direct administration and control.

The statement on p. 312 that the Mekong "flows across Tonkin" is a curious slip. It does not, of course, pass within a hundred miles of the Tonkin border (as the present writer has good cause to remember from his journey by "pirogue," in the spring of 1900, from Dien Bien Phu, near the western edge of Tonkin, to Pak-U and Luang Prabang, on the Mekong). After leaving Yünnan the Mekong, for about 100 miles, forms the march between French and British territory, viz., between the Laos Province of French Indo-China and the Southern Shan States of Burma. It then flows down between French and Siamese territory (save where it passes through the "kingdom" of Luang Prabang, now wholly under France) till it reaches Cambodia, through which, and Cochin China, it passes to the South China Sea.

Many other points might be commented on, but sufficient has perhaps been said to indicate that this book ranges over a wide variety of subjects, and that besides the purely technical questions, over which savants may argue, there is abundant matter to interest the general reader.

M. E. W.

PERSIAN WOMEN AND THEIR WAYS. By Mrs. Colliver Rice.

This book, written by a woman and chiefly about women, is a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with Persia. Travellers in the Land of the Lion and the Sun have usually been men, and, as such, could not come into contact with the women of the country. Mrs. Colliver Rice, with unusual powers of observation and sympathy and a gift of expression, takes her readers into the recesses of the Anderûn, and shows how the tenets of Mohammedanism

bar all progress to the mothers and wives of Persia. "The veil, seclusion, ignorance, and all that results from these, are the heritage of womanhood from Islam" is her dictum, and she explains how polygamy, irregularities, child marriage, and the prevalence of divorce, make a healthy home life impossible.

A wife may be cast adrift by her husband without any warning. He may have tired of her and wished to wed a younger woman, or she may have incurred his anger by presenting him with a daughter instead of the desired son. Her position is clearly indicated in the saying, "Woman is a calamity, but no house can be without her!"

Education is denied her, and it is an unusual accomplishment for a woman to read or write. The saying goes: "A woman who is taught to write is like a serpent that is given poison to drink!"

Though not forbidden to go to the Mosques, where they sit behind a screen, yet the women are told that it is better to pray at home, and thus get little religious teaching. There is no social intercourse of any kind between the sexes, wives being looked upon as inferior beings, born to submit themselves to their husbands in all things, and often not being allowed to leave the house without permission.

Mrs. Rice gives one case in which a man did to death his luckless child-wife and escaped scot-free because, as the Persians said, "she was his property, and he could use her as he pleased."

The infant mortality in Persia is very great, owing chiefly to the ignorance of the mothers, and illness of all kinds is rife owing to lack of medical knowledge.

But the British and American hospitals do fine work, and the mission schools are becoming more and more largely attended by Persian girls. As the civilization of a nation depends upon the status of its mothers and wives, Persia will never be able to rise until the women are emancipated.

Mrs. Rice gives vivid descriptions of both town and country life, and an immense amount of information concerning the religious beliefs, the manners and customs and superstitions of Iran. She ends her book with an attempt to convey to her readers something of the fascination that the Land of the Lion and the Sun has for those who have drunk its lifegiving air, have traversed its great plains, and have seen the glory of the dawn and sunset on its mountain ranges.

E. S.

INDIA OF TO-DAY. Vol. II.: The Defence of India. By "Arthur Vincent." Published by Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Pp. v+95, with map. 3s. net.

The educative value of this volume to the new rulers of India must at once strike the reader, and one can but hope that it may be carefully studied by those who now aspire to succeed in governing

by what they call democratic methods, where, as they allege, an Imperial administration has failed.

To the military student also the work will be of value as furnishing several starting-points for the prosecution of detailed study on more particular lines.

The question of the Defence of India is divided into two main parts—Maritime and Land Frontiers, the latter being subdivided into what may be called Eastern and Western for the sake of brevity.

As regards Maritime Defence, Mr. Vincent seeks to stimulate the creation of an Indian Navy, which at first would protect only the ports and coasts of India, but gradually developing so as to undertake the protection of the trade routes which serve India in particular by branching off at various points from the main lines of seaborne traffic of the world; and finally he visualizes a "fleet unit," maintained and manned by India, which could share in the responsibilities of the Imperial Navy. Several, probably many, generations must pass away before this vision can be fulfilled. Its realization will impose upon India a far heavier burden in men, money, and materials than was ever contemplated by the Imperial Government, and it is probable that those to whom its attainment is suggested will rather shrink from the burden.

As regards the Defence of Land Frontiers, the greater portion (some two-thirds) of the whole book is devoted to the North-West Frontier and the menace of Russia. The problems are clearly stated, and the writer plumps for a "forward" policy which would place troops on the Durand Line in several places, so as to dominate the intermediate tribal territory and to deny the entrances of the western routes to any possible invader. This, again, is a solution from which the rulers of India in the past have shrunk, chiefly on the grounds of expense.

The book ends with a very pertinent protest against the inaccuracy of criticizing the cost of defence by stating it as a percentage of the Central Budget, without reckoning in the large Provincial Budgets, by the inclusion of which the rate is reduced from 59 to 30 per cent.

The sketch-map deals with the Western and North-Western Frontier only, and might have been clearer.

The volume is dedicated to the present Chief of the General Staff in India, whose initials are incorrectly printed. Among minor errors it may be mentioned that the headquarters of the Punjab Frontier Force were never at Kohat, but at Abbottabad; Peshawar was never a "Piffer" station, though it for a short time was included in the P.F. District, which was constituted in 1900; and it was on the abolition of the Force in 1903 that its units became available for service everywhere.

R. G. E.

DATES AND DATE CULTIVATION IN THE 'IRAQ. By V. H. W. Dowson, B.A., Agricultural Directorate of 'Iraq.

With the completion of Part III. of this Memoir, Mr. Dowson has placed within the reach of all interested in the date-palm what really amounts to a textbook on the cultivation of this veritable tree of life, and one that no one who is interested in the cultivation of dates can afford to be without. Part III. deals with the several varieties of date-palms growing on the Shatt Al Arab, and is provided with the same excellent series of maps and photographs that characterize the earlier Memoirs, and add so tremendously to their value.

Though I have owned date-gardens for many years, I have never before been able to obtain the great bulk of the information to be obtained in a convenient form in these Memoirs, and from a practical date-growing point of view I would especially commend Part II., which deals more especially with the cultivation of the palm.

When all is said and done, however, the difficulties of a cultivator of dates is by no means ended when he has mastered their cultivation. As in this country, so in 'Iraq, agriculture is mixed up with law and politics, which through the ages have, in conjunction with natural peculiarities, combined to produce a state of things calculated to knock all the romance out of the cultivation of this wonderful tree, and most of the profit, even if it leave the owner with his reason. Think of properties whose boundaries can in many cases never be clearly or permanently defined; of a water-supply dependent upon canals that may silt up, or widen out till more water passes through them, almost, than through the old drained river-bed; of taxes, that may have been fixed at a definite figure years back when the water-supply was plentiful and a garden in full bearing, having to be paid after the water-supply has dwindled to nothing and the trees are all old or dead. The bringing of land into cultivation again is a long and very expensive process, and a system known as Taba is best generally employed, but this means getting no return at all for a great number of years; and where, through the action of the old Turkish land laws, there are several different owners of one property, each entitled to an undivided share, not always of the same amount, the situation can be more easily imagined than dealt with. Added to all this, native labour and native supervision are essential, and I very much doubt if the latter could be dispensed with even by a resident proprietor.

Most suitable positions are liable to flooding and drought, and young trees recently planted are delicate things, easily killed by drought, and, until their roots are well established, easily destroyed by flood. From what I hear it would have been well if some of the very optimistic cotton enthusiasts had realized some of these facts;

and in their case the labour question will, I believe, prove to be a difficult nut to crack, and my own experience compels me to utter a word of warning to cultivators of all land in 'Iraq—namely, that Arab mentality and morality is based upon sentiment and emotion, and to the Occidental mind, bound to its ideas of justice and law, if not understood, will appear in many instances to spell injustice and partiality, and in such cases no assistance must be expected, and I think, on the whole, rightly, from our own authorities, at any rate in time to save a critical situation. Date cultivation is a fascinating but not too profitable experiment in my experience—at least, for a non-resident proprietor—but the information obtained in Mr. Dowson's Memoirs will be of valuable assistance to anyone contemplating such experiment.

S. F. B. L.

OBITUARY

COLONEL ALGERNON DURAND, C.B.

COLONEL ALGERNON GEORGE ARNOLD DURAND, C.B., C.I.E., was the third distinguished son of a distinguished father, General Sir Henry Marion Durand, R.E., whose death from an accident on the Indian frontier in 1871 is, even now, one of the best-remembered tales of Indian frontier tragedy. Algernon Durand's two brothers, Sir Edward and Sir Mortimer, have both taken an active interest in Central Asian affairs, so that the family name has long been famous not only in India but in countries far beyond the Indus. Algernon (better known among his friends as Algy) was ever a keen soldier, although much of his service was spent on staff duty. He was military secretary to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, and it was then that he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. T. C. Bruce and niece of Lord Elgin. It will be remembered that the private secretary, Babington Smith, married Lady Elizabeth the Viceroy's daughter about the same time, and it is a curious coincidence that we should have to deplore the death of Algernon Durand so soon after that of Sir Henry Babington Smith.

Algernon Durand found his *métier* as soldier when he was appointed to command the troops in the brilliant little Hunza Nagar campaign in 1891, when he was wounded. He was then district agent at Gilgit. His name is perhaps best known to the public as the author of a much read book, "The Making of a Frontier," which is just a thrilling tale of happenings in that remote corner of the Empire at that time. He possessed the family gift of writing a clear and graphic account of his experiences, and it may be doubted whether any book written since is of greater value in describing the singularly wild nature of the country and people with whom he had to deal. His military bearing and fine presence well fitted him for the position he held at Court as Gentleman-at-Arms.

Colonel Durand was one of the earliest members of the Central Asian Society, and was one of the members of the first Council, and though he had later to give this up, he never ceased to take an interest in the welfare of the Society.

T. H. H.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. C. BAILWARD

On November 1, 1923, General Bailward was seen in perfect health at the meeting of the Society's Dinner Club. When *The Times* of 12th November announced that he had passed away on the 9th, few

if any of the members of the Society were prepared for such intelligence. An intimate friend wrote to me afterwards and said that the first symptoms of illness were evinced on Sunday, 4th November, and that from the first there was little hope of recovery. Bearing in mind his activities as traveller and sportsman, it may well be felt that an end which involved no lingering was the one which he himself would welcome. The very large attendance at his Memorial Service was in itself a tribute to the value set on his friendship. A brother-officer of the Royal Artillery, writing, characterized him as "a fine fellow and a great favourite."

General Bailward entered the Royal Artillery in 1874, and retired in 1905. Away here in the Midlands, records of War Services are not at my command, and *Who's Who* found no favour in the sight of one for whom "I" was, if not a dead, at least a very dormant letter. He served in the South African War, and did some work in France during the Great War. Very soon after his retirement (in 1906) he joined the C.A.S., and between that year and 1923, I take it, most of his travelling was done. He talked little and wrote less about his travels, and it is only because of casual allusions that I, during a friendship of the last twenty-two or twenty-three years, have learnt that his travels took him to Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia. When he returned last April from "somewhere" in the East, he just mentioned that he had travelled by motor-car from Baghdad to Aleppo. I at once said: "We must have that for the C.A.S. *Journal*." It is almost the only time that I can remember seeing General Bailward in print. I have one other specimen before me, and that was drawn from him by his very keen interest in certain successful operations carried out last spring in Kurdistan. Both he and I received letters from friends who took part in these operations, and we could not but feel regret that for political reasons our Government suppressed all notice of them. What little is known to the public may be read in the *Morning Post* of June 23, 1923.

General Bailward was for eighteen years a member of this Society, and for several years served on the Council. He took a thorough interest in all the Society's works. I am certain that all those who knew him and enjoyed his friendship will look back upon his memory with a very high sense of regard for him, and whether at our Council table, our lectures, or our dinners, we shall miss him.

A. C. YATE.

BECKBURY HALL,
SHIFNAL,
November 30, 1923.

NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Lord Curzon for an autograph copy of "Tales of Travel"; Sir Thomas Holdich for "India" and "Political Frontiers and Boundary Making"; Mr. Baddeley for "The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus" and "Russia in the Eighties"; Mr. Skrine for "The Expansion of Russia"; Major Wilberforce Bell for "The History of Khatiawad"; Mr. Simpson Carson for "The World as Seen by Me"; Colonel Yate for "Travel Memories"; Major Bentinck for "The Assyrian Settlement," by Dr. W. A. Wigram, D.D., Mr. Michell for his Egyptian and Coptic Calendars, and Mr. Hamilton for "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse," by A. Poidebard.

The following books have been received for review:

"Mystery Rivers of Tibet," by Captain F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S. (Seeley, Service and Co. 21s.)

"To the Alps of Chinese Tibet," by J. W. Gregory and C. J. Gregory. (Seeley, Service and Co. 25s.)

"Arab Conquests in Central Asia," by H. R. Gibb. (Royal Asiatic Society. 8s. 6d.)

"Persian Literature," by R. Levy. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

"Persian Women and their Ways," by Mrs. P. Colliver Rice. (Seeley, Service and Co. 21s.)

"The Cradle of Mankind," by W. A. and E. T. A. Wigram. (A. and C. Black, Ltd. Second Edition. 15s.)

"The Truth about Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria," by J. de V. Loder. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

"Arab Asia: A Geography of Syria, Palestine, 'Iraq, and Arabia," by L. Paton Dana. (Beyrout: American University Press. 3s. 6d.)

"Dates and Date Cultivation of the 'Iraq" (Part III.), by H. V. V. Dowson. (Heffer and Sons. 10s.)

"History of the Campaign in Mesopotamia," Vol. I., by Brigadier-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I. (H.M. Stationery Office. 15s.)

"A Short History of the Near East," by W. Stears Davis, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan, Ltd. 14s.)

"The Defence of India," by "Arthur Vincent." (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 3s.)

"Islam at the Cross Roads," by De L. O'Leary, D.D. (T. and T. Clark. 6s. 6d.)
"Unconquered Abyssinia," by Charles F. Rey, F.R.G.S. (Seeley, Service and Co. 21s.)
"Awakening Palestine," by L. Simon and L. Stein. (John Murray. 7s. 6d.)

By purchase:

Doughty's "Arabia" (2nd edition). "Arabia Infelix," "Pan-Islam," and the "Land of Uz," by G. Wyman Bury.
Report on the 'Iraq Administration, 1920-22.
"The Heart of Asia." Skrine and Ross.

To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise. By E. B. Soane. John Murray, 1912.

The above book is now out of print, and practically unobtainable. If sufficient support is forthcoming, the publishers are prepared to bring out a new edition, with a short Life of Major Soane and new illustrations. The price of the book would be 18s. Members of this Society who are prepared to purchase a copy are requested to send in their names to the Joint Hon. Sec., G. Stephenson, Esq., 74, Grosvenor Street, W.

Members are asked to communicate changes of address as soon as possible; if cards and *Journals* are not received, the Secretary would be grateful if notice could be sent to the Society's office, 74, Grosvenor Street, W.

Members only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal*.

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Crane, Charles R.
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Davidson, N. G.
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Graham, Captain A. Crosland.
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Hamdi Bey Babin.
Headley, Lord.
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Holt, Mrs.
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Lammie, George, Royal Scots Fusiliers.
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Mather, N. F. H., Malay Civil Service.
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Read, A., M.B.E.
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Sutton, Eric.
Vincent, Sir William, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
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Whitwell, Mrs.
Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel the Right Hon. Leslie, C.M.G., D.S.O.
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Wood, Lieut.-Colonel H.
Woodman, G. S., F.R.C.S. (Edin)
Wratislaw, A. C., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XI.

1924

PART II.

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

NOTICES

FATHER POIDEBARD, whose book "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse" was reviewed in the January *Journal* and is the subject of an article in this number, will lecture to the Society on Tuesday, April 8, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W.

Library.—The Council wish to thank the following members for their valuable gifts of books to the Library: Sir Edward Penton for Yule's "Marco Polo"; Mr. W. R. Ward for "Six Months in Mecca" and "My Journey to Medina," by F. T. Keane; Mr. Moon for Mill's "History of British India," Orme's "History of the Indostan," Du Halde's "China," Walton's "China and the Present Crisis," Sir W. Lee-Warner's "Protected Princes of India," the "Life of Abdur Rahman," edited by Mir Munshi, Chang Chih-Tung's "China's Only Hope," A. J. Little's "Through the Yang-Tse Gorges"; Father Poidebard for "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse"; and Mr. D. S. Margoulieth for his papers "The Sense of the Word Khalifa" and "The Khalifate Historically Reviewed."

The following books have been sent in for review:

"Turkey, the Great Powers and the Baghdad Railway," by E. M. Earle, Ph.D. Macmillan and Co., New York. 10s. 6d. net.

"Survey of the Iraq Fauna," made by members of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1919. Bombay Natural History Society. Rs. 7.5.

"Servant of Sahibs," by Rassul Gulwan, with an introduction by Sir F. Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 9s. net.

"The Powers and the Turk," by Sir George Greenwood. Messrs. Cecil Palmer, Ltd. 3s. 6d.

"The Three Dervishes and Other Persian Tales," by R. Levy, M.A., Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. Cloth 2s., leather 3s. 6d.

Journal.—Cases can be made to hold eight numbers of the *Journal*, in cloth with cord to hold each part, by the bookbinding department of Mudie's Library, 30-34, New Oxford Street, W.C. 1, price 4s. 7d. They can also be ordered through the Secretary, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

Journals can be bound in buckram by the same firm at a cost of 5s 6d. (eight parts), or in standard red buckram binding by Messrs. A. G. Crockett and Sons, 119, Gipsy Road, West Norwood, S.E., at a slightly higher price.

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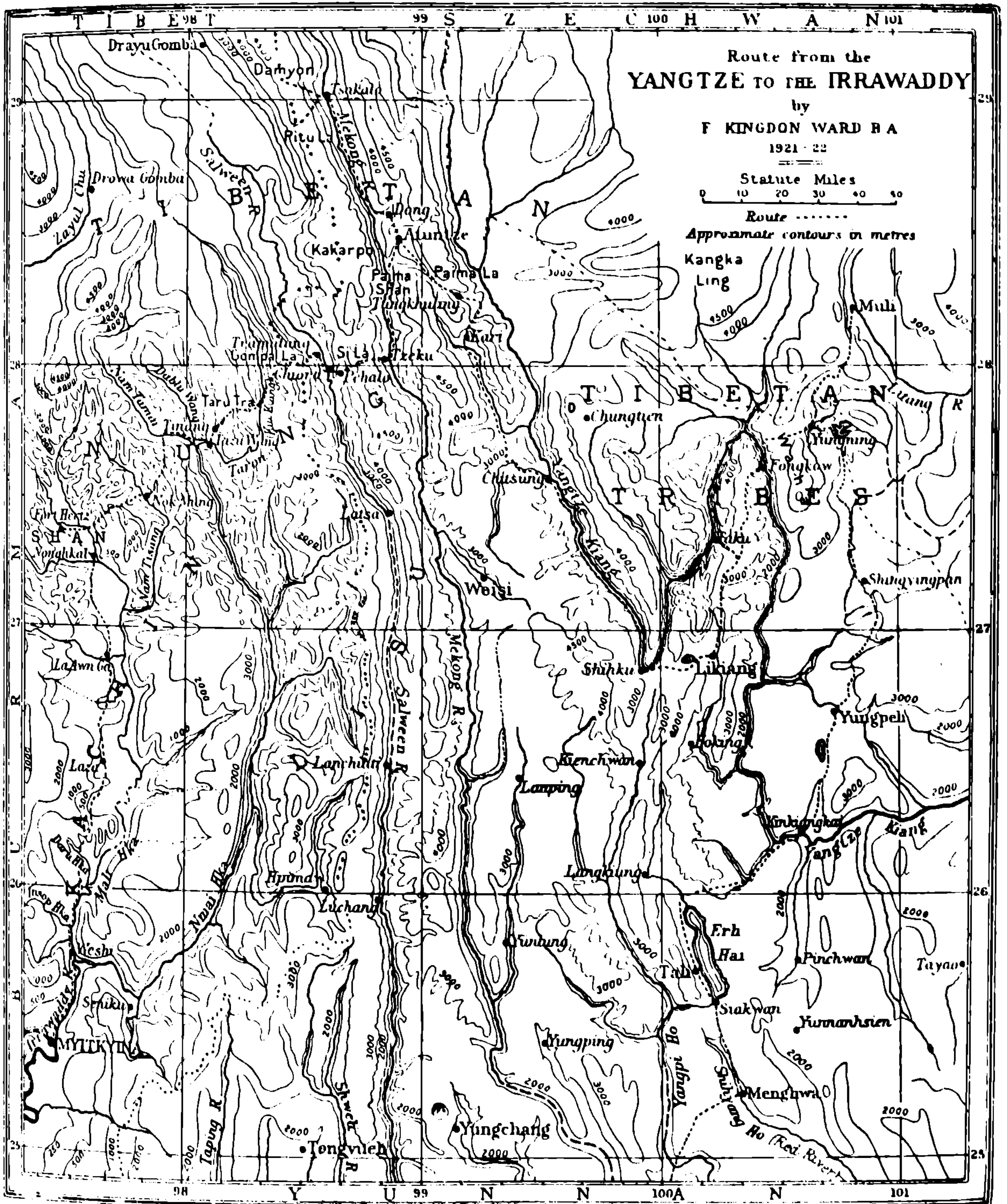

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YUNNAN AND EASTERN TIBET

By Captain F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S.

A meeting of the Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on December 13, 1923. In the absence of Sir Maurice de Bunsen, the chair was taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have very much pleasure in introducing to you Captain F. Kingdon Ward. He is a gentleman who, whenever you meet him, is either just coming back from Eastern Tibet or just going there. In the present case he is both; he has just come back and is just going out again. The passion of his life is the collection of new plants; he is a trained botanist, and has spent much of his life on the borders of Western Tibet, Burma, and Eastern Tibet. It is a remarkably interesting country from a great many points of view—botanical, geographical, and ethnographical amongst others. He has therefore always something of particular interest to tell us, and I guarantee to you that he will give us a remarkably interesting address this evening. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We all of us love flowers. That may perhaps seem a rather inadequate reason for anyone spending the best years of his life looking for them in the back-streets of Asia; but at the same time it will bear examination. We have grown so accustomed to having trees and flowers all round us that we regard them very much as part of the established order of things—in fact, we regard them as part of England. Very common plants like the chrysanthemum, fuchsia, tropæolum, and rhododendron, or trees like the larch, plane, and horse-chestnut, seem to us to be peculiarly English; but they are all foreigners, having been introduced from various parts of the world. I need not say anything about plants of economic as opposed to those of æsthetic interest, because wheat itself is an alien, and, of course, so are the potato, tomato, and many other extremely common plants. In fact, it is difficult to imagine what this country would look like if we had had no foreign plant introductions. Having more or less, I hope, justified my profession, I will now pass on to the subject of my lecture, which I see on the card is really Yunnan and Tibet. Yunnan has been called the link between India and China. I am afraid we shall find it is rather a missing link, but nevertheless it is from that point of view, as a link between Eastern

China and India, that we shall regard it. (*Showing slides.*) The map shows the relative positions of India, Burma, China, and Tibet. The red square is approximately 140 miles along each side; it is therefore roughly the size of England and Wales. The right-hand half of that square is in Yunnan, the bottom left-hand corner is in Burma, and the top left-hand corner is in Eastern Tibet. So that the red square is situated where three empires meet; in that respect it is one up on a very familiar place—Leicester Square. The Yangtze is the great river of China. Anybody going into the heart of China would follow up that river; but if you follow it up as far as you possibly can it will not take you to India, because, as you see, when you get far enough west it turns up to the north. Instead of getting to India, if you follow up that Yangtze River you come up against a great crumpled belt of the earth's crust, so monstrous and so deformed that it has trapped inside itself four of the great rivers of Asia—namely, the Yangtze, Mekong, Salween, and Irrawaddy. Those rivers rise many hundreds of miles apart, and flow to different oceans—in one case to the Pacific, in another to the South China Sea, and two of them to the Bay of Bengal. Hence, except at this one point, these rivers have nothing to do with each other. They got caught in this trap in the earth's crust, and for one brief glorious hour they come down jammed up against one another between two of the mightiest uplifts in the world. (*Slide.*) The second map shows the red square enlarged somewhat, and the red line shows the route. The problem is to cross direct overland from China to India, and, as you will see from the map, you cannot do that except by crossing this belt. The great difficulties, perhaps, are the Irrawaddy jungle on the left of the map, and a matter to which I shall refer presently on the right of the map. What I would particularly draw your attention to on this map is the great contrast between the very broken country on the Irrawaddy, as compared with the more continuous high plateau country to the right. This high plateau country is, of course, more lofty than the Irrawaddy jungle, but it is very much easier to traverse. I will first take you on a very brief journey from Burma across Yunnan, so as to get right away to the east of this river belt, and examine its possibilities. (*Slide.*) Travel in South-Eastern Asia is familiar to all of you; we travel by mule transport, crossing the various rivers either by wading them, by bridges, or by ferries. (*Various slides.*) The bridges are sometimes good chain suspension bridges, but sometimes of a different kind and quite unsuitable for crossing by mules. Sometimes in getting an animal across a river by means of the rope bridge he gets stuck halfway, and it is a difficult and dangerous task for someone to go out and release him. At night one either pitches a camp or stops in a school, temple, or village inn. One finds the schools equipped in every way, but deserted because there is no

schoolmaster; and the temples are in a dilapidated condition and with no priests. Open-air markets are frequent. A European creates a great sensation when he appears at one of these, and if he understands the language it is amusing to listen to the remarks made on his personal appearance. "Look at his beard," I heard someone say; "he must be at least sixty." (Laughter.) Cities in China are all very much alike; you just find a huddled maze of grey roofs, with here and there a temple or pagoda standing up. They are very bright in spring, when you get the pear-trees in full bloom. The streets are very fine. They have these splendid old gateways which are somewhat dilapidated. The Tibetan villages are very much less picturesque; generally they have flat mud roofs like this, and the people thresh their corn with flails, and winnow it on those roofs, and spread things out to dry there. The houses often leak badly in wet weather. The monasteries in Eastern Tibet are extremely picturesque; you sometimes get a monastery perched on a rocky island in the middle of a sacred lake. After five or six weeks' marching we came to the first monastery. This was in a state independent both of China and Lhasa, and I sent word ahead to the king and asked permission to reside six months at the monastery to do my plant collecting. The caravan passed over the hill, and we saw the town below us, with this great fortress palace belonging to the king. We came down and found the walls and roofs of the monastery lined with monks. They made no noise at all, and it was rather an ordeal riding through these narrow streets and courtyards with all these monks staring at you in gloomy silence. However, they were not hostile. The king's prime minister came to see me with a retinue. He made a little speech, and said he was very pleased for me to come, and they would do everything they could to help me. But he warned me they were a very poor people and it was a very poor country; so I must not expect very much. What they could do they would. This is the prime minister. (*Showing slide.*) He told me the king was ill, would I go and see him and try to cure him? I said I would do so on the following day, and I collected some presents—some electric torches, alarm clocks, and so on—and sent them along in return for those that had been given to me. In the evening the prime minister called on me, this time without his retinue; he suggested certain fiscal reforms. I gave him ten rupees, and he went away happy. The next day I called on the king. I was taken up inside the monastery, through the palace, and along very gloomy corridors. Then I was fortified with buttered tea, and taken in to see the king. I found him sitting on a daïs, supported by several monks. The prime minister asked me what was the matter with him. I looked at him, tapped him, felt his pulse, and tapped him again. After a little waiting they got impatient, and the prime

minister said: "Do you know what is the matter with him? I said: "Yes, I know what is the matter with him." They said: "What is it called?" "Well," I said, "we do not have that disease in our country, but I will send him some medicine and he will recover." It was rather a gamble, but I sent him a very safe and harmless medicine, and strange to say he did recover. Thenceforward my position in the monastery was assured, and I spent a pleasant six months botanizing. At this time there was a certain amount of disturbance in the country. As I have said, it was a country more or less independent alike of Lhasa and of China. There are certain warlike tribes, the Mantzu tribes, in the highlands always giving trouble. They are fine, stalwart men. While I was there a messenger came with a brief note to the king saying: "We are coming to burn your monastery." There was great excitement, and mobilization began. The mobilization was rather a paltry affair. For a few days the blacksmiths' forges were working away, and people were taking down their guns, hammering spears, and generally messing things up. I was surprised to find how well armed some of these head lamas were; at almost all the monasteries they had magazine pistols and breechloading rifles. But they never clean these things, so when they are wanted they invariably jam. They used to bring them to me, and I amused myself by taking them to pieces and saying I could not put them together again—which was generally true. I will show you the map once more. (*Slide.*) At present we are up *here* on the extreme east, as far up the Yangtze as we can get from the east, and we want to go across to India. You cannot turn that river belt. If you go to the north you will still have to cross the rivers just the same—the Yangtze, the Mekong, and the Salween; not the Irrawaddy—you can travel north of its sources, but if you do that it will not take you to India. All you will do is to leave between you and India the great Himalayan ranges. If, on the other hand, you turn south, you still have to cross these rivers. All you do in that case is to go down into Burma, and then you have the Bay of Bengal between you and India. Your only route then is straight across, and the question is, Is it worth while? Centuries ago there used to be a great deal of caravan traffic through Asia; that has been almost stifled by, I think, three causes. The first is the desiccation of Central Asia; that has been going on for a very long time, and is now a very formidable obstacle. The second was the fall of Constantinople, which stopped all trade between Europe and Asia overland; and the third was the extraordinary development of ocean transport. So that if we are going to try any short-cut from China to India it seems that we must take the shortest possible route, and I do not say it cannot be done; but I think you will agree that Yunnan, far from being the link between India and China, is only a

missing link. In the journey itself from China to India you have two obstacles; you have the country I was speaking of, where you have all these tribes engaged in continual guerilla warfare—these hostile Mantzu tribes with no principles at all, unless it is a principle to rob every traveller who passes through the country. The second obstacle is that presented by the Irrawaddy jungle. There are certain corridors through the country; there is such a corridor running through from Chinese Szechwan to Yunnan, but it is useless for military purposes. On the other hand, we can examine the possibilities of a corridor from north to south through the strip. First of all there is the Yangtze River itself. The Yangtze is certainly a corridor. It is perfectly easy to build roads there, and, in fact, the Tibetan roads are extraordinarily good. But there are a great many Tibetan tribes living on the Yangtze, and it does not take you very much further. The Yangtze is usually crossed by ferry. As I say, it is not, by itself, much of a corridor, because it passes through too near these Mantzu tribes on both flanks of you. (*Slides.*) These are various inhabitants of the Yangtze. I will ask you to note the gentleman on the right. He has a Roman nose and very curly hair. He has the slit eye and high cheek-bone of the Mongol, but certainly he has the hair and nose, I should say, of the Aryan. If the Yangtze cannot by itself be considered a corridor from north to south, let us try the Mekong. The Mekong is very much smaller than the Yangtze, and the roads in it, to a certain extent, are extremely good for this type of country. The great difficulty is that you have to be continually crossing the river from one bank to the other. You cross by rope bridges. You waste a powerful lot of time, because, instead of being able to march straight up the Mekong gorges, you have to be continually crossing from one side to the other to avoid an impassable cliff. So we must wash out the Mekong also as a corridor. Then we come to the third river, the Salween, and we may say at once that it is quite impassable. Like the other rivers, it is unnavigable. It also passes through jungle country which is inhabited by unfriendly tribes. The scenery is the finest in this part of the world. However, if you go a little further north, right up into more Tibetan country, the Salween suddenly changes its character and roadmaking becomes very much easier; but you cannot say it is a through corridor. Once you have got through the gorges up into the higher regions, you can canoe to a certain extent, the canoes being either paddled or hauled by a rope. Finally, you get up into the Tibetan gorges. As I say, you cannot regard any of these rivers by themselves as a corridor. We have, in political phraseology, explored every avenue, and all we can say is that the three rivers themselves offer a corridor from north to south; so we have a corridor in the extreme east and another in the extreme west, where

the three rivers come in, and between these is the lofty plateau inhabited by warring tribes. The Chinese have been campaigning off and on against the Tibetans ever since 1905. They got to Lhasa, and occupied it and the Mantzu country for some years. Then came the revolution in China, and the Tibetans seized the opportunity and drove the Chinese out of Tibet. They were also driven out of the Mantzu country. But the question is, What is going to happen in the future? The obvious thing is a federation of the various States. Somebody, apparently a friend of China, has suggested that they should go back to the position of 1904, which would leave a great deal of Tibetan territory in the hands of the Chinese. But the Chinese have been driven out of country which they occupied long before 1904, and they have made no effort to get back. One reason why, perhaps, is because the roads are potentially just so many Thermopylæs. The Tibetans, armed, could hold all these roads. On the other hand, the Mantzu tribes are not friendly to the Lhasa government. They acknowledge its spiritual authority, and caravans of Mantzus go to Lhasa every year; but as regards the temporal authority of Lhasa, they are not prepared to accept it. I think, myself, that what will happen is a federation of all the Tibetan states under the hegemony of Lhasa, but these corridors will have to be left open to Chinese traders to pass through unmolested. I do not see any other solution, for it seems impossible for the Chinese permanently to occupy this great highland plateau of Tibet. We will carry on our journey east and west. (*Slides.*) That is a road in the highland valley, and these are some of the tribes of the Salween. To continue the thread of the story, as I say, we cannot turn this great river belt either in the north or in the south. We can get through the rivers; working generally from one river to the other, we can get from north to south, but we cannot conveniently turn it if we want a direct road to India. East of the Yangtze country travelling is simple. The passes are not blocked in winter, and although the passes are lofty there is cultivation in the valleys, and you can get food and transport; but travel gets harder and harder as you go westward. The nearer you approach the Irrawaddy the wetter becomes the climate, and the worse the jungle. If you are going to travel straight from China to India you have two choices. You can cross at the narrowest point and travel a little north, or you can go practically straight through across the Irrawaddy. If you go a little north you can turn most of the Irrawaddy jungle, and then go straight down to the Brahmaputra. That was the way Bailey followed in 1911, while the road straight across the Irrawaddy was followed by Prince Henry of Orleans and Mr. E. C. Young. At the narrowest point those three rivers flow within seventy-five miles of each other. The distance across the Irrawaddy jungle is another

seventy-five miles, and from the Western Irrawaddy to the Brahmaputra is another fifty, making in all two hundred miles. That is as the crow flies, but in this case you do not fly, you walk, and that makes it very much longer. Bailey first demonstrated the possibility of this China to India road through a corner of Eastern Tibet, missing out all that difficult part of the Irrawaddy jungle, but coming straight down into the equally difficult Brahmaputra jungle. He did not have to cross the Himalayas, but found a way through. Prince Henry had very great difficulties in the Irrawaddy jungle. We are still in Eastern Tibet, and the country, although broken and lofty, is not covered with dense jungle. It is therefore easy to traverse. As I told you at the beginning, my job is plant-collecting, and the six years I have spent in that region, travelling here, there, and all over the place, has been spent in collecting plants. I will show you three or four slides of the flora. This is one of the giant sorrels that you find at fourteen thousand feet. It is a great country for primroses, and this is the common primrose. It is still more the country of rhododendrons. It is a fairyland of rhododendrons in April and May. There are hundreds of species, and all colours. Besides the great tree rhododendrons, you have the ground more or less covered with small species, just as you have the hills covered with heather in Scotland; but instead of a sea of purple, it is a sea of all colours, and you can march for days and days ankle-deep through this foam of rhododendron blossoms. This is one of the poppies. Its flowers are sky blue, with centres of gold. It only occurs in the harshest and rockiest places, and that particular one was taken at sixteen thousand feet. Now we will come to the rest of the journey. We have crossed the three rivers, and there remains in front of us the Irrawaddy jungle. There are a great many snow mountains here, and you find these enormous glaciers—enormous, that is, for that part of the world—charging over the cliffs. In nearly every case you find the glacier jolting over these big cliffs, so that its back seems to be broken in the middle and you get this immense icefall. Of course, road-making becomes exceedingly difficult. That particular mountain is one of the sacred mountains of Tibet, and every year hundreds of pilgrims march round it. Here is a Tibetan pilgrim and his small boy making the circuit of the mountain. This takes about ten days. The passes to the Irrawaddy get snowed up rather early in the year, certainly by November, and it is necessary to get over before the worst snowstorms come. After Christmas they are generally impassable, although not very high—perhaps twelve or thrirteen thousand feet—but you get a tremendous lot of snow in the winter, and the Salween valley is absolutely blocked up. We crossed not later than November, and dropped straight down into the Irrawaddy jungle. Here the scenery changes.

We have to jettison all our mules, and take only porters. It is difficult to get food, and one has generally to take food, not only for one's self, but for the porters as well. I crossed the Taron on a monkey bridge. A little north of the spot where I struck this river, an Englishman, Captain Pritchard, was drowned. He was trying to explore the unknown stretch of the Taron, which has never been done, and the natives took down the rope bridge. Captain Pritchard tried to swim across and was drowned, and I do not think anybody can ever look upon this, which is one of the most savage and beautiful rivers in that part of Asia, without thinking of the brave life that was sacrificed. The people are dwarfs, and wear very little clothing. They carry these big knives, not for the purpose of doing any damage to anybody, but because in that country you so frequently have to cut your way through the jungle. The Tibetans sometimes come down and take these people for slaves. The status of this country is very uncertain. China has claimed the Taron, the Tibetans have claimed it, and the British have claimed it. The Chinese claim it on the ground that they were the first to go there and collect taxes. The Tibetans contest this; and the only grounds of Britain for wanting to take it is that the people themselves wish it. These are some of the people dressed up in Tibetan garb. They are slaves of the Tibetans, but they probably have a much better time with the Tibetans than in their own jungles, for they are well fed and well clothed. The bridges in this part of the world are of various types. Most of the rivers are crossed by cane suspension bridges. The forest at about ten thousand feet is not unlike English forest, except for the bamboo which one finds everywhere. This is one of the cane bridges, made of strands of rattan canes. The rattan cane is a climbing palm, and sometimes you find stems six hundred feet long. It is a simple matter to throw a couple of these canes across, and make a bridge. The jungle gets thicker and thicker the further we go west. We are descending the plateau, and are only three thousand or four thousand feet above sea-level. The rivers are quieter but numerous, and the whole country is streaming with water and covered with dense jungle. It is extremely difficult to make roads through it. After travelling another seventy-five miles you get to the western branch of the Irrawaddy and find the open plain of Hkamti Long, which Prince Henry discovered thirty-five years ago. When he made his journey from China to India he came out on this great open plain. I came down to this plain last Christmas, and from here it is another fifty, or perhaps seventy-five, miles to the Brahmaputra through the same sort of jungle. I had the choice of doing that or turning south by a good mule-road to Burma itself. I did not cross over into Assam, but turned down the Irrawaddy, those two hundred miles to rail head. This is a view of the western Irrawaddy at Hkamti Long.

It is a great, placid, lake-like stream, flowing with a comparatively gentle current. Now this is the point of my lecture, Is it worth while to make a road across that strip of country from China to India? If it is, Which is the best route from China to India? I personally think it is probably impracticable and will not be done. On the other hand, if we like to look at these river valleys as corridors, it is probably much easier to find a direct route from Burma up into Tibet than from China across the river belt into India. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Well, I think the lecturer has given us quite up to expectation. He has introduced us to a peculiarly interesting country, and illustrated his lecture with remarkably fine photographs. He is a plant collector, and I think the most fascinating of these pictures was the picture of the rhododendrons. I do not know whether he meant it literally when he said that there are hundreds of species of rhododendrons there, but evidently there are an enormous number.

The LECTURER: It is literally so.

The CHAIRMAN: It is quite astounding that there should be hundreds of species of rhododendrons. I have often had in my imagination that what I would like to do would be to get hold of a little baby aeroplane, which did not go too fast, and then glide along the whole of the Himalayas in April or May, and see that wonderful rhododendron belt which stretches along the mountains at a height of eight, nine, up to eleven thousand feet, and see these rhododendrons on the Himalayas from near Kashmir right down to Burma, and on into Western China, of every colour—crimson, white, yellow, golden, plum-coloured, magenta. To see them stretching as a coloured band right across the mountains, I should think, was just as fine a sight as you could find in the world; and perhaps, when these aeroplanes are still further developed, it may be possible to do that.

Apart from the botanical interest of this lecture, it suggests some very interesting political problems, and we in this Society are at liberty to discuss political questions. There is the question to which he referred of the extension of the Chinese control over Eastern Tibet, where, as in so many parts of Central Asia, you get a sort of semi-independent or even quite independent country in between two great empires or two great countries. Now Tibet undoubtedly is a big country. Not only is the country big in size, but I always maintain that the Tibetans are a big people. Sir Charles Bell reminded us that in ancient days they extended their invasions right into China itself. They are big people, and they had then certain martial instincts. At the present time they are making a fight for their complete independence, and for the moment they have succeeded. But the Chinese also are a big people, and, of course, a greater people

than the Tibetans. For instance, the lecturer referred to a remarkable feat of the Chinese in sending an army across those mountains—across passes of sixteen to seventeen thousand feet—to Lhasa itself. It was commanded by the great General Chao-erh-Fung, who was afterwards murdered in China. This was one of the greatest military feats that have been accomplished in Asia, for the Tibetans are a stiff people to oppose, and the Chinese were not very much better armed than they were, and, as I say, they had to cross this succession of ranges to reach Lhasa itself. The Chinese don't think in weeks or single years, they think in centuries; and what they did in one century they may repeat in the following century, and Chao-erh-Fung's feat may be repeated. But all the time one has one's sympathy with the Tibetans, and one would like to see some kind of *modus vivendi* reached by which the Tibetans could maintain their independence, but yet also have the benefit of that civilizing and cultural influence which the Chinese undoubtedly do produce. The Chinese are a people of great culture, and one would like to see that border gradually settled up between the Tibetans and the Chinese; so that between them they may preserve order among the wild tribes, and the culture of the Chinese spread not only to the wild tribes but into Tibet itself. These are only stray and random thoughts. I have not actually visited Eastern Tibet or Western China, and there may be some here who can give very much more interesting and valuable observations than I have been able to make myself. (Applause.)

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. YATE: I would not have risen to speak if anyone more conversant with the immediate neighbourhood of the district with which the lecturer has dealt had done so. It fell to my lot some thirty-seven years ago to accompany as Intelligence Officer the first expedition from Mandalay across the Shan plateau to the Kunlon ferry on the Salween. This route, which to-day is traversed by rail as far as Lashio, lies some three hundred miles to the south of the area described by Mr. Kingdon Ward, but in my capacity as Intelligence Officer, I gathered information of regions and routes, people and places at a very considerable distance from the scenes which we visited. A very inadequate account of the work of this expedition, commanded by Major H. S. T. Yates, R.A., is given in Sir Charles Crosthwaite's "Pacification of Burma," an account which gives great prominence to a young Political Officer, Lieutenant Hugh Daly, and mentions no one else. As far as I am aware, a considerable portion of the route that we followed had been previously visited by no European. The expedition, ably commanded by Major Yates, marched practically without any fighting via Maymyo, Thibaw, Lashio and Theinni, to the Kunlon ferry on the Salween, and annexed to her Majesty's Dominions what are now known as the Northern

Shan States.* The left bank of the Salween at Kunlon is in the Chinese province of Yunnan, and I accompanied Major Yates when he crossed the river to call on the Chinese official residing there. Our expedition returned to Mandalay in March of 1888. At that time, I think, the idea was entertained in India that it might be possible to construct a railway connecting Burma with the valley of the Yangtze-Kiang in China, and, as chance would have it, the Assistant Transport Officer with our column was a young lieutenant of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, named H. R. Davies, whose subsequent travels in the region of the Yangtze-Kiang and other parts of China won for him eventually one of the gold medals of the Royal Geographical Society. Travel is not his only claim to distinction. His war record is a fine one, culminating as it does in the command of a Division in the late War, during which he was mentioned six times in despatches. In or about 1900 Major H. R. Davies, during the course of his travels in China, tried to cross the Mekong at Yen-ching, where Captain F. M. Bailey in 1911 was successful in crossing it. The Tibetans effectually stopped Major Davies. I recollect very well that at the Anniversary Dinner of the Royal Geographical Society in 1912 a very distinguished traveller, in congratulating Captain Bailey on penetrating from China into Assam and India by that route, referred to his achievements as one of the cases where "luck backs pluck." The speaker asserted that the Abor expedition had operated in Captain Bailey's favour, but he was mistaken; and Captain Bailey's father, Colonel F. Bailey, R.E., for many years Secretary to the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, promptly wrote to *The Times* and showed that the speaker was under a misapprehension.†

I may add, I think, just a word about the navigability respectively of the Salween and the Irrawaddy, a subject to which the lecturer has referred. Naturally when I was at Kunlon, which is situated as far as I remember about three thousand feet above sea-level, I made enquiries about the navigation of the Salween. A native told me that light boats could be navigated downstream from Kunlon to Ta-meungnong, a journey of four days. The boats had to be lowered down the rapids with ropes held by men on the bank, any other method being too dangerous. I find that from Kunlon to Moulmein, where the Salween debouches into the sea, the distance as the crow flies is just about five hundred miles. The lower part of the river is

* For further information about these states see Dautremer's "Burma under British Rule," chap. x., and the Report of the Intelligence Officer, Northern Shan Column, 1887-1888, printed at Rangoon, July, 1888.

† See Journal of the Central Asian Society, Vol. I., Part I. (1914) pp. 14-19, and *The Times* of May 25, June 5, and (about) June 9, 1912, in which letters respectively by myself, Colonel F. Bailey, and Mr. Angus Hamilton appear.

navigable, the upper part impossible. In his journey from the Salween to the Irrawaddy, the lecturer described himself as continually descending as he moved westward. As is well known, the Irrawaddy is navigable by steamboat certainly up to Bhamo, and possibly further, but under what conditions I am unable to say. It gives me pleasure to conclude these few remarks by saying how much I have enjoyed this lecture. The pictures were admirable. I find in my Northern Shan Column Report descriptions of chain bridges over the Salween as taken down from the accounts given to me by natives, and I find that the descriptions tally well with the pictures put on the screen.

The CHAIRMAN: I feel inclined to agree with Captain Bailey's father in what Colonel Yate said just now. I think the success of Captain Bailey was due to nothing else but to Captain Bailey himself. (Applause.) It was really a very wonderful journey that he made from China into Assam. He went through very wild tribes, but whether it will make a practicable route from China to India or not it is difficult to say. I know, ladies and gentlemen, that you would like me to express on your behalf our thanks to the lecturer for this remarkably vivid and interesting lecture. (Applause.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Wednesday, January 23, 1924, Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding. A lecture on the North-West Frontier of India was given by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., preceded by a presentation to Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Yate, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The CHAIRMAN made the presentation. He said: Ladies and gentlemen,—Before the lecture begins, a very agreeable task has been confided to me; this is to ask Colonel Yate, who has so long acted as Honorary Secretary to this Society, to accept from the Society a small token of their gratitude. You all know Colonel Yate's great services to the Society, and I will only say this, that if the Society has now got into an assured position, if it can hold up its head among the other kindred societies of a scientific character in London, if it now has a membership which is considerable, if it is able to produce a Journal which is more and more resorted to, I believe, by people who wish for late information about the countries of Central Asia—if all this has come about, I think we all feel that it is in very great measure due to the efforts of Colonel Yate. (Applause.) He has been unceasing in the interest he has taken in the Society, in telling people about it, in bringing excellent members within the fold of the Society, and, in fact, has had it in his thoughts night and day. So, Colonel Yate, it is my very pleasant duty to ask you to accept as a small token from the Society this bowl, which we hope will abide among your household gods, and remind you of the Society which you have done so much to bring into a position of prosperity. I may say it is a bowl known as a Mazar bowl. I do not in the least know what that means, but on it are written these words: "The gift of the Central Asian Society to Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur C. Yate, to mark their appreciation of the great services rendered by him to the Society as Honorary Secretary from 1918 to 1923." Colonel Yate, allow me to give you this little gift on behalf of the Society.

The Chairman then presented the bowl to Colonel Yate amid applause.

Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. YATE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gen-

tlemen,—When I was tempted up into this chair by my successor as Honorary Secretary I had not, as you may suppose, the faintest idea why I was invited to come here. This comes to me as a surprise, and I need hardly say a most gratifying surprise. There is no necessity for me to add any words whatever. The Chairman has told everyone in the room why this present has been made to me, and I can only say that I am most thankful it should be thought that I merit it. I can assure the Society that I shall keep it and value it. (Applause.)

The Chairman then introduced Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, saying that one who had devoted so much time and thought to the question of transport on the Indian Frontier, and who had had moreover a wide personal experience of Frontier roads and conditions, was a recognized authority on the subject on which he had so kindly undertaken to speak.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA

By Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.I.M.E., A.I.C.E., Memb. Inst. of Transport

To some people it might appear at first sight that a lecture on the North-West Frontier of India did not concern a Society specially devoted to the study of matters pertaining to Central Asia. So at the outset I desire to make it clear that, from a geographical point of view, India is left behind and Central Asia is entered when the Indus is crossed. Though the racial characteristics, the political institutions, and the rule of the Indian Empire, generally speaking, do not cease till the watersheds dividing the Indus from the Helmund and the Oxus are reached, all the North-West Frontier from Kashmir to Karachi has more to do with Central Asia than it has with India. Owing to geographical conditions, there has never been an invasion of India from the east. Nor has there been any attempt on the part of any Indian emperors or military potentates to make military expeditions to the westward. Invasions of India have always come from the west. Therefore Central Asia has influenced India and the history of India very largely ever since the earliest times, but India has had but little influence over Central Asia.

Afghanistan and Baluchistan are largely affected also by Turkestan and Persia respectively, and in the Pamirs, the region where China, Russia, and the British Empire meet, the interests of all these three great Powers are continually affected by the various turbulent peoples who live on the western slopes of the Himalayan ranges.

Most continental nations have many land frontiers, but it is a curious fact that the British Empire, with a bigger area than any of them, comprising so much of the world, has only one land frontier on which it is necessary to keep a strong military force—namely, the North-West Frontier of India. Of the great British nations overseas, Canada, it is true, has a continental frontier, stretching from the Pacific to the Atlantic, some 3,000 miles in length as the plane flies. But this frontier along Latitude 49 is adjacent to a friendly non-military and highly civilized nation, and only a few custom-house posts exist on either side. The frontiers of the Dominion of the Cape and of the West and East African Colonies are merely concerned with primitive tribes, nowadays harmless, while Australia, New Zealand, the West Indies, and the smaller colonies, are large or small islands girded by the sea, and naval not military defence is their concern.

The North-West Frontier of India is also peculiar and interesting because upon it fighting has existed—as part of the local daily life—since prehistoric times, and so far as one can see sporadic warfare in its neighbourhood is never likely to cease altogether. There are always tribes or sections of tribes influenced by blood or property feuds, and from time to time combining together to attack our outposts or to make raids upon the neighbouring forces of law and order. Luckily, however, these tribes never combine for long, but they are at times formidable—more so lately—because they possess nowadays modern rifles, while they have also learned much of our methods in strategy and tactics from our own drill-books and military system. Many Trans-Border Pathans also served in the Great War in our armies, and have become extremely clever at taking cover, arranging ambushes, and attacking convoys of supplies. To thousands of the male population of the North-West Frontier fighting on a big or small scale is the normal occupation of their lives, and as a Frontier chief once said to me: "I only know one trade, a man's trade—war," and with gleaming eyes touched the hilt of his dagger.

The North-West Frontier of India extends from the Indian Ocean in the south some twenty miles west of Karachi to the point in the Pamirs where the three empires of India, China, and Russia meet. At the moment Russia is non-existent as an organized military power, but in regard to this I would sound a note of grave warning, and deprecate any weakening of our Frontier forces, for no one can tell when the small Bolshevist army now in Eastern Turkestan may be reinforced and reorganized, and make its appearance as a formidable force on some part of the North-West Frontier, with all the modern means of warfare, such as aircraft, tanks and gas. Out of the 1,200 miles of Frontier, nearly every mile is mountainous, but at the moment only about 500 miles can be said to be a constant source

of danger. This part of the Frontier to which I refer starts from the south in the neighbourhood of Quetta, in Baluchistan, the head-quarters of the 4th Division, and extends northwards each side of the Zhob River and on over the Gumal and Zam Rivers. Thence it crosses the Tochi River west of Datta Khel, and then follows the Kurram Valley to Kalachi Post and the Peiwar Kotal, the pass over the western end of the Safed Koh. Thence it turns sharply east-wards along the watershed of that range and crosses the Khyber Pass road between Dacca and Lundi Khana. Here it turns eastwards again and crosses the Kabul and Swat Rivers, and so on along the northern and western edges of the Peshawar Plain to the Malakand Pass, running eastwards thence and crossing the Indus some twenty miles north of Attock. From there the line trends northwards into the Black Mountain country north of Abbothabad, and eventually reaches a point where it joins the state of Kashmir near Garwhi Habibullah. North of this, if we follow the frontier of the state of Kashmir, which is under the protection of the Indian Government, we eventually come to Chitral and Gilgit, close to the slopes of Nunga Purbat, in the opinion of many the most beautiful mountain in the world and the third in height. Eventually the Frontier comes to the point in the Pamirs where the three empires meet to which I have already alluded. In this description of the Frontier, I have not attempted to follow accurately what is known as the Durand Line, the work of Colonel Sir Mortimer Durand, which is in many places many miles beyond our effective frontier. But I have taken the Frontier which we hold and administrate to-day by the exercise of civil or military jurisdiction.

It is from the Malakand Pass in the north to Quetta in the south, a distance of about 500 miles as the plane flies, and for probably about 650 miles as the Frontier runs, which is known as the Frontier in a military sense. Our position upon this section would at first sight seem untenable from a military point of view. The enemy forces number between 600,000 and 700,000 men, of whom about 250,000 are armed with modern rifles, while the rest are armed with inferior firearms or matchlocks, jezails and other quaint weapons. Against these numbers our local military strength is, numerically speaking, always remarkably inferior. And this Frontier presents one peculiar feature which is hardly found elsewhere in the world so far as I know. While our troops hold the main lines of road and rail communication, which naturally run along the valleys, most of them fairly well populated and fertile, the enemy occupies the hill-tops and the ridges between the valleys. Therefore, from a military point of view our strategical position is always dangerous and unsound, for these valleys, weakly defended salients, the longest of them 120 miles in length, are all of them commanded from higher ground, and

until lately there have been no lateral roads which could be used for troops on a considerable scale or for mechanical transport, except between the bases of each salient. To take four instances. From Kohat the road runs up westwards for 120 miles through Thal to Parachinar. Again, from Bannu the road extends some sixty-five miles westwards up to the Tochi Valley to Dardoni, and another twenty miles on to the Datta Khel, while further south we have now pushed a road up the Zam River to Jandola and on to Sararogha, while there is also new road communication to Wano up the Gumal Valley, and to Fort Sandeman up the Zhob Valley. These valleys and ridges between these points are comparable to a man's hand outstretched with the fingers widely extended. Between the knuckles, that is, at the bases, there is close touch, but between the finger-joints, representing the road heads, empty spaces. The extension of roads, however, on the Frontier, begun in 1915, has proceeded with considerable energy during the last four or five years. This is due largely to Lord Rawlinson's persistence in keeping to the front a forward road policy. Though the present programme is nearly completed, eventually it is to be hoped that there will be a complete and continuous lateral frontier road from Quetta in the south right up to Thal by way of the Zhob Valley, Manzai, Jandola, Razmak, Edak, Spinwam, and thence by a bridge over the Kurram River to Thal. Already a portion of this line is complete, roads having now been made from Thal to Edak in the Tochi Valley, and from Edak by Razmak to Jandola, and thence to Kirghi and the Gumal River. Many of these roads—for instance, the section from Kirghi to Jandola and from Edak to Razmak—have been made despite constant opposition and sniping by local tribes, and in the face of many natural difficulties, involving much rock-blasting, the bridging of rivers where floods have been known to rise forty feet perpendicularly in twenty-four hours, and the provision of reasonable gradients along or over very steep hillsides. These lateral roads cross over the two older main roads which lead up the Kurram and Tochi valleys. Altogether, the road system on the North-West Frontier is far superior to that which existed when I first had the honour of taking up my duties in connection with roads and transport in 1915. I feel sure that the Government of India is now convinced of the value of roads on the Frontier, both in peace and war. Neither is the Frontier sound from a geographical point of view—that is, it is not a frontier defined by watersheds or big rivers. The only natural frontier to the westward is the waterless desert of Eastern Baluchistan, and the highest ridges of some of the Western Himalayas in the far north. From the racial and administrative point of view Frontier politics are a jumble of interests, which so long as they continue to exist make our task easier.

We see constantly in some of the Indian native press and, I am sorry

to say, in the less well-informed press here, criticisms of the British forces, or British officered Indian forces, chiefly on the ground of their expense to the revenue of India. But the justification for maintaining large British forces in India, amounting in theory to about 75,000 British troops and 225,000 of Indian Army, 300,000 men in all, is that these 500 miles of North-West Frontier must be held strongly for the sake of all India. There must be adequate forces to repel anything in the nature of serious invasion from the west, whether Bolshevist, Afghan, or Tribal. In the rest of India, east say of Lahore, the military forces are really a superior police force for internal security, and to act as the ultimate power behind the civil administration. On the other hand, the divisions and brigades on the Frontier and in reserve for Frontier purposes—namely, the first, second, third and fourth divisions, and other forces in divisional or brigade frontier areas—have to be always in a state of preparedness for war, while the actual forces operating on the lines of communication along the Frontier itself are kept on active service conditions. Alone in the British Empire to-day these forces have to be kept year in and year out on a war footing, and only on the North-West Frontier, therefore, can the young and keen officers see and learn real warfare.

The Frontier from Quetta to the Malakand, too, is unique in other ways. Its extremes of heat and cold are unparalleled. I have myself suffered when the thermometer was 128 Fahr. in the shade at Dera Ismail Khan or Bannu in the month of June. I have experienced equally temperatures below zero at Parachinar in the month of January. Nowhere else in the world, so far as I know, are the extremes of heat and cold so wide apart. During the summer months it is difficult to keep in health, because the extreme heat brings with it liability to all kinds of fever, mostly water-borne diseases, to apoplexy and strained heart. In the winter it is difficult enough to keep warm in houses which are mainly designed for a hot climate. In the southern part of the area, on the borders of Baluchistan, the rainfall is under 8 inches in a year, while on the slopes of the Himalayas to the north 100 to 200 inches is quite common, and in big monsoon years these figures are exceeded. There are upon this frontier magnificent ranges such as the Safed Koh, of which one peak, Sikoram, at 16,500 feet is slightly higher than Mont Blanc, and the eastern ridges of the Hindoo Koosh, where altitudes over 20,000 feet are common. The small British force stationed at Gilgit do their work under the slopes of Nunga Purbat, whose exact height is said to be not very accurately determined, but is probably in excess of 28,500 feet.

On this Frontier are thousands of square miles of magnificent forest, where deodar, longifolia, and pine grow, thousands of square miles of thorn scrub, and yet more square miles of desert and drifting

sand, mud hillocks and tumbled rock, mainly without a vestige of vegetation. Between Nushki and Quetta the scenes of weird desolation are unparalleled. One might almost think that parts of the Frontier were the world's ash-heap. But with all this variety of scenery and climate, with all its disagreeable characteristics, there is something fascinating about the life there, which once it has entered into the soul of a man never afterwards leaves him. Whether it is the spice of daily personal danger, or the fierce alternations of heat and cold, or the variety of scenery and sky, or the sense of being on the fringe between civilization and barbarism which attracts, I know not. The lure to the imagination of "the back of the ranges," as Kipling says, exists there too. You are face to face with the primeval forces of nature, with their power to cause a fifty-foot rise in your local river in twenty-four hours, with a flood which sweeps away, scours and annihilates, with a blinding snowstorm, or with the continuous cannonading of the monsoon thunder and lightning which makes night like day. The mornings and evenings by camp fires, with skies serene, sunsets of turquoise and opal, a clearness of atmosphere, unrealizable in foggy Britain, are some compensations; and who has smelt the smoke of burning deodar log or camel's dung in the evening, and of Mother Earth in the morning, will never forget the memories they bring.

Till recently the Frontier was the soundest school for military training, and the greatest of our British generals learned the art of war there. Till the great military upheaval of 1914-18 the frontier was certainly the only place in the British Empire in which active service was to be experienced several times a year, and in some cases continuously for several years.

In order to protect the North-West Frontier there is no doubt that easy transport and good roads are the first essentials. In 1886, Lord Roberts, then Commander-in-Chief in India, used the following words in a report to the Viceroy, every word of which is true to-day:

"Meanwhile I would push on our communications with all possible speed. We must have roads, and we must have railways; they cannot be made on short notice, and every rupee spent upon them now will repay us tenfold hereafter. Nothing will tend to secure the safety of the Frontier so much as the power of rapidly concentrating troops on any threatened point, and nothing will strengthen our military position more than to open out the country and improve our relations with the Frontier tribes. There are no better civilizers than roads and railways: and although some of those recommended to be made may never be required for military purposes, they will be of the greatest assistance to the civil power in the administration of the country."

These sentences might have been written yesterday, and they prove

that Lord Roberts was not only a great soldier but a great prophet. Whatever slackness there may have been on the part of the Government of India in pushing forward the making of roads on the Frontier in past years, it is a pleasure to recall that since 1916 much has been done and work is still proceeding at the present moment on new lateral roads,, and the improvement of the main lines of communication.

The problems of the Frontier group themselves mainly under three heads—financial, civilian, and military. All these three are branches of the same problem to a large extent, and they hang together, and our difficulties will be solved not at once but gradually, as I think, by the improvement of the means of communication. As I had the honour to point out in many reports when I was on the North-West Frontier, the road in the long run is mightier than arms, more powerful than the rupee, and a more enduring force for civilization than many magistrates, judges, and code law. By its nature the Frontier is infertile, and much of the tribal unrest is the natural result of the want of food or of work to supply the means to buy food. Thousands of tribesmen living a very hard semi-nomad life, often on the verge of starvation, look down all the time upon fertile valleys beneath, full of prosperous cultivators and on villages with rich bunnias. These conditions make the tribesmen raid as much for the means of life as for any real hostility to our rule. But if you make roads, commerce quickly develops: Balis and Chitai mats, skins and deodar logs, are exchanged for paraffin, agricultural implements, cotton clothing, and grain. And the money-grabbing Pathan begins to love hunting the rupee better than his fellow-men. To those who own anything and fear raids, the road means troops easily moved. Troops mean protection for property. Property means trading. Trading means civilization. Civilization means the turning of the sword into the ploughshare. These sequences are historic, natural, and inevitable, and the road is the basic cause. When I was in India I used to endeavour to impress upon Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, and Supreme Councils, as did Lord Roberts, that money spent on roads was not only valuable in a military but in a civil sense, that road-making was cheaper and better than war-making. Now the beginnings of a change are apparent, and with the completion of a system of frontier roads which was begun in 1915 will gradually die out, firstly, the bigger tribal wars, then the lesser raids, and eventually there will be a peace, not of our European brand—an absence of armed action, combined with intensive preparations for the next war—but such a peace as is possible when there exist still the traditions of centuries of war as a kind of sport. The quarrelsome and fanatical character of the tribes will always keep alive warlike feeling, and the necessity for keeping order and law with rifle, bayonet,

plane, armoured car, and mountain battery, will exist for years to come.

I cannot deal faithfully with Frontier matters without paying a tribute to those devoted men, living and dead, who have upheld our prestige upon the Frontier, whether as civilians and soldiers. Nowhere in the Empire is the work harder and the apparent worldly rewards smaller. Nowhere has the daily task to be performed under greater drawbacks, sometimes of climate, often of loneliness, always of constant personal danger by day and night. And not infrequently the Government of India, by an alteration or cancellation of a declared policy, callously or carelessly places their representatives in the impossible position of having to break faith with the tribes to whom a pledge has been given, or with our own people. What seems so easy in the Council chambers at Delhi or Simla means too often red war or bloody midnight raids on the Frontier. And always, and above all, there is the babu, the product of official India, constantly obstructive, continually clogging the wheels of progress.

Now, in 1924, it is almost impossible to realize that up to 1915 there was no mechanical transport in India and few roads in use on the Frontier. The camel, horse and donkey were the only means that the Army had to carry its supplies. It is wonderful to reflect how well, in spite of this, the Frontier was held and governed then, and during its various periods of alteration and extension. Now the task is easier, and when all the roads projected are complete and the mobility of troops increased, the work should be easier still.

It is a curious fact that, while all the invasions of Europe have come from the east, the invasions of India and China have come from the west. It seems as if there was bubbling up somewhere in Central Asia from time to time a kind of nomadic energy which has its birthplace between the Helmund, the Oxus, the Caspian, and the headwaters of the Obi and Yenesei in Siberia. The people living on these Central Asian plains, mostly pastoral in character, have always displayed nomadic tendencies, and they seem from time to time to be impelled to congregate together and migrate in armed forces in search of new and suitable countries in which to live. Whether this migratory instinct is caused by a physical need, such as by lack of food, or by some mysterious desire in the mind and soul for adventure which leads them to wander, it is difficult to say. No one can explain the migration of that mysterious little animal the lemming, who at intervals migrates in tens of thousands to the west coast of Norway, where it plunges into the sea and is drowned. But it is a curious fact that from Central Asia have come practically all the great world migrations, the causes of great alterations in empires. To the dweller in a more or less barren country, such as Central Asia, India must

naturally seem a land flowing with milk and honey. From time immemorial rumours have reached the Kurds, Turkomans, Bokhariots, and Northern Persians of untold riches in India, of lovely houris, of land so fertile that three crops a year could be grown upon it, and these tales told round the camp fires and in the bazaars in the evening have set the races on these Asian plains coveting the lot of their richer neighbours. And the weather conditions, harsh winds, hot sunshine, and cold winters, have tended to eliminate the physically unfit and breed brave leaders and a virile race. Contrast this with the hotter and more enervating climate of India, with the easier conditions of life there, and it is clear why through the centuries the strength of character, resistance to attack, and the physique of most of the Indian races have proved inferior in war to the invaders from the north-west. It is lucky for India that from Kashmir to the North-East Frontier of Burma, the Himalayan ranges act as insuperable barriers to any advancing foe. Thus it comes about that the North-West Frontier of India is the only part of the Indian Empire which has a frontier in a military, commercial and political sense.

In conclusion, I desire to protest against childlike faith in the undertakings of semi-barbaric peoples. Unpractical sentiment and a belief in the reasonableness of your adversary are out of place in dealing with those who believe in war as the greatest of professions. Equally we must always beware of unscrupulous enemies whose object it is to undermine, disintegrate, and overwhelm British influence because it stands for the security of law, life, and property. If ever the defence of the Frontier were to collapse as a result of political intrigue here or in India, or of an insufficiency of military forces on the spot, then the invasion and consequent ruin of Northern and Central India would follow inevitably. No amount of eloquence at Delhi or Simla, or of the local payment of blackmail, will deter for long or repel eventually the armed forces either of Bolshevists, Afghans, or of combinations of hostile Frontier tribesmen. In these regions force must be met by force. It is the only argument which carries weight. Moreover, a constant display of military power must be seen and appreciated daily by possible enemies if you wish for comparative peace. Diplomacy can do much at times, in certain directions, but there must always be the power of the sword behind it.

I believe, however, that gradually and eventually the civilizing influence of roads will make itself felt, and that as years go on the advantages of peace will be impressed on the warlike Frontier tribes. At any rate, the fortunes of India and of Central Asia will always be linked together, and given civilized rule again in Russia, our task of preserving peace will be lightened as years go on.

The CHAIRMAN said he very much regretted that there was no time for a formal discussion, for the lecture had given much food for thought and had raised many points of great interest. He thanked Lord Montagu very heartily, in the name of the Society, for his clear and lucid address and for the beautiful slides with which it was illustrated.

The meeting closed with a very hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

A SUMMARY OF THE RAISING AND TRAINING OF THE 1ST YEMEN INFANTRY

AND ITS POSSIBILITIES AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE IN SOUTH-WEST ARABIA

BY G. A. JOY

1. HOW IT WAS RAISED.—Near the little village of Sheik Othman, in the south-west corner of Arabia, the 1st Yemen Infantry are quartered. Its name is almost unknown to the outside world, and the history of its birth and transition from incohesion to law, order and discipline, should be of interest to those military and political departments of the State who are too far removed from its centre of activity to fully realize its importance in South-West Arabia.

The regiment was partially raised in 1917, under the title of the Arab Legion, through the military and political sagacity of Major-General Sir J. M. Stewart, K.C.M.G., C.B., late G.O.C. and Political Resident in Aden, who with the assistance and support of General Sir Reginald Wingate, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., obtained the approval of the War Office for the formation of an Arab Corps. On Major M. C. Lake, 109th Infantry (now Lieutenant-Colonel Lake), assuming command of the regiment, it was officially designated the 1st Yemen Infantry.

At the time recruiting first took place there was in existence already an Arab Labour Corps, mainly composed of Arabs from the Hinterland who had had a sufficiency of the Turkish military occupation of their villages, and who came to Aden in the hopes of finding better conditions and more profitable work under the British flag. On the disbandment of this Labour Corps some of the best types of Arabs were selected for enrolment in the 1st Yemen Infantry. Two companies were recruited first; this was later increased to four, and finally reduced to three in 1922. After the cessation of Turkish hostilities in 1918, Colonel Lake was granted permission to proceed into the interior to obtain fresh recruits from the best fighting tribes. This expedition was a great political success, and Colonel Lake's unpublished record of his visits to unmapped and little known places in South-West Arabia, and especially his visits to Azzan and Balhof, are of particular interest and value. Some hundreds of very fine recruits accompanied the Colonel to Sheik Othman, mostly from

the Azzani and Aulaqi tribes. A good many of them on arrival refused to enrol and went back to their country. However, most of them subsequently returned a few months later, after having thought the matter out, and were enrolled in the regiment; and to-day the 1st Yemen Infantry is entitled to take its place among the trained non-European regiments of the world. It has achieved in the space of a few years the *esprit de corps*, co-ordination of work, and mutual understanding between all ranks, which is that ideal of military efficiency only associated with regiments that have been in existence for generations.

2. TRAINING, COMPOSITION, RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS.—The present establishment of the 1st Yemen Infantry is 402 combatant Arab ranks. There are fourteen Arab officers and ten British officers. The three companies are approximately one hundred and twenty strong; there is also a headquarter company. The organisation is based on similar lines to that of Indian infantry. The terms of service and rates are exactly the same as for Indian regiments. Arabs from practically all the tribes of South-West Arabia to as far north as San'a are represented in the regiment; about one-third of them are Zeidis and the remainder Shafais. Where practicable and expedient sections and platoons are made up from men of the same tribe, with a sprinkling of N.C.O.'s from other tribes, which, from the disciplinary standpoint, is both desirable and beneficial. By this method of placing tribes together, *esprit de corps* and a healthy spirit of rivalry is automatically established.

The Arab of the Yemen is an amazingly good fellow. In temperament and disposition he as nearly approaches the British Tommy as the Gurkha of India. He is exceedingly amenable to discipline, and most exacting in carrying out orders by superior officers, provided such orders are carefully explained to him. Orientals more captivating it would be impossible to meet; they are ever ready to see the humorous side of a situation, and enjoy a joke thoroughly.

The Arabs of this part of Arabia are of small build, but sturdy and handsome. Their physique is excellent and develops to perfection under military training. They are capable of great powers of endurance. The majority of the men are exceedingly good at sports and games. Within the writer's experience they have never been beaten in long-distance running, although competing with men of other non-European regiments twice their size and of magnificent physique. The regiment has an excellent football team; matches with other units as well as inter-regimental games are played regularly. The Arab is exceedingly fond of the British system of physical training. All words of command on all parades are given in English, at which the Arab officers and N.C.O.'s are exceedingly good.

Education is an integral part of the system of training, and the

men are amazingly swift to learn. Very few of them could read or write when they enrolled. Colonel Lake started a Regimental School, and made it compulsory for all N.C.O.'s to attend, but voluntary for the men. In an incredible short time they obtained first, second, and third class certifices of education. There is not now an N.C.O. in the regiment who cannot read and write and do simple arithmetic. A large percentage of the men have also obtained these certificates of education. The regimental signallers, too, are most extraordinarily good. Their efficiency at lamp, helio, buzzer, and flag is amazing. They all pass the annual standard signalling test laid down for first-class Army signallers. Entire credit for this wonderful performance is due to Colonel Lake, who raised and trained, and still trains, the signallers, in addition to his other arduous duties as Commandant. The regiment has no signalling officer on the establishment.

The men are equipped with the S.M.L.E. rifle, and during the musketry year 1923-1924 were not far short of averaging first-class shots—a very remarkable performance. In drill and manœvre they are as good as the average Indian unit, and it is unfortunate that garrison duty in the Red Sea has deprived them from attaining that highest standard of perfection which they could and would attain if only the authorities would give them the opportunity.

3. Political Significance.—The 1st Yemen Infantry is the finest political asset that the Government has in South-West Arabia to-day. The British administration of the Aden Protectorate is carried out from the Residency in Aden. There are no political officers in the Hinterland, and no organization adequate to deal with the obligations of a great nation which assumes the responsibilities of a protector. Since the expulsion of the Turks from Yemen, the moral responsibilities of the protectorate have increased still further. The 1st Yemen Infantry is representive of all parts of the protectorate and beyond. It is the "House of Commons" of South-West Arabia. Through the Arab officers and men of the 1st Yemen Infantry the Government can get the opinions, wishes and desires of the Arab people in that part of Arabia, as distinct from the opinions and wishes of the sheiks and potentates, who are too often inspired by selfish motives, rather than the interests of the tribes over whom they rule. Through the agency of the regiment, news of the justice and excellence of British administration is permeated throughout South-West Arabia. Men proceeding on leave—and the Arab is a great talker—convey to their tribes the advantages that are accrued from living under the British flag, and are able to show the practical benefits derived, in the shape of "reals" (Mexican dollars, the currency of the country) which they have accumulated under the "Daula" (Government). News travels swiftly in the East—in spite of the lack of modern communications—and whatever intrigue or unrest there is going on

up-country is at once known in the regiment. There is no reason to doubt that the validity of such news is quite as good, and probably better, than that brought in by the accredited agents of the local administration. Not long ago the movements and possible designs of the armies of the Imam of San'a, near the protectorate border, caused a great deal of anxiety in Aden political circles. It would not be saying too much to state that the dispositions and strengths of the Imam's troops, and the probable intentions of his lieutenants, were just as accurately known in the 1st Yemen Infantry as in the Residency Office.

4. Military Possibilities.—From the military standpoint the advantages of the regiment are many. Owing to the local knowledge of the country which the men possess, it could be used with great success on all kinds of intelligence, scouting, and reconnaissance work, in the event of any hostile designs on the La Hedj Oasis. With a little careful and systematic planning it could be used with certain success to frustrate *and* punish the raiders who on occasion—and not infrequently—hold up the camel routes within the protectorate. In spite of its small numbers, the regiment would give a very good account of itself against any enemy forces with whom it would be likely to come into contact, owing to its superior equipment, training, and leadership.

The idea prevalent in some quarters that Arabs will not fight Arabs is erroneous. Some of the tribes represented in the 1st Yemen Infantry are continually at war with one another up-country, though this makes no difference to their behaviour in the regiment. Colonel Lake, the Commanding Officer, is the only person whose opinion is worth consideration on a question of this nature, and he has no doubts at all as to exactly how his regiment would act if called upon.

Secondly, and of equal importance from the military standpoint, is the fact that should the necessity arise the 1st Yemen Infantry could be used as a nucleus for the raising and training of other Arab battalions for service in any part of the world where they might be required. There is not the slightest doubt about getting the men if they were wanted. The Arab of South-West Arabia is a soldier from birth, and he would flock to the British flag in thousands. He likes soldiering, especially under the British Government, where he draws good pay and rations.

It is to be hoped that the military authorities are not considering the probable disbandment of the 1st Yemen Infantry on economic grounds. The total cost of the regiment, including the pay of the British personnel, is approximately £30,000 per annum, or about a third of the cost of a British unit, and far cheaper than an Indian unit, on the present establishment. There is no doubt that the disbandment of the regiment might be the cause of a great deal of unrest

in that part of Arabia, and might have political consequences of a far-reaching nature. The prestige of the British, which was not held in very high esteem by the Arabs during the operations of the Turks in the protectorate, would suffer very severely. It would not be an economy if the cost of the regiment had to be paid away in stipends to keep the tribes quiet, nor would it be an economy if the strength of the Aden garrison had to be increased because the tribes would not keep quiet. The position of the 1st Yemen Infantry is unique. No regiment of a similar nature has attained such a standard of military efficiency in so short a time, or been such a political success

It would not be fitting to conclude this summary of a great achievement without a further reference to Lieutenant-Colonel M. C. Lake, the Commanding Officer. There are two men in that vast corner of Arabia who by their untiring devotion to duty, and in the interests of their country, have earned the love, respect, gratitude and trust of the Arabs. They are Colonel H. F. Jacob, C.S.I., and Lieutenant-Colonel M. C. Lake. Their names are household words in the Yemen and beyond. They indeed deserve well of their country. Only those who have served with the regiment, or been intimately connected with it, can appreciate the vast amount of labour and patience that has been expended by Colonel Lake and his little band of enthusiastic British officers in making the regiment the success that it undoubtedly is. Let us hope and trust that this magnificent example of British mastery of an alien race be not cast aside and thrown away by those political and military advisors who, whilst striving their utmost to meet the needs of economy within the Empire, have not had the opportunity of sufficiently studying its possibilities to realize its military and political significance.

SOME ALLIED MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, 1918–1920

"*Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse*"*

THIS book will interest many outside the limited circle of those who have served with the author, and thus learned to know and appreciate him. Besides a brief but vivid impression of the importance through the ages of the area in which Europe meets Asia between the Black Sea and Caspian, a well-told story is given of events between 1918 and 1922. The wider interest lies, however, in the statement and analysis of the aims and actions of all the parties concerned. While we must reject many of the assertions made by M. Poidebard as to British policy, its objects and its failures, it is of the greatest interest to read for the first time an exposition of French views on the Near East during and since the War.

The history of Europe and Asia centres so much round Transcaucasia and Northern Persia that M. Poidebard sees an embryo world movement in every incident in this ever seething cauldron. All the great conquerors passed that way; it would seem as though the author cannot get away from the idea that no body of troops can ever go there except to form the spear-head of an immense campaign.

Russian developments both southwards against Turkey and Persia and eastwards towards India during the past century have not been pacific in intention or effect. We cannot, however, accept it that Germany also planned an invasion of India via the Caucasus in 1918, and the statement that England wanted to retain the Caucasus after the Armistice must be flatly contradicted.

Germany knows something of the "Hammer blow" and how to administer it, the conquests of Belgium, Serbia and Roumania, also Caporetto, all showed their technique; in March, 1918, we ourselves had a taste of it on the Western Front. Yet Von Kress and his Bavarian Division reached Tiflis, M. Poidebard tells us, in April, 1918, and could have been there sooner. Nuri blundered into Baku only in September, not the best time of year for invading India from the north. He was delayed by Georgian objections to the use by his troops of the Georgian portion of the railway. The German garrison already in occupation in Tiflis upheld these objections and thus were

* By A. Poidebard. (Georges Criès et Cie, Paris. 4s. net.)

a party to the delay in assembling their own side. The Turks in moving on Baku had to march from Alexandropol to Elisavetpol, a week at least over very bad mountainous roads instead of twenty-four hours in the train. No effort was made to reach, much less organize, the 100,000 Austrian prisoners in Transcaspia, who, the author states, were to have been an important ingredient in the expedition. It may be remarked in passing that the suggestion of thus using Austrian subject races, who had become prisoners of war chiefly because they had no heart in fighting in Europe for Germany, is very hard to accept. Under German and Turkish officers would they have been worth their rations in Central Asia?

The whole plan is very unlike the German. Ludendorff has said that he sent troops to the Caucasus to get the oil, and there is no reason why he should not be believed. Certainly Von Kress busied himself while in Tiflis more about manganese and tobacco than he did about invading India; clever propaganda was as far as he went in that direction. The incessant friction between him and Nuri Pasha, commanding the Turkish Caucasian Army, could not have been a preliminary to a joint offensive; our enemies had quarrelled far too deeply over the "Yilderim" Army and the campaign to recapture Baghdad in the previous autumn for them to co-operate anywhere in 1918.

The author also is very certain that General Dunsterville in Northern Persia in the summer of 1918 received less than his due of support from General Headquarters Baghdad, and that after the Armistice England needed the Caucasus for herself. In other words, while there was a danger to India the British did not realize it; when the danger was past the Caucasus must be seized and held to protect India. We have at times, as a nation, shut the stable-door somewhat late, but is there not in this instance a more reasonable explanation than just our habitual dilatoriness?

In considering German motives and actions we are, equally with M. Poidebard, dealing with matters to some extent of surmise; when, however, we now come to British policy the advantage is with us, just as we readily accept the author's authority to state the French view. General Dunsterville has stated his instructions. If he and his posse of instructors had reached Tiflis and had organized a defensive front, in replacement of the crumbling Russian armies, against Turkish and German invasion in the spring of 1918, a most useful service to the Allied cause would have resulted. But he was forestalled.

Under these circumstances no useful purpose could be served by pushing British troops into famine-stricken Northern Persia; to remain in observation and make a metalled road, thus bringing the Caspian within four days by motor of Baghdad, was not an unwise course to

adopt. In short, it was not the gallant little force with which M. Poidebard served on the Tehran-Tabriz road in the autumn of 1918 which saved the Persian capital from Turkish occupation, it was Allenby's destruction of the main Turkish army in Palestine; it was not the closing of any door in Asia which protected India, it was the defeat of our enemies in the main theatres of war.

In the very early days Kitchener in a famous message reminded the Government of India that India would be retained or lost on the battlefields of Europe; this cardinal principle remained and India sent a noble quota overseas to share in the great struggle. It is true that at times sideshows and ways round entranced the men of vision, but only in a nightmare could India be lost or won in Transcaucasia. After victory it would indeed be an astonishing performance to hold the Caucasus as a doorway to India against a defeated enemy; even if you add the Bolshevists to the latter, as M. Poidebard does, it only makes the idea the more astonishing, as the Orenburg-Tashkent Railway is then in their hands, a side entrance equally as valuable as the one you so carefully close in the Transcaucasian corridor.

At no time does Great Britain desire a land frontier in Europe, yet holding the Caucasus she would find herself sandwiched between two powers, Russia and Turkey, who both consider the Caucasus vital to them. Russia must have the oil for herself, while to Turkey, apart from the large Mussulman majority in the population, the Caucasus is a vital link in all schemes, whether pan-Islamic or Pan-Turanian in origin. Russia used to have two army corps always mobilized and at war strength, with their Headquarters at Tiflis. We should have two hostile frontiers instead of their one, each 600 miles long, in mountainous country, and unless we were to hold the Dardanelles and North Persia as well there would be the certainty, in war, of being cut off. How could the peace time British Army attempt such a commitment? It cannot be accepted for a moment that Great Britain sent troops to the Caucasus for any other purposes save to enforce the evacuation of the Turkish Army and await the decision of the Peace Conference. M. Poidebard must have thought his British colleagues doubly dyed with original perfidy when he recollects how they daily exhorted the three Republican Governments, from November, 1918, onwards, to put their house in order, as the British had a home of their own to which they would shortly return; he must also have thought the British commanders singularly stupid, for instead of making themselves indispensable they rid themselves at the earliest possible moment of such vital matters as food control, transportation, finance, and civil government generally in spite of the protests of the infant but already squabbling Republics. When the last Turk left Batoum, the British troops were ready to follow. Moreover the Italians promised to take over the Caucasus

in May, 1919, but were prevented from doing so by events at home. The operations in Kars and Nakhitchevan provinces undertaken in April, 1919, were, in point of fact, a preliminary to British evacuation. M. Poidebard sees in them some sinister scheme for increasing our hold.

It is on such premises as these that the author builds up an edifice which is to us as surprising in its immensity as for the insecurity of its foundations.

It is declared that after the armistice England had a Pan-Islamic policy in which the King of the Hedjaz was to be Khalifa, dancing to the piping of London. To carry this out England must be alone in control in Constantinople and to rule Syria, Cilicia, Turkey in Asia and Mosul. Turkey must become a British dependency. All this at a time when we were loosening our hold both in India and in Egypt—under duress, so our critics do not fail to assert. In the name of common sense, would we be likely to simultaneously expand our control and responsibilities in countries in no way vital to us?

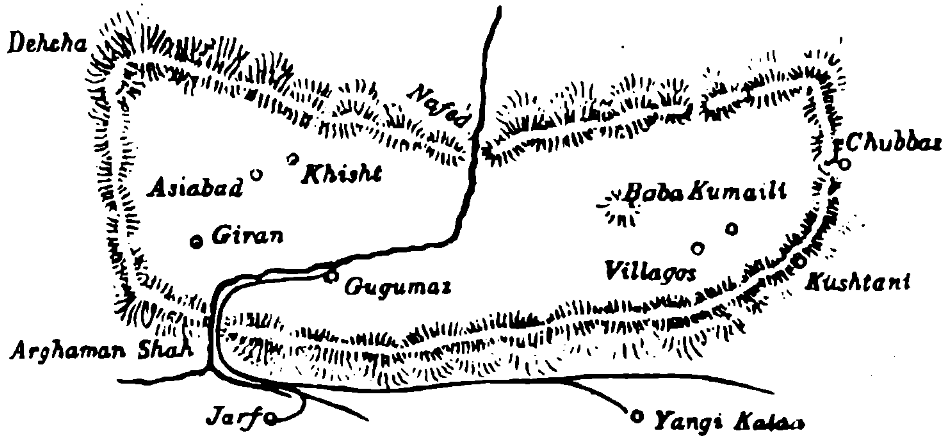
In the light of these statements it becomes clear that French and British policies in the past five years could not be otherwise than divergent. M. Poidebard concludes his book by forecasting that Russia and Turkey must resume their hostility in the Caucasus; that indeed seems most probable. Russia will never tolerate Turkey in possession of Kars, the great fortress of the southern approach; Turkey will never forget that Caucasia is predominantly Mussulman and the focus of Turki-speaking peoples. So far we agree. M. Poidebard says France and Turkey must in the future be friends. Again we agree. But when he asserts that the Pan-Islam movement, in alliance with the Bolshevists, is essentially directed against Great Britain, we cannot follow him. It takes two to make a quarrel, and what have we to fall out with Turkey or Persia or Afghanistan about? On the contrary, there is every reason why Islam should draw away from Russia and be friendly with Britain and with France at the same time. Surely it is not inevitable that we and our Allies should always be peeping mistrustfully through the opposite ends of the telescope.

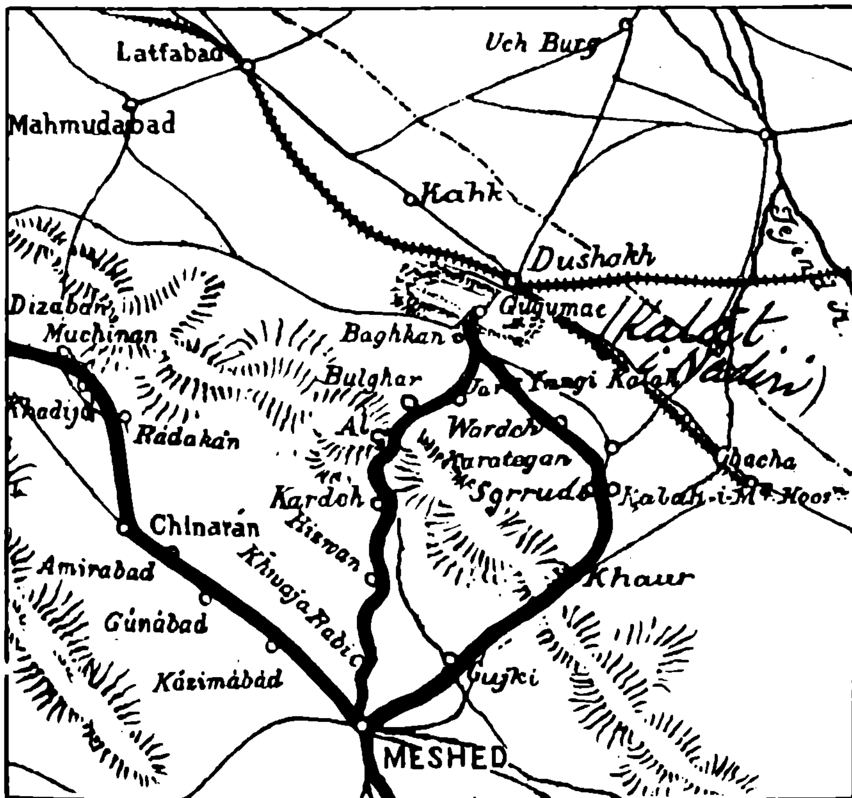
A generation ago France and England worked against each other all over the African continent; rivalry in Egypt, the Nile valley, and Abyssinia culminated in the Fashoda crisis. No two men fought more strenuously for their countries at that time than the late M. Delcassé and Lord Cromer. Yet a few years later these same protagonists were the first to realize that Africa was big enough for us both and led the way to a rapprochement not only in African but in world affairs. Is it not possible that if the present misunderstandings in the Near and Middle East could be dissipated, history might repeat itself and statesmen be forthcoming to grasp the opportunity?

KALÁT-I-NÁDIRI

On June 19, 1885, I left the Afghan Boundary Commission near Herat and started to return to India, travelling via Mashhad and the north of Persia, the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Black Sea to Constantinople. During that journey I wrote and despatched one or two articles to the *Daily Telegraph* via India, and one or possibly two from Constantinople. I propose to reproduce here the one which described my visit to Kalát-i-Nádiri. I have never come across any properly prepared plan of that remarkable natural fortress, and all that I brought away in 1885 was a sort of bird's-eye view taken from some high point within the fortress, adding such names as the guide who was with me indicated. This little " sketch " I inserted in the corner of the map which accompanied my " Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission," which Messrs. Blackwood and Son edited and published for me. I myself, while engaged in preparing this book for the Press, was sent off from Simla to join my regiment in Burma (the Burmese War was then going on), and I at once packed off all my material to Edinburgh, where, in the able hands of Mr. Alexander Allardyce as editor, it appeared in book form. My description of Kalát-i-Nádiri was, however, omitted.

The most carefully drawn up description of this fortress that exists is, according to the best of my knowledge and belief, that given by the Marquis Curzon of Kedleston in vol. i., chap. vi. of his " Persia." Note 1 on p. 123 of that volume names the five Englishmen who had visited it prior to Mr. Curzon's own arrival in 1886. He arrived to find it closed to foreigners. It was not seemingly till 1905 that any other Englishman obtained permission to visit. Major P. M. Sykes was there in September, 1905, and published his account of it in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal* for December, 1906. In May, 1919, Colonel J. K. Tod and Major L. V. S. Blacker, both of the Indian Army, visited it, and in the *Geographical Journal* of November, 1923, appears Colonel Tod's account, illustrated with photographs and drawings. Major Blacker in his lecture to the Central Asian Society on November 10, 1921, briefly pictures it as " a natural perimeter of some fifty miles of 1,000-foot cliffs, inaccessible even to goats. Four or five narrow gorges or rough tracks give access to the interior, which we were able to photograph." We would like to see those photographs. The Arghawán Shah gate is reproduced in Curzon's " Persia," as he and I found it in 1886 and 1885 respec-


ENLARGED SKETCH
OF
KALAT-I-NĀDARI.
Dehcha
Nafed
Asiabad
Khisht
Giran
Gugumaz
Villages
Kushtani
Arghaman Shah
Jarf
Yangi Kalaa
Scale 8 Miles = 1 Inch


Latfabad
Mahmudabad
Kahk
Dushakh
Baghkan
Bulghar
Radakan
Karategan
Kardeh
Chinaran
Khaur
Amirabad
Gúnábad
Kázimábád
MESHED

tively, and as MacGregor found it in 1875. Colonel Tod states that the defences which we severally saw were all swept away in a flood, probably in the year 1905. The illustrations in MacGregor's "Khorasan" are useful, the more so as he gives the only known sketch of the Nafta entrance on the north side of the perimeter.

With these preliminary remarks I will pass on to my account of Kalát-i-Nádiri, which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of August 27, 1885.

THE FORTRESS OF KALÁT

On the evening of June 29, I made an effort to start from Mashhad on my journey to Astrabad. My one and only servant, however, by getting disgustingly intoxicated, effectually defeated all my plans. Unfortunately for me, his intoxication did not assume the comatose form until after I had passed through the Naughan, or north gate, of Mashhad just at sunset when all the gates are closed for the night. Half an hour later I found myself standing in the dark on an unknown road, alone with two ponies, two pairs of saddle-bags, and a servant dead drunk. Shortly afterwards two villagers on their way home came up. With some persuasion, verbal and pecuniary, I induced them to take the drunkard with his pony and saddle-bags to their village, and look after them for the night. I then returned to the Naughan Gate, found it closed, and then for the first time ascertained that my mules, which I had sent on ahead, were still, for some inexplicable reason, within the city. On the roof of an adjacent dwelling outside the gate I passed a night that, what with mental irritation, bodily discomfort, and those parasites which infest all low-class Persian dwellings, proved an utterly sleepless one. At daybreak the gate was opened. Having sent one muleteer to find and bring back my servant, and ordered the others to load up and bring back my baggage to Mr. Gray's house, I returned thither myself. A few hours later I received a note from Mr. Finn, the British Consul, just returned from a trip with Dr. Weir round by Sarakhs and Kalát, asking me to wait and march with him to Astrabad. Having seen him in the evening, I decided to visit Kalát and return thence to Mashhad. On July 1 I effected a successful start, and by evening found myself encamped at Rizwan, twenty miles north of the city. From the village of Andurugh, two or three miles beyond Rizwan, the Kalát road commences to assume that rough and rugged character which attains its climax in the Dahana-i-Zaupirzan (Old Woman's Gorge) and at the Dewa Boini (Camel's Neck) Kotal. The latter I trust never to see again. On its south side the narrow track, after winding for some two miles along the steep face of the Dewa Boini Range, arrives at the foot of an almost perpendicular mass of rock about 100 feet or 150 feet high. Along its face a steep winding

path has been constructed. In ascending it half my mules fell down or dropped their loads, which had then to be carried to the top and there reloaded. However, all's well that ends well. It took my mules fully an hour to get to the top of that little 100-foot scarp. On the north side a long, very steep, and in places rocky track descends into the Wardeh Valley. The mules did not think much of it after their experiences on the south side. There is a certain grandeur in the wild scenery of this mountain region. The numerous passes with their cliffs towering overhead and the limpid waters of a rapid rivulet underfoot combine into a simple beauty. The vegetation—wild roses, honeysuckle, convolvulus, wild thyme, and, what is so rare in the East, luxuriant grass and clover—reminds the English traveller pleasingly of his own native country. At the higher elevations the steep slopes and scarps are overgrown with junipers of somewhat dwarf stature. Several striking views are obtained along this route; firstly, of the broad fertile plain of Mashhad from the hills overhanging Rizwan. Such a view, both over the valley of the Keshef Rud itself and over the neighbouring spurs and minor basins (which are all cultivated), gives one some conception of the fertility and productiveness of this district. Secondly, one gets a fine prospect from the Mirza Kashti range north of Baghkan down a wild precipitous gorge to the lofty natural walls of Kalát overhanging the Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah.

The entire distance from Mashhad to Kalát is about eighty-three miles. Leaving the Naughan Gate, the road at the fourth mile passes the picturesque mosque, or tomb, of Khwaja Rabi, lying embosomed in magnificent chinar-trees. Thence to Rizwan (twenty miles) the only thing that attracts the attention is the great fertility of the country and the picturesque appearance of every village lying embedded in a large area of orchards and gardens. In the distance, to the north, loom the lofty mountains which have as yet proved a barrier to Russian acquisitiveness. Nearer to the east stands the striking rocky height of Izhdarkuh (Drachen-fels). From Rizwan the road passes through the Andurugh Pass to Kardeh (thirty-one miles), and thence through another defile to Al (thirty-six miles). Al is an uncommonly pretty village situated amid shady orchards and ripening cornfields, and overhung by stupendous cliffs. It boasts a couple of chinar-trees that might well vie with those that adorn the great avenue of Isfahan. On the summit of the cliffs overhead, I was informed, are the ruins of a town or fortress of the ancient Persians (*Gabr*, Anglicé *Guebres*), and in passing through the Dahana-i-Al (Al Pass) the remains of masonry are seen in several places on the sides of the cliff. These are said to be the relics of the road or roads by which the Gabr obtained access to their stronghold. I should doubt if such was the case, because I noticed there are other

natural and easy means of access to the summit. A mile or two farther on may be seen on the right hand side of, and twenty or thirty feet above, the path a large boulder, the face of which, having been smoothed, bears an Arabic inscription. I was unable to ascertain the meaning of it. Opposite this boulder is a striking work of nature, called the Kuh-i-Panjmana, or the Five-Maund Mountain.* This little trifle consists of a great precipitous promontory of solid rock, a sheer drop of about 500 feet, more properly, perched on the top of, say, 1,000 feet of bare steep slope. Of course, it has a legend. Once upon a time there came hither a mighty monarch, attended by a numerous retinue. When the monarch saw this curious promontory of rock, he turned to one of his courtiers and directed him to go up and weigh it. "Certainly," said the courtier, "if your Majesty will be pleased to provide me with the scales." So it was called the "Five-Maund [about 35 pounds] Mountain," just as we talk of London as the "little village," or the 81-ton gun as the "Woolwich Infant." The next village beyond Al, on or near the direct road to Kalát (there are numbers of villages in the adjacent valleys) is Bulghar (forty-seven miles). Thence to Wardeh is the tug-of-war for the mules. First comes the Dahana-i-Zaupirzan (this too has its legend, but it is not quite suited to the pages of the Central Asian Society's *Journal*), four miles of rocky gorge. In some places the perpendicular walls of rock are only seven to eight feet apart; in others the channel of the stream, which often is the only possible road, is strewn with stones and boulders, or composed of water-worn slippery rock. The crowning task is the Dewa Boini Kotal, and that I have already described. Beyond it are passed the villages of Wardeh (sixty-one miles) and Baghkan (sixty-four miles). From Baghkan the road traverses two successive gorges—charming enough in their way, but not exactly as easy as a king's highroad should be—and at the seventy-ninth mile the entrance to Kalát, known as Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah, is reached. From there to the village of Gugumaz, where the *Sartip*, or Commandant, resides within the fortress, is four miles. Total, eighty-three miles.

In passing through this country the traveller meets with every civility from the inhabitants, who are almost all of Turkish or Kurdish race, and speak those languages. Their manners are somewhat rough and familiar, but they are none the less obliging. In every village I obtained without any difficulty milk, eggs, mutton, chickens, etc., for self and servants, and barley and dry fodder for my horse and the mules. Now I have in India come across villages where the inhabitants, from sheer pig-headed ill-will, refused to sell any thing whatever. I was also pleased to find that these people were

* Colonel Tod in the Royal Geographical Society's *Journal* for November, 1923, gives a picture of it.

not possessed of a large bump of curiosity. It is decidedly annoying, when you want to dress, bathe, dine, breakfast, read, write, or do anything else for which privacy is desirable, to find the door of your humble 80-pound tent besieged by a dirty crowd of all ages, but not sexes. Women hereabouts are supposed to wish neither to see nor to be seen. The Turk and Kurd peasantry of this mountain tract are by no means well to do, although they cultivate with most exemplary industry not only every square foot of their narrow valleys, but also the tops and slopes of every open hill blessed with soil fit for cultivation. The hill soil, being dependent on rain alone, is known as *daima*. Barley is generally grown on it. The yield naturally depends on the rainfall, but taken all round is poor. Land watered by natural streams is called in Persia *zamin-i-khálisa* or *Padshahi* (Crown lands). Land watered by *karez** (artificial subterraneous channel tapping a spring at the foot of a hill) is called *zamin-i-máliki* (private property). The former pays a higher tax than the latter. I believe that no tax at all is exacted on *daima*, the yield being poor, and rain being regarded as the gift of God, common to all. My guide, himself a small Kurd chief from Charam, near Kalát, said: "We are like sheep dogs who guard a flock, and who for their pains get naught but a few bare bones. It is the shepherd or owner who reaps all the profits. But for us the Turcomans would long ago have laid waste Mashhad and its fertile neighbourhood. It is we who have held the Turcomans in check, while others have sat in peace and amassed wealth." My guide himself had been a prisoner at Bokhara, having been captured by Tekes and sold for fifty tomans (about £17). After nine months he escaped on foot from Bokhara, having first killed his master's son, who seemingly stood in the way of his escape, and found his way in the garb of a darwish to Karki on the Oxus, and then through Maimena and Balamurghab to Persia. Two of his brothers, he tells me, are still there. They were released from slavery by the Russians, but having married in Bokhara, elected to remain there. What struck me most in my guide's allusions to the good old days of the Alamán, or Turcoman raids, was that he evidently regarded it as a perfectly fair give-and-take sort of business. He said, "We used to raid on them and they used to raid on us. Prisoners were taken on both sides, and were exchanged in due course. For a man of wealth or position, two or three men of the lower classes would be given." He spoke with no expressions of bitterness against the Turcomans. He evidently considered that he had given as good as he took. The fear of the Turcoman that pervades the baser grades of Persians—than whom none are, perhaps, lower than the inferior classes in Mashhad, Teheran, etc.—evidently finds no echo in the hearts of these highlanders. Such Turks and

* Persicé *Kanát*.

Kurds are the men in whom the Shah might find excellent material for an army, if he would but put down embezzlement with a strong hand and establish a competent system of supervision over all departments and grades of his army. He allows from 10,000 to 15,000 tomans per annum to the colonel of each regiment of infantry for its pay, uniform, etc. Half of that sum, perhaps, is embezzled. The paper strength of a regiment is 1,000 rank and file. The real strength is, perhaps, 500. If the colonel is threatened with an inspection of his regiment, he has previously arranged for temporarily placing the required number of men in the ranks. This is known and tolerated by the Shah and by his third son, Naib-us-Sultana, who is War Minister, with the title of Amir-i-Kabir; and so long as it lasts the Persian army will remain inefficient. The sons of men of rank in Persia are promoted while still in their infancy or boyhood to the grade of major or colonel. As is well known, the same thing went on in Great Britain in the eighteenth century. "The major crying for his parritch" is an echo from the Scotch nursery of that period. Later on, perhaps, they attend *L'École d'État Majeur* in Teheran, where they receive instruction in tactics, geometry, mathematics, military drawing, the use of artillery, etc., and are then given the command of a regiment. Such is the case of the Sartip Abdullah Khan here (Kalát-i-Nádiri). His father before him was a soldier, and, it appears, one of the most noted Persian generals during the reigns of the present Shah and his predecessor Mohammed Shah. He attained the rank of Amir-i-Toman (practically equivalent to a general of division, but relatively greater in Persia), and to the title of I'timád-ud-Daula. At the age of thirteen the son was granted the rank of sarhang, or colonel, and later on attended the Staff College at Teheran, where, he tells me, he highly distinguished himself. He then obtained the command of the Fauj-i-fadawi, or Hamadáni Regiment, which is composed mainly of peasantry from his own estates. He is a Turk of the tribe of Karaguzlu. He has now—and he is still a young man of thirty or so, I should say—attained the rank of Sartip-i-Awwal, or first-class brigadier. Such is the career of a man with interest. He now draws a salary of 4,000 tomans (£1,333), and an income of double that amount from his estates at Hamadan. He was apparently born with the proverbial silver spoon. But for a man without interest there is little hope of promotion. He may attain the rank of Naib, Sultan, or Yáwar (lieutenant, captain, or major), and remain in that rank until he is placed on the shelf.

It was last year (1884) about this time, I am informed, that the Persian Commissioner for the settlement of the Russo-Persian frontier, Sulaiman Khan, accompanied by his Russian confrère, arrived here. The commandant, pursuant to the instructions given him by the Shah, refused to let them enter the fortress. They were conse-

quently obliged to communicate by telegraph via Mashhad with Teheran; and it was only when the Shah's express order arrived that the Commissioners and their suites were allowed to enter. The Shah's order is that no one be allowed to enter or leave Kalát without the permission either of the Shah himself or of the commandant. After staying here some days, the Persian and Russian Commissioners, who had already settled the frontier from Sarakhs to Kalát, continued their work westward, and have now, I understand, completed it to the east shore of the Caspian. As one result of this new frontier settlement the whole of the Atak, up to the foot of the northern spurs of Kalát, and so as to place in Russian possession the road from Ashkabad, through a fertile, inhabited, and well-watered district to Sarakhs, has been ceded to Russia. Lutfabad, though still Persian territory, is cut off from Kalát by intervening Russian territory. The peasantry here are very bitter on the subject of this cession of the fertile Atak to Russia. But what could the poor Shah do? What the frontier is from Ashkabad to the Caspian I cannot yet say, but I believe it to be approximately represented by the Atrek River. Another outcome of this rectification of the frontier is the stoppage of rice cultivation among these mountains. The Russians, having obtained the whole of the Atak, found that its fertility depended solely on the water supply from the mountains. If the mountaineers cultivated rice the supply was sensibly diminished. So the Russian Government reapplied the screw to the Shah, and the latter ordered the mountaineers to stop cultivating rice. He impoverishes his own subjects to benefit aliens. The people here are very indignant about it.

This afternoon I rode out accompanied by a *yáwar*, or major, of the Hamadáni regiment to Khisht, a village about four and a half miles north of Gugumaz. The whole of the interior of Kalát consists of a confusion of lofty abrupt spurs, of which the highest points are Baba Kumaili, some ten miles south-east of Gugumaz, and a nameless eminence a mile north of Khisht overhanging the northern wall. In a locality of such rugged configuration the roads, on which the Government has certainly not thought fit to expend any money, are of the roughest kind, mere foot tracks winding along the face of almost precipitous slopes. Anyone who desires a better road must go a longish way round to find it. The Persians are proud of this unique fortress, and yet they take no pains and go to no expense to insure its impregnability. The five entrances to it (the circumference of this mighty wall is said to be eighteen farsakhs—about sixty miles —and the average height above the immediately adjacent country I should estimate at 500 or 600 feet) should be connected by fairly good roads permitting of the rapid movement of troops from the central camp or cantonment to any point. As for the defences of the

Arghawan Shah Gate; they are simply pitiable, and I conclude that the defences of the other four gates, although I did not see them, are equally feeble. The garrison of 500 infantry, 200 cavalry, and some guns of sorts is utterly inadequate. At each gate two to four guns are placed behind walls of no great strength, in some position supposed to command the entrance. With regard to the position selected for the guns at the Arghawan Shah Gate, it appeared to me that their fire would only take effect on an enemy already within the entrance, instead of commanding and closing the entrance itself. As for the miserable little loopholed gateway drawn across the entrance, a baron of the mediæval ages would have been ashamed to see such a structure closing access to his feudal stronghold. Here you have a channel, say, 40 to 50 feet wide between lofty walls of rock. What should be done is to make loopholed galleries in the rocky walls themselves, besides a succession of adequate defensible barriers to assault. There must always be an arrangement admitting of the passage of the stream when in flood. But when the stream is in flood an enemy could scarcely make an assault; and when the flood abates the channel of water escape can be closed. Yesterday (July 4, 1885) evening the *Sartip's* Nazir, or house steward (I had sent in my letter of introduction given me by Mirza Abbas Khan, the British Agent in Mashhad, about midday), came out and brought me the *Sartip's* invitation to be his guest during my stay. As I rode with him through the winding rocky channel, about half a mile in length, known as the Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah, he pointed out to me, in that braggadocio manner characteristic of too many Persians, the miserable defences meant to bid defiance to the invader. Now as a matter of fact, Kalát in the hands of an able and energetic Government might be made a terrible thorn in the side of Russia. Fortify impregnably its five entrances, put into it a garrison of, say, 5,000 infantry and at least five batteries with machine guns, place there a good well-filled arsenal, collect a reserve supply of provisions for one year, and some mule and pony transport, connect the five entrances by good broad level roads, or, better still, by a light tramway system, and then the place would be able not only to resist any assault, but also to effectively harass the Russian line of comunications between Ashkabad and Sarakhs, which is only distant some ten miles or so from the two northerly gates of Kalát, called Dehcha and Nafta. In order to prevent continued attacks from the Kalát garrison on every passing convoy or detachment it would be necessary to detach a considerable force to hold the garrison in check. Even then it would be impossible to watch each of the five issues. It would be a dangerous experiment to hazard even a strong force in the mountain defiles and fastnesses south of Kalát where every Kurd and Turk is an enemy. Consequently even if sorties from the Dehcha, or north-west, and Nafta,

or north-east, Gates could be prevented, the Chubbaz and Kushtani Gates to the east and south-east, and the Arghawan Shah, to the south, will still be available. From these issues more distant points of the Ashkabad-Sarakhs road could be assailed before the forces opposite Dehcha and Nafta could afford any assistance. If all the entrances to Kalát, however, are like that of Arghawan Shah, it must be admitted that a sortie therefrom in the face of a fairly strong besieging force would be as impossible as a successful assault by the besiegers. But as I said above, I think the Kurds and Turks of these highlands would render the position of a besieging force in front of the Arghawan Shah Gate untenable. Whence would its supplies be drawn? Would they be brought in by these difficult mountain passes and gorges, in the face of swarms of mountaineers, rifles in hand? It would be an arduous task, liable to end in disaster. On the other hand, Kalát is more or less self-sustaining. Its principal water-supply is drawn from the copious stream that flows down from Jarf and Istakhsu, enters Kalát by the Arghawan Shah, and leaving it by the Nafta Gate runs away to fertilize the fields of Dushakh. To divert the course of this stream may be regarded as an impossibility, but supposing that the garrison of Kalát were to be deprived of it, they have still the internal resources of water-supply to fall back upon. These, however, to the best of my knowledge, are not as abundant as they might be. They consist of a large tank at Khisht constructed by Nadir, and of five small springs issuing from the soil, one each near Girau, Sirzar, Aghdash, Kulahzau, and the fifth some six miles east of Khisht. But this tank and the springs are only just enough for the wants of the villagers themselves, and could not possibly suffice for a large garrison as well. What, therefore, should be done now is to take immediate steps to provide an adequate internal reserve of water by artificial means. The actual existence of five natural springs proves that the interior of Kalát is not void of water-bearing strata. While on the subject of water, it may be mentioned that there are two medicinal springs in this neighbourhood, the one of which is looked upon by the natives as a valuable remedy for many diseases, and the other as a poison. The former is a hot sulphur spring near the Nafta Gate, called by the local peasantry Ab-i-Khwaja, or the holy man's water. Its products are taken medicinally, especially for skin diseases. In Mohammedan countries the priesthood appear to have early realized the capital, both pecuniary and religious, to be made out of a judicious use of these hot sulphur springs. Near them is invariably to be found a Ziarat, or the tomb of some saint of the Mohammedan Calendar, used as a resort for pilgrims. The gesture expressive of offence to the olfactory organ with which the *Sartip* spoke of the waters of Nafta carried my thoughts away forcibly to the pleasures of Harrogate. The second

is at Istagshu, some eight miles up the Kalát stream from Arghawan Shah. This, as its waters are said to be red, I take to be an iron spring. The natives, however, aver that it is undeniably poisonous, and, mingling with the main stream, proves the cause of the fever, ague, and other diseases so prevalent at Kalát in the autumn. By others the unhealthiness of Kalát in the autumn is attributed to the moist vapours arising from the rice fields and to the consumption of water that has been used for irrigating the rice fields. Just outside the Darwaza-i-Arghawan Shah rises the Karazu spring, the excellent water of which was conveyed by Nadir in pipes to Gugumaz, four miles off. This useful work of sanitation has long been out of repair. It is one of the most interesting traces of Nadir's work here.

I had expected to find the interior of Kalát more fertile and more cultivated than it is. The narrow valley, extending from Arghawan Shah to below Gugumaz, is everywhere cultivated. The cultivation consists of rice, wheat, lucerne, vineyards, orchards, melon, and cucumber beds, etc. The level summits and gentler slopes of the spurs throughout the whole interior of the fortress are cultivated as *daima*, or rain land. Barley and wheat are produced in large quantities. Probably there are not less than twenty square miles of this cultivation inside Kalát. The people also cultivate and pasture their sheep in the valleys and mountain slopes immediately adjoining Kalát. I was surprised to see so few flocks grazing inside the fortress, and to find the grass as a rule so scant. Still the lucerne grown in the valley and the wheat and barley straw of the *daima* supplementing the natural grass growth of the hillsides should suffice for the support of a large number of animals. The local products of grain, rice, etc., would go a long way to support a garrison of 5,000 men.

Camp Outside Kalát, July 6, 1885

I cannot praise too highly the kindness and hospitality that I experienced at the hands of Sartip Abdullah Khan. I was lodged in a spacious tent, with every convenience, in the midst of his garden. I dined with him always, but owing to its being the Ramazan fast—during which Mohammedans of rank spend most of the day in sleep—I breakfasted alone. He could speak a little broken French, and as he evidently preferred talking that language, we generally conversed in it. The only thing I feel disposed to find fault with is that his cook would insist on trying to imitate European cooking. Some of his Persian dishes were excellent, but his *cuisine à l'Anglaise* was not palatable. I shall always look back with much pleasure to my short stay in Kalát-i-Nádiri.

As a matter of course, in Kalát-i-Nádiri the relics of Nadir are many. Firstly, there is the ingenious arrangement for conducting

the Karazu water in pipes for four miles to Gugumaz. Secondly, in Gugumaz itself is the Makbara-i-Nádir,* or Nádir's tomb, built under Nádir's orders. Not that Nádir was buried there, although it is possible he may have intended that he should be. No one, I believe, knows where the peasant boy, who rose to be one of the greatest Oriental conquerors, lies buried—if, indeed, he was buried at all. In his latter days he made himself generally hated by his subjects, and he was assassinated by one or more of his own soldiers near Kuchan. Naturally his camp broke up at once, and his corpse was not improbably left to the dogs and vultures. His so-called tomb is a simple but not inelegant edifice of red sandstone. The central chamber, which was once domed—this dome has fallen in—is exactly like most Mohammedan tombs. It is encircled, however, by a number of small chambers, and below it is a very extensive cellar, which is not the case in most Mohammedan tombs. It is a semi-ruin now, and will be a complete ruin ere long. Not far from it stands a small *masjid*, completely encased in Kashi, or painted tiles. This is known as the Bulūt-gumbaz. On the red-coloured eminence two or three miles east of Gugumaz was Nádir's Nakkāra-khana. The Nakkāra-khana is the building in a city, or the spot in a camp from which are sounded reveillé, retreat, last post, etc., on drums and trumpets. Nádir's own usual residence was near Khisht, and its site (named Asiabad) is now indicated by some uninteresting remains of walls, etc. The water-tanks below Khisht are also due to him, and at a place called Buikuli, on the outer face of the southern wall, between Arghawan Shah and Kushtani, are to be seen the remains of a wall and tower constructed under his orders. Such is the sum total of all that remains here to remind the world of the once widespread fame of the great Nádir Shah.

From the height north of Khisht a fine view of the Atak is obtainable on a fine day. Yesterday it was very misty, and I could with difficulty make out the following places when indicated by my guide: North lay Aliabad, with Nurik, Tirmachin, Kahka, and Baward to the west, and Dushakh to the east of it. The Kalát stream issuing from the Nafta or north-east gate, flows away to Dushakh. Just below the eminence from which I viewed the Atak a footpath winds down the steep cliff and goes away to Aliabad. A guard is always posted to watch this pass. Between the north wall of Kalát and the Atak stretches a series of confused rugged spurs for six or seven miles.

I returned from Kalát to Mashhad by a circuitous route, to avoid Dewa Boini and the Zaopirzan Gully, and probably arrived back there on the 10th. I marched thence with Mr. Finn and Dr. Weir as far as Kuchan, and there saw the Khan, a famous character, with whom

* MacGregor and Tod give pictures of it.

O'Donovan stayed on his way to Merv early in the eighties of the last century, and whose striking portrait Curzon's "Persia" gives. At Kuchan I decided to part from my fellow-countrymen. Their leisurely progress did not suit me. Only a weekly steamer left Bandar-i-Gaz for Baku, and I calculated that by forced marching I could catch the one due to start in about ten days. The same half-dozen of mules carried my kit from Mashhad to the Caspian, and I have calculated that those mules kept up an average of thirty-three miles a day for eleven days. The longest march was fifty, an all-night march. The heat was serious. I stopped a week at Tiflis and three weeks at Therapia, near Constantinople. I took the opportunity to swim the Bosphorus just opposite Therapia. I returned to Bombay by the Khedivial and P. and O. Lines.

A. C. YATE.

RECENT EVENTS IN TURKISTAN

AFTER a long period of silence, several articles of great interest have appeared lately giving the story of recent events in Central Asia and Turkistan. In October the *Asiatic Review* published an account of Russian Turkistan since the Revolution and the attempt that is being made at the complete Russification of that province. The same periodical in its January number gives the first instalment of a paper on Bokhara during the last six years, and the United Service Institution of India in its January *Journal* has a series of Notes on the Middle East and Central Asia from April to August, 1923. After discussing Turkey and Persia and Great Britain's relations with both, the Notes go on to speak of Russian Turkistan as follows:

Interest (here) has centred entirely round the rebel operations in Bokhara and Ferghana and the concentration of Russian troops in those districts. The rebel movement in Bokhara had since Enver Pasha's death gradually lost strength in spite of the attempts of his successor, Haji Sami Bey, to instil new life into it; and the latter's control over the various rebel leaders had steadily decreased till in July he gave up his difficult task and crossed into Afghanistan. In Bokhara, as in Ferghana, however, the rebel attacks on Russian posts and communications have continued in varying measure.

"Early in May the Moscow Government decided to send additional troops to Turkistan, and in the same month Kameneff, the Commander-in-Chief of the Red Army, and Znamensky, head of the Red Air Force visited Tashkent and Bokhara. The arrival of fresh troops, which occurred simultaneously with their visit, and almost immediately after the presentation of the British note at Moscow, was announced as a measure connected with the hostile policy of Britain towards Russia. The size of the present concentration of troops in Bokhara certainly gives the impression of an intention on the Russian part to do something more than merely crush the local rebel movement. Seeing, however, that the plans for this concentration must have been matured before the presentation of the British note, the idea that it had any connection with this note can be dismissed at once. The distribution of the troops along the Central Asian Railway and the Oxus may point either to a concerted movement from north, west and south against the rebels in Eastern Bokhara, or equally to preparations for a threat to Afghanistan. On previous occasions the Russians, finding that the demands they had made to the Afghan Government through their Minister in Kabul were not complied with, have concentrated troops on the Afghan border and thus quickly brought the Amir to reason. But on the present occasion Russo-Afghan official relations are less unfriendly than usual, and, as far as can be ascertained, there were at the time the present concentration began no recent Russian demands with which the Afghan Government had failed to comply.

"Moreover the strength of the concentration close to the Afghan border, amounting to some 75,000 rifles in all,* is comparatively insignificant compared with the numbers which would be required for a successful advance on Kabul. There is another factor too which militates against the likelihood of Russia invading Afghanistan at the present time. The Soviet Government has long proclaimed itself the "supporter of oppressed nations," the "emancipator of the East," and such like. Any attack by Russia on Afghanistan would give the lie to such protestations, already deeply mistrusted throughout Moslem countries. Setting aside, then, the possibility of Russia threatening to attack or actually attacking Afghanistan, there remains the conclusion that the present concentration in and around Bokhara is solely for the purpose of crushing once and for all the rebels in that area. The only argument against this conclusion is the size of the concentration for the task in hand; this, however, may be explained by the fact that the efficiency of the Red Army has not even yet reached a very high level, and it has probably been found by bitter experience that it is necessary to employ brigades where battalions of first-class troops would be sufficient.

"Despite the decrease in the strength of the rebels and their lack of cohesion it cannot be expected that, even with their present forces, the Russians will be able to crush them and restore order in Bokhara and Ferghana in any short period. The large area and mountainous nature of the country from which the rebels operate and to which they return after lightning raids on Russian communications and posts favour the defence, and although there is little likelihood of the rebels again becoming a serious menace to the Russian hold on Turkistan, it is unlikely that their strength will be entirely overcome during the campaigning season of the present year."†

The writer then sums up very shortly the position in Afghanistan, and gives his conclusions.

The three articles mentioned here have been added to the Library.

* The numbers given here are probably excessive.

† See *Morning Post* of February 15 : "Recent reports from a usually well-informed private source in Moscow, which must, however, be taken with reserve, speak of a growing activity of anti-Soviet organizations in various parts of the Union of Soviet Republics.

"On January 22, it is stated, in the region of Blagovestchensk, in Eastern Siberia, a serious anti-Soviet rising, organized by General Sytcheff, unexpectedly broke out, embracing not only the town itself, but also the neighbouring villages of Ivanovsk Ilyinsk, and Lower Poltavka.

"At the same time very perturbing reports have been received in Moscow from Khiva, where, in the middle of January, a sudden revival of the activities of anti-Soviet guerrilla bands was noted. The well-known native rebel leader, Junaid Khan, whom the Bolshevist authorities have been trying unsuccessfully to run to earth for some time, is behind the affair. Khiva itself, it is stated, has been surrounded on all sides by the rebels, and direct telegraphic communication with Bokhara and Moscow is cut."

It is rather hard to describe Juniad Khan as a "rebel," as he is the rightful occupant of the throne of Khiva.

REVIEWS

THE MYSTERY RIVERS OF TIBET. By Captain F. Kingdon Ward. Seeley, Service and Co. 21s. net.

The earth is shrinking apace, the time is fast approaching when there will be no new worlds for geographical Alexanders to conquer, but Captain Kingdon Ward may claim to have secured a place among Asiatic travellers before the record of their discoveries is finally closed.

The narrative introduces the reader to three of the mightiest rivers of Asia, the Yangtze Kiang, the Mekong, and the Salween, and therefrom originates a geographical wonder of the world, for at one point the three rivers flow within fifty miles of each other, the Mekong in the centre being twenty-eight miles from the Yangtze, and but twenty from the Salween. Much geographical research has been carried out in their upper waters, but the sources of all three still remain undetermined, and a wide field is thus open to further exploratory enterprise.

Generally speaking, Tibet is a sealed mystery, but it has grown a little more familiar in recent years, and in the area dealt with by the author he tells us much of the flora; he met with over two hundred varieties of trees, plants, and shrubs, and, incidentally, discovered a new specimen of perennial primulas, a beautiful chrome yellow *Primula pulvinata*. He also treats of the fauna, and it is interesting to note that, although the habitat of the monkey is essentially one embraced by a warm and equable climate, the author actually met with a variety of short-tailed monkeys in the mountains of the Mekong at a height of 10,000 feet.

The book contains many interesting sidelights upon the country passed through, and the habits and customs of unknown people met with. Tibet is, above all, the land of the lamas, and if the writer tells us nothing new regarding the religious fanaticism of the Tibetan monk, he emphasizes something of the hold the monastic orders have upon the country. The extent to which this fanaticism goes is frequently apparent, and the present reviewer, who has spent several years in Central Asia, recalls a practice formerly in vogue at an annual religious festival in a monastery of Northern Tibet. Large numbers of pilgrims gathered at the festival in question, and, on the gala day, huge cauldrons, nine feet or more in diameter and six

or seven feet deep, were used to prepare soup for the pilgrims. It was the acme of religious devotion and piety on the part of aged lamas, and a fitting termination to their earthly existence, to plunge into the seething cauldrons, which act of self-sacrifice was received with due awe and reverence by the assembled crowd, the sequel thereto being the competition that ensued to secure a taste of the soup.

The religion of the lamas has undergone many changes since the days, five centuries before the birth of Christ, when Gautama Buddha first spread abroad the tenets of his belief and so founded the Buddhist faith. In the days of its inception it was more or less pure and undefiled, and the monasteries were the seats of learning and religion, but in the course of time their influence exerted an adverse effect upon the people, and the tyranny of the priests, and inequality of castes, to overcome which Buddha had striven, became reinstated. Moreover, quaint rites and sinister customs have crept in with the advance of time. In this connection the present reviewer came across a Buddhist tribe in Central Asia some years ago, whose spiritual and executive head on attaining the age of twenty-five years vanished from this world, and a new chief reigned in his stead, until in the fulness of time he, too, should be gathered unto his predecessors. The mode of his disappearance from mortal ken could not be definitely established, but, apparently, the end was brought about by means of a subtle poison. Of a truth, uneasy lies the head that wears a monastic crown in Tibet.

Apart from his contribution to our knowledge of this little-known corner of Asia, Captain Kingdon Ward supplies useful geographical information, and the number of photographic reproductions adds considerably to the interest of a book, which does credit to its author.

P. T. Etherton.

Kings of Arabia. By H. F. Jacob, C.S.I. Mills and Boon, London, 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

Colonel Jacob's readable and interesting book suffers from possessing a title which it is unable adequately to fulfil. For, except for a few references to events in other parts of Arabia, it deals almost exclusively with the South-Eastern portion, known as the Yemen, and with the country on the Arabian side of the Red Sea littoral. It has, moreover, two great defects, in that it is in nature inconclusive, and that it badly requires both an index and a good map. Generally speaking, Colonel Jacob deals with two very important incidents in his career, that of the Anglo-Turkish Boundary Commission, 1902-1907; and that of the mission to the Imam of Sana in 1919, when the members of the mission suffered arrest and deten-

tion at Bajil by the sheiks of Kuhra while on their journey inland from the coast. On both of these occasions he was the Political Officer to whom was entrusted the work of negotiation, and he writes with an intimate knowledge of all that took place. It is in their connection that the charge of "inconclusiveness" is made, for after reading the chapters dealing with them, the reader is quite unable to say what results it was desired to attain, and whether those results were attained. The accounts are too shadowy to make them a valuable contribution to the history of British dealings with the Turks and Arabs concerned. Would that Colonel Jacob had told us more of the delicate situations to which the Commission were exposed, when the encroaching Turk, who was expected to fight, retired during the night. History almost repeated itself when British met Turk only recently outside Constantinople, with this difference that during the Boundary Commission's work firing was occasionally indulged in and losses sustained. Yet no medal was awarded for these "peaceful" operations.

Throughout the book the author gives evidence of possessing an unique knowledge of the people of Yemen, of their language and folklore, and of their psychology. His long service was mostly spent either among them in their own country, or in close touch with them at Aden, and he displays an interest in his subject which makes invaluable his contribution towards settling the great problem of British dealings with the Yemen Arabs after the War. When the War broke out the Turks were nominally supreme in the Yemen, and they were able to march a force from Sana against Aden, and to maintain it there throughout the War. It was a wonderful achievement, and only the powerlessness and neutrality of the petty chieftains within our so-called Protectorate made it possible. But one substantial chief was staunch to us, the late Sultan of Lahej, H.H. Sir Ahmed Fadl, K.C.S.I., and if ever a failure of policy became apparent it was that of our relations with the chiefs as a whole, with whom we had, and still have, treaties. These treaty relations are extremely one-sided, and while we are scrupulously careful to uphold our side of the bargain, we could not enforce reciprocity without substantial military support! The treaties should be entirely remodelled, and we should endeavour to turn the chiefs into respectable members of the community, instead of being, as they are, just chronic beggars, who war constantly among themselves with the sinews which we provide. Colonel Jacob suggests that we should restrict our activities to the country below the Yemen hills, leaving the tribesmen beyond to come under the ægis of the Imam of Sana, who is far better able to control them than are we.

Colonel Jacob professes an unbounded admiration for Commander Haines of the Indian Navy, under whose direction Aden was captured

in 1839, and who was the first Political Agent. The subsequent career of this unfortunate officer recalls that of Warren Hastings. Accused of peculation, he was taken to Bombay to stand his trial, and though acquitted of the charge in a court of law, he was still kept a prisoner, being released only to die. The tragedy of it is as great, though the story did not attract the notice, nor call forth the oratory which we have learnt to connect with Warren Hastings' impeachment.

Colonel Jacob refers to Aden itself in no uncertain terms, and he condemns the present method of calling the place a "fortress" and of retarding all progress within it. Aden ceased, strictly speaking, to be a fortress when the last Arab attack against it failed in the early forties of last century, and only the apparent unconcern regarding its charge by the Government of Bombay has allowed the anachronism to continue for so long. Aden is not the sort of place that can be turned into a miniature paradise. Its forbidding hills and its lack of verdure and fresh water must always limit any attempt to introduce more than the most necessary amenities of life. But much more could be done than has been done, as Colonel Jacob says, and administrative methods of forty years ago are entirely unsuited to modern conditions of commercial and social life. Colonel Jacob quotes many Arab proverbs, and there is one of them which may be aptly referred to here: "The hand is thine own, even if it is leprous!"

"Kings of Arabia" supplies a long-felt want. Generally speaking, the Yemen is a sealed book to us, and there are hitherto but one or two travellers who have written of it with knowledge. The last of them, the late Mr. G. Wyman Bury, has left us "The Turk in the Yemen" and "The Land of Uz," but neither is so valuable a contribution to present-day conditions as is Colonel Jacob's work. If for that reason alone, it is more than welcome. The fact that it tells us so much about the Arab himself makes it, besides, most valuable, and we look for the appearance of a second edition—with index and map—at no very distant date.

Is not the author at fault when he tells us at page 267 that the present Government Treasury was first, after our occupation of Aden in 1839, on the margin of the sea? Surely the ancient city wall marked then, as now, the sea's limits? Most of it is buried, but its site is easily traceable, and an ancient "sally-port" still shows to the sea the face of stone which it showed to the Portuguese when they unsuccessfully attacked Aden in 1512. Had the sea covered this wall it would surely have levelled it.

Islam at the Cross-Roads. By De Lacy O'Leary, D.D. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., London, 1923. 12s. 6d. net.

Dr. O'Leary's subtitle is "A Brief Survey of the Present Position and Problems of the World of Islam," but of his seven chapters the

first two are, rightly and necessarily, historical. In the first he traces the "Historical Development of Islam," dealing more with the political than with the religious aspect, but has much of interest to say of the Shi'ite group of heresies and of the effects of Greek and Asian thought on orthodox Islam. Throughout he holds to what is relevant as an introduction to his description of the position of affairs as he sees it to-day, and it is therefore natural that the greater portion of his second chapter on the internal reforming movements in Islam should be devoted to the story of Wahabiism. The Senussi get as much space as, perhaps, they are entitled to, if considered only in relation to their present political power. Both these movements are correctly described as a revolt against the undue reverence paid to "holy men," but the sects founded in consequence of these movements still flourish throughout Islam, and are potent factors in the situation, deserving greater attention than the mere mention of the Dervish orders of North Africa and the Ahmedia sect in Egypt. The Mahdist movement in the Sudan was not so much a religious as a political revolt; in the final result it has only added yet another sect to those already in existence, and has always incurred the opposition of the older "tariqas" who felt themselves strong enough to resist it. Which turning Islam takes at the cross-roads depends no doubt more on such countries as Turkey, India, Arabia, and Iraq, but there will be turns further down the road, and the student of Islamic politics must not forget the potential influence of the mass of African Moslem tribes who stretch from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. The sects to one or other of which all these people belong owe much of their teaching to old Sufic doctrine, now greatly corrupted, superimposed on, and intermixed with orthodox Islamic teaching. A good deal remains to be known about them, and the knowledge may be important in the future.

The third and fourth chapters, on "The Western Penetration of Islam" and "The Reaction of Islam against the West," give a picture of almost unrelieved hatred and distrust in every sphere—political, economic, social and intellectual. Certainly the Western Powers, and Great Britain among them, have made grievous errors, more particularly in the years since 1914, but it may be doubted if the position is quite as gloomy as Dr. O'Leary sees it. Granted, too, that Western motives have often been bad, it is unfair to attribute all our encroachments in the East to rapacity, and omit any consideration of the economic necessity of Europe for raw materials and for markets. In many cases this has been the force which, either directly or indirectly, has driven Western Governments forward in the wake of their traders.

After a short note on the Babist movement, the author devotes his last two chapters and nearly half his space to "Pan-Islamic Hopes and Nationalism" and "The War and After." The first of these,

with the aid of the historical survey which has gone before, gives an able summary of the many cross-currents within Islam itself, of nationalism and of the difficulty of reconciling it—whether it be Arab or Turanian—with Pan-Islamism, and of the tendency to close the ranks as against Christianity in spite of all internal differences.

The last chapter is a record of recent events. Individual readers, particularly those who had a personal knowledge of particular phases during the War, may make their own criticisms. The author makes no attempt to point the moral, and the tale is not altogether pleasant reading, and would not be an easy one to adorn.

Dr. O'Leary brings us over the road to the cross-roads, but he does not paint the arms of the signpost for us; he would say, perhaps, that that is neither the intention nor the function of the book, and he prefers to make us think it out for ourselves and make the best guess we can. If he does not succeed, at least, in giving to think, the fault is not his.

The misprints in the book are numerous, and more irritating when coupled with a somewhat pedantic system of transliteration which is not always consistently adhered to.

L. C. C. B.

PERSIAN LITERATURE. By R. Levy, M.A. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

We welcome the appearance of "Persian Literature," for the author has given us, in little more than one hundred pages, an attractively written and scholarly piece of work. The first section deals with the great historical figures of Cyrus the Great and Alexander *Zul-karnain* or "The Lord of the Two Horns," by which title the Macedonian conqueror is still known and feared in the East.

In the fifth century of our era Persia reached the zenith of her fame under Nushirwan the Just, but rapidly waned until she fell under the blows of the fervid Arabs, who, imbued with a new spirit by the teachings of Mohammed, created a world-empire which stretched from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean. Pahlawi or the "Parthian" tongue, the language of Persia, was forced to give way to the Arabic script, as much as its speakers to the Moslem conquerors.

The author's sketch of the Abbaside Caliphate when Persian literature, in the modern sense of the word, came into being is vivid and clear, and he shows how the early simple poems ceased to please, and were succeeded by over-elaboration and artificiality. The Mongol conquerors first wrecked Persia and then created a golden period for literature until they, too, became effete and gave way to the brilliant Safavi monarchs, who gathered round them the leading poets and writers and rewarded them generously.

Mr. Levy's book shows remarkable promise, and we shall, in due

course, expect to see more ambitious works from his pen. Meanwhile the manual can be warmly commended to the members of the Central Asian Society.

P. M. SYKES.

THE THREE DERVISHES, AND OTHER PERSIAN TALES. By R. Levy, M.A., Lecturer in Persian at the University of Oxford. Oxford University Press. Leather, 3s. 6d.; cloth, 2s. net.

To anyone interested in Persia these stories, so charmingly narrated, will be very welcome, as they are full of touches that carry the reader into the mental atmosphere of the inhabitants of old Iran, of Bagdad under the Caliphs, and of Turkestan.

The story-teller is a familiar sight to-day as he sits surrounded by a throng of listeners whom he can charm or terrify at will, and it may be partly owing to this art that the belief in the supernatural is so firmly implanted in the minds of the whole nation. Jinns, devs and peris are to them unquestioned facts; ghouls still haunt graveyards and ruins in readiness to devour the unwary; it is dangerous for youths to sleep alone at night or even to whistle, as demons can then carry them off, and no stone may be thrown or hot water flung away carelessly, as an invisible though ubiquitous jinn may thus be injured and immediately wreak vengeance upon the perpetrator.

One of the stories, that of Jamshid and Zukak, is taken from Firdusi's "Shah Nama," the great epic which relates the legendary history of Persia. This narrative of the exploits of kings and heroes is looked upon by the uneducated Persian as genuine history, and is frequently alluded to in conversation, entire credence being given to its marvels. The Persian regards the reign of Jamshid as a golden age, to be compared with the reigns of the Sassanian Noshirwan or the Safavi Shah Abbas.

The country itself favours romance. The great desert in the centre that few have traversed, the days of travel across wide plains, where at dawn the mirage gives tantalizing pictures of pellucid lakes or shady groves, and where a harmless peasant driving his ass assumes the dimensions of a giant, foster it; and when night descends without the warning of twilight the jackals slipping past to the rendezvous of the pack or the slinking form of a hyena may well suggest the malignant spirits that prowl to destroy the unwary.

The Persian is essentially poetic and artistic, and phrase after phrase in this collection of tales reveals his vivid imagination. A youth describes his sensations at the sight of a beautiful maiden by saying: "The bird of my soul flew out of the cage of my body"; a maiden says she loves "with a thousand hearts"; and the wonderful Persian dawn is described in the following terms: "The world, plunged in night, was black as a raven's wing; suddenly light dawned

upon the mountains as though the sun had scattered rubies upon the azure of the firmament."

In the tale of "The Sailor and the Pearl Merchant" there is an allusion to Alexander and Plato, and an incident that recalls the adventure of Ulysses with Polyphemus.

But space fails, and I must write no more about a book upon which Mr. Levy should be warmly congratulated.

ELLA C. SYKES.

THE CRADLE OF MANKIND. By W. A. and C. T. Wigram. A. Black and Son. 15s. net. Second edition.

The casual traveller who passes through Syria, South-East Turkey, and Iraq must surely be struck by the knowledge of his own ignorance when confronted with the histories of Persia and Greece, Rome and Assyria, Babylonia, Phœnicia, Media, Tartar and Jew, and even more than these. Here histories have met, nations have sprung to the fore, and dynasties have sunk into a mere memory. Here peoples have fought for power, have surged up and been swept aside, have risen only to fall, have appeared for awhile, anon to vanish for ever from the stage of life. How interwoven are destinies, how mingled are their histories!

Dr. Wigram, however, appears familiar with this maze of history, and as he passes from city to village he tells us of their half-forgotten past and recalls to life their pristine glories.

His style is simple, yet masterful and full of humour. He writes, and with every justification, as one thoroughly acquainted with his subject.

In dealing with the Turk, Kurd, Assyrian, and Armenian, the reader cannot fail to notice how fairly the writer handles his subjects. We see neither a strong pro-Kurd nor yet a too jealous admirer of the Assyrian. He sees the difficulties of both Christian and Moslem, and he gives us their good points while telling us where they fail. The isolated story of Ismail, the Assyrian malik (chief), and of his son Shlimun would leave this people on a pinnacle of chivalry, but, alas! they descend to earth again in the dismal story of the Agha Petros and his unhappy adventure in 1920.

The author represents quite fairly the difficulties with which the Turk was faced when confronted with the Armenian revolutionary party, the Fedais. Difficulties they undoubtedly were, but the method of dealing with them as chosen by the Turk—namely, the wholesale massacre of a nation—does not commend itself to us as the wisest solution.

Dr. Wigram on page 41 writes that "The mere presence of a European constitutes a very real protection of our subject races." Our prestige to-day in Africa and Asia, to my mind, rests very largely

on these remote and scarcely known individuals, and in more than one instance the author has emphasized this fact.

One could wish that a more complete story of the origin and early history of the Assyrians had been given us. The writer, dealing almost exclusively with these Asiatic highlanders in the last few chapters, makes the reader wish that it had been possible to deal at greater length with the early story of their existence.

The present Mar Shimun is a nephew of Benyamin and Polus of Dr. Wigram's story. He is the son of David who we read of as having been wounded when his brother was murdered by Simco the Kurd. It is unfortunate that the temporal and spiritual head of the Assyrians is still only a boy of some fourteen years, who up till now exerts little personal influence. His aunt, the Lady Surima, is, however, an energetic and enlightened woman and very helpful to her nephew.

"The Cradle of Mankind" is well illustrated with photo and sketch, but it is a pity that these illustrations are placed in such a haphazard way.

The book is one of arresting interest, and the author gives us, with little exception, information enough to satisfy the most epicurean reader.

A. W. D. B.

BY TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES. By E. S. Stevens. Hurst and Blackett, London, 1923. 18s. net.

This book contains a number of sketches of people, places and things from Basra to the Yezidi country north of Mosul, so taking the reader to the edge of Dr. Wigram's country. The description of the holy cities gives *en passant* a good account of the differences between Sunni and Shiah, and shows how these differences react on political affairs, while the brief but up-to-date summaries of the antiquarian discoveries in Iraq will tend to awaken interest in what will undoubtedly be a very fruitful field of research.

The author has succeeded in getting together an excellent and varied collection of photographs, and in making her selection has avoided those which by now have become hackneyed. It is a pity, from the point of view of the general reader (for whom the book is presumably intended), that it was not thought necessary to include a map.

A very great merit, however, of Miss Stevens' book is that it opens up new lines of investigation into the affairs of Iraq. In the past, when Iraq was under consideration, too much space has been devoted to polemics, and it is therefore the more refreshing to read "much legend and little of history, much of customs and superstitions and little of British policy or problems of local government." The author

has found and made opportunities to visit and sketch some of the less-known races which go to make up the ethnological confusion that is Iraq, while her love of the country is shown by her care in noting the little details of everyday life even more than by her descriptions of the unusual. Her example may well encourage others who are in contant touch with the people to write of other areas, but in any case it is to be hoped that Miss Stevens will herself redeem the promise given (on page 70 of her book) of another volume.

H. G.

THE WORLD AS SEEN BY ME. By T. Simpson Carson, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. Heath, Cranton, Ltd., London, 1923. 30s. net.

One of the charming features of this work is that the author is himself the first reviewer of it. His very preface, for which he almost apologizes, is quite an entertaining review, replete with apt and amusing quotations. I, who now take up my pen to review this remarkable and original book, am, like the author, no professed naturalist, though a nature lover; no geographical explorer, though a rambler, and that occasionally off the beaten tracks. Our author quotes "a great publisher" to the effect that "The preface at the beginning is as essential a part of the book as an index at the end." I like his preface, but I, without further hesitation, condemn his index. If an author contends that a two-page index can adequately summarize the contents of 350 octavo pages of 500 words to each page, and descriptive of travel and experience in every quarter of the globe except Australasia and the Arctic and Antarctic Zones, then I must differ from him. His index will be far from satisfying that "great publisher."

The first chapter is devoted to India, and takes the reader into scenes of that vast country with which he is probably not familiar. Sylhet, Cachar, Assam, Manipur, lie away in a corner with which comparatively few Anglo-Indians are familiar; but Mr. Carson paints in fascinating terms its fauna and flora, the "atlas moth," the "durian" fruit, and last, not least, his own "Nur Mahal" combing his hair !

Chapters II. to V. (inclusive) are devoted to America, Northern, Central and Southern, and to North and South Africa. Each chapter opens with a picture of a lovely plant or flower, or a lovely woman, under the title of "Flower of the Desert," and the intervening illustrations introduce the reader to the stern realities of life—"Roping the Grisley," a "Shooting Scrap," or "A Real Bad One" (colt-breaking). The description of the cattle-ranching life in Mexico, Central America, and Arizona is most graphic and tinged throughout with a precious vein of humour, and, let me add, the illustrations to that

section, every one of them, tell their story admirably. The descriptions of these territories and of the bird, beast, reptile, fish, and plant life in them are excellent. His description of the "buck negro" (p. 60) who could throw a steer is scarcely credible, and as we follow him through polo, bull-fighting, baseball, and tarpon-fishing, we appreciate the unrivalled opportunities of sport which this life gave him.

It is interesting to find Mr. Carson in the fifth chapter, on North Africa, speaking of the rise a century ago of the Senussi fraternity, whose country since the War both Mrs. Rosita Forbes (Mrs. McGrath) and Hassanein Bey have visited, and of his captivity in which Captain Gwatkin-Williams gave us so vivid an account—captivity from which the Duke of Westminster delivered him. Of this "splendid feat" Mr. Carson speaks as "one of the finest episodes of the War"; and it is not out of place to recall that Mr. Lloyd George applied similar language to Major-General Lionel Dunsterville's occupation and defence of Baku, and that in the House of Commons the very evening before General Dunsterville lectured to the Central Asian Society.

Glancing at Chapter VIII., on Arabia and Egypt, we find an interesting reference to Sir Reginald Wingate, Slatin Pasha, and Father Ohrwalder, and another to a very remarkable, and as far as I am aware, a hitherto unknown "Scotch Agha of Mamelukes, one Thomas Keith, once a private in the 72nd Highlanders, who in 1815 was governor of the holy city of Medina—surely the strangest office ever held by a Scot." We must admit that Thomas Keith rather casts into the shade the performance of more recent British visitors to the Hedjaz.

The chapters on Japan and China are replete with curious and vivid information. I read without surprise in the account of North Africa that native maidens preparing for the marriage market were expected to devote themselves, prior to the wedding ceremony, to the cultivation of adipose tissue; but when I came across the picture of two Japanese wrestlers (taken, as I gathered, from a photograph) with figures worthy of a Daniel Lambert, I was fain to turn to the letterpress for some enlightenment. I learnt there that "by continual butting at wooden posts the fat on the abdomen becomes so hardened that the huge stomach has of itself become a weapon of defence; a swelling chest is of minor importance."

In reading Chapters XI. and XII. we return once more to India, and there come across many old and familiar friends, both European and indigenous, personalities and places, and on page 213 we are treated to the self-advertisement of an Indian newspaper, of which, as the author says, "London advertising agencies might well make a note."

We turn to Europe and find the author as familiar with Russia,

Turkey, and Greece as he has shown himself to be with America, Asia, and Africa; and as we come across curious references in one or the other to the Agha Khan, Sir Thomas Holdich, the Gaikwar of Baroda, Mr. Morgenthau, Sir Edwin Pears, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the Wigrams, R. J. Campbell, James Morier, the Hon. R. Curzon, and Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, not to mention the Kaiser, Abdul Hamid, and Venizelos, we begin to be thoroughly at home in the society in which we move.

And, finally, we revert to Africa, the United States, Brazil, and the Mediterranean, and while we still admire the charm and the delicacy of floral specimens and the pictures of animal life so expressive of the physical vigour of the beasts portrayed, we accept with some sense of repulsion an introduction to that type of human deformity for which the author has invented or borrowed the classical appellation of "steatopygia." If my readers seek a further interpretation, I advise them to consult the book itself.

And now we bring to a close this but inadequate effort to describe the very varied contents of this volume. The "addendum" inserted at the end includes "two chapters adjudged unsuitable for the Public Ear." This reminds me of editions of certain classical authors in which one finds grouped at the end of all the chapters passages supposed to be taboo *virginibus puerisque.* I do not myself consider that the "addendum" to the book now under review need be regarded in that light.

A. C. YATE.

UNCONQUERED ABYSSINIA. By C. E. Rey, F.R.G.S. Seeley, Service and Co. 21s. net.

Mr. Rey is to be congratulated on his book, for he touches on nearly every subject of interest in Abyssinia.

He gives us a brief and clear account of the early history of the people of this country.

The two chapters on "Customs and Practices" are extremely interesting, and, as one quite realizes, are the results of very careful study. Any traveller in Africa knows from experience how difficult it is to find a reason for many of the customs in that land. So often the explanations given are totally opposed, and it entails endless difficulties to arrive at the probable origin of some custom which has been handed down from father to son for many generations.

With regard to the author's remarks on the religion of Abyssinia, and more particularly with the mission to Jerusalem to which he refers on pages 129 and 130, the Abyssinians have their own church in Jerusalem, with its own Abyssinian priests, besides having certain rights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Mr. Rey describes the building of the native churches, all of which are built in exactly the

same way. Of course, while some are richly decorated, others in the outlying districts lack any attempt at ornamentation. It is, I believe, a fact that the three inclusive portions of the church (see page 133) are an emblem of the Trinity—that is, the three separate divisions being comprised in the one building.

The book has been well illustrated, but it is a pity that it was thought necessary to include the very gruesome picture illustrating the hanging of the malefactors in the open market-place. This sight is, fortunately, not a common one, but, yet that it is even a comparatively isolated example drives home the fact that in Adis Ababa one is distantly removed, in more senses than one, from Park Lane.

Mr. Rey dwells on the courtesy of the Abyssinians as a whole. I think in making statements of this sort comparison is necessary, as, after all, practically everything must be judged by comparison. While not wishing to make any suggestion that their manners are not good, I think one is right in saying that they could learn a great deal from either the Arab or the inhabitants of India. Their officials have yet to learn that a courteous bearing is neither a sign of weakness nor a secession of position.

Mr. Rey, in discussing slavery in Abyssinia, deals with very vexed question. He handles the subject, however, with great delicacy, and adopts the attitude of sympathizing with the difficulties which confront the Regent and with his efforts to rid the country of an offensive institution.

It is unfortunate that throughout the book Mr. Rey refers to the capital of the country as "Adis." Now *adis* means "new" or "fresh," and *ababa* is a flower. Thus the name of Abyssinia's capital is translated as "fresh flower," a beautiful name indeed. The name is, moreover, by no means out of place; for the dusty and weary traveller, after a three days' train journey, is greeted by hedges of roses as he rides up through the garden of the British Legation. That a town which is so kind to flowers should have its name thus distorted is even worse than the vulgar abbreviation of "Mespot" for Mesopotamia. Incidentally, during two and a half years' stay in the country I never heard the town referred to as "Adis."

As regards the languages of the country, the author mentions Amharric, Galla, Tigre, Geze. He might have added Dankali (spoken by the Danakill), Guragi, Harari (a language peculiar to the inhabitants of Harar), and, lastly, Somali is widely spoken on the frontier. Where so many languages hold sway the question naturally arises as to which is the most useful language. Officially Amharric is the language of the country, and all official documents are couched in that tongue, but it will, I think, be generally agreed that Galla is the most useful from a purely colloquial standpoint.

A. W. D. B.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LIMITED,
GUILDFORD AND ESHER

// Journal masthead
JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XI.

1924

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Thursday, March 13, 1924, when a lecture was given by Brigadier-General M. E. Willoughby, C.B., on "The Relation of Tibet to China." The Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen was in the Chair.

The Chairman introduced the lecturer as a distinguished officer of the Indian Army who had seen much service in China and on the Chinese borderland. He was in the Boxer expedition in the beginning of the century; was afterwards sent on an Indian remount mission, which kept him a long time in the three western provinces of China—Yünnan, Ssuchuan, and Kuei-Chou. Later he was attached to the staff of the North China command, was military attaché at Peking during that most stirring time when the Chinese rebellion broke out, and has, besides, travelled extensively through the country. It was also under his direction and supervision that the Chinese troops were repatriated from Lhasa on their defeat by the Tibetan forces in 1912. He then invited General Willoughby to begin his lecture.

THE RELATION OF TIBET TO CHINA

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL M. E. WILLOUGHBY, C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G.

In recent years, especially since Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission to Lhasa in 1904, we have become increasingly familiarized with the subject of Tibet. The Mount Everest Expeditions of the past two or three years have further focussed our interest and attention on that country. Quite recently a flood of light has been thrown on it by the illuminating lectures given to us, and to the Royal Geographical Society, by Sir Charles Bell, to whose personal influence with the Dalai Lama our improved relations with Tibet are so largely (if not mainly) due.

In all this, however, the age-long connection of China with Tibet has been more or less lost sight of. The Central Asian Society has therefore done me the (perhaps dubious) honour of inviting me to assume the rôle of *advocatus diaboli*, a somewhat invidious rôle for one who has been a servant of the Indian Government for some thirty-six years. Nevertheless, I think you will agree that a clear perception of the aims, claims, and view-point of the other side is always helpful rather than harmful.

At present, to the best of my belief, no vestige of Chinese control remains in Central Tibet. My lecture will, therefore, be concerned mainly with what is now "ancient history," but that ancient history, I think, may have a not unimportant bearing on future possibilities. There is so much to tell that my summary, compiled from various sources, must be, I fear, but a bald one. Let us first glance at the geography of the country.

Please look at the map and observe how Tibet marches with what we call "China proper" (*i.e.*, the eighteen provinces) for some 1,400 miles along the borders of Yünnan, Ssuchuan, and Kansu Provinces, and for some 1,200 miles more with the old dependency of China known as Sin-kiang (the New Dominion). It marches with India and the States of Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, and Kashmir for some 1,900 miles. By the way, I would here remark that the inclusion of Kokonor in our European maps in Tibet is somewhat misleading. Tibet under the temporal rule of the Dalai Lama extends north-eastward only to the Dangla range, separating it from Kokonor, a region inhabited by Mongols as well as Tibetans, and nominally under the control of the Si-ning Amban up to 1915, and afterwards of the Muhammadan General of Si-ning. Actually it has always been very independent of any authority; a very lawless region. Along the "marches" of East Tibet there are a number of Tibetan more or less autonomous native States, some within the borders of the Province of Ssuchuan. It will make my lecture more intelligible if I suggest that their relation to Lhasa and China respectively is somewhat analogous to that of the Wazirs and Afridis on our north-west front of India to Afghanistan and India.

You will notice next how greatly the area of Mongolia, Sin-kiang, and Tibet (in all some 2,380,000 square miles) exceeds that of China proper, which is a little over 1½ millions; but whereas the total population of the above three dependencies is roughly estimated (very much guesswork) at 7 to 8 millions only, the population of the "eighteen provinces," according to an estimate of last year, was put down at the amazing figure of nearly 420 millions. Think of it! Somewhere about one-quarter of the entire human race.

As regards *ethnology*, Mongolians and Tibetans are racially akin to the Chinese, and their religion is the Lamaist form of Buddhism, which exists widely also in China proper. The intervening wedge of Sin-kiang, on the other hand, is predominantly Turki in race and Muhammadan in religion. The Muhammadan belt is continued on eastwards into the Chinese Provinces of Kansu and Shensi. Yünnan also contains a large Moslem element, and Moslems indeed are to be found throughout China. There were, I believe, some 70,000 in the Peking district in 1910.

Politically China has had relations with Tibet from the very remote past. In the eleventh century B.C. Chinese records make mention of

the pastoral tribes of Kokonor and North-East Tibet. Without going so far back, however, into the twilight of antiquity, let us skip the intervening centuries and come down to more modern times—to the seventh century A.D., when the T'ang Dynasty (the golden age of Chinese literature) was on the dragon throne. A princess of that house, by name Wen Cheng, was one of the two wives of the Tibetan king who introduced Buddhism from India in A.D. 622. In 633 his son subdued Kokonor and attacked the Chinese, who retaliated and advanced to Lhasa and burnt the royal palace.

This king's grandson married a daughter of the Chinese Emperor Juitsung, and their son (half Chinese) reigned from 743 to 789.

In 821 a war between Tibet and China ended in a peace (signed at Sianfu) and ratified at Lhasa in 822. This is recorded on bilingual tablets which still exist; I think Sir Charles Bell showed us a photograph.

In 1253 Kublai Khan, Marco Polo's "Great Khan," the founder of the Yüan (or Mongol) Dynasty in China, conquered all Eastern Tibet and invited the Sakya monk Phagspa to his court, where he stayed twelve years, engaged in literary work. The Emperor then made him king over Tibet, Kam, and Amdo. From this time the Sakyapa Lamas ruled Tibet for twenty-one successive reigns.

In the fourteenth century Tsongkaba the Reformer (the Luther of Tibet), who was born at Kumbum in China in 1357, established the existing "Yellow Church" in Tibet, in place of the "Red Church" of the Sakya lamas. His reforms were supported and approved, be it noted, by the Ming Emperor of China. The "Red Church," by the way, still exists. One may see it, for instance, in Ladak (the Tibetan Province of Kashmir). Tsongkaba died in 1419 leaving two disciples, the Dalai and Panshen Lamas. The second Dalai Lama established the seat of his ecclesiastical rule at Lhasa.

In 1642 the Dalai and Panshen Lamas were induced by the Mongol Chief, Gushi Khan, to send an Embassy tendering allegiance to the Manchu Sovereign then on the eve of ejecting the Ming Dynasty from the throne of China. The Manchu throne thereupon assumed sovereignty over Tibet. The Dalai Lama was received at Peking by the Emperor in 1653, being lodged in the "Yellow Temple," which was specially built for him.

In 1694 the Emperor Kanghsi conferred on the Regent of the Dalai Lama the title of "King of Tibet."

On the Dzungarian Mongols invading Tibet, early in the eighteenth century, the Manchu forces which came to the rescue (from Si-ning and Ta chien lu) remained as conquerors. (Incidentally this was merely a repetition of what the Manchus had done in China, when called in by the last Ming Emperor.) Chinese direct domination in Tibet may be said to date from this time, as a Manchu resident and garrison were

left at Lhasa, and communications with China were assured by a chain of military posts along the Ta chien lu-Batang-Lhasa road.

The boundary between China and Tibet was marked by a pillar, set up in 1727 on the Bumla Pass, two and a half days south-west of Batang, on the Yangtze-Mekong "divide." The country to the west of this was handed over to the Dalai Lama, under the suzerainty of the Manchu Emperor, while the chiefs of the Tibetan States to the East of of it were given seals as semi-independent feudatories—*e.g.*, Chala, Nyarong, Dege, the five Hor States, etc.; and this arrangement lasted till the Chinese forward movement of 1905 began (*as a direct result of the British advance to Lhasa in* 1904).

An outbreak in 1725 against a nominee of the Emperor gave the pretext for the appointment of two Manchu High Commissioners to Lhasa. A further revolt in 1750 led to the suppression of the temporal sovereignty in Tibet, the Government being placed thenceforth in the hands of the Dalai and Panshen Lamas, aided by a Council of Laymen under the direction of the High Commissioners.

The Chinese divided the country into Chien Tsang (*i.e.*, *front* Tibet) or Kam; Chung Tsang (*i.e.*, *central* Tibet) containing seat of Government, Lhasa, and residence of the Dalai Lama; Hou Tsang (*i.e.*, *back* Tibet) containing the seat of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Panshen Lama at Tashilumbo; and Ngari, Western Tibet.

There was (and probably still is) in the archives of the Chinese Government at Peking a monumental work called the "Ta Ching Hui Tien"—*i.e.*, the collected regulations or institutes of the Ta Ching Dynasty. (Ta Ching, "Great Pure," was the title of the Manchu Dynasty.)

These "institutes," extending from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, contain details of the whole scheme of Government administration. The following particulars are taken from Mr. Mayers' "Chinese Government," a book based thereon.

The Chinese administration in Tibet as laid down in these institutes provided for the following organization: An Imperial High Commissioner (Chu Tsang Ta Chen); an Assistant High Commissioner (Pang Pan Ta Chen); hence perhaps our word "Amban" (which, for short, I will use hereafter). Both were high Manchus. They were under the "Li Fan Yüan" (Board of Dependencies), but might address the throne direct on important matters. They corresponded, on an equal footing, with the Viceroy of Ssuchuan, which Province provided and paid for the Chinese garrison, some 1,500 strong, and the officials of the Chinese civil administration in Tibet; for correspondence with the Tibetan and Nepalese authorities the Amban had on his staff a "Secretary for Native Affairs."

Appointments to the chief civil and military offices of the Tibetan Government and hierarchy were made on nominations to the throne

by the Ambans, who were also invested with the supreme command of the Chinese garrison and the Tibetan soldiery.

Under the Ambans were three "Liangtai" (or Commissaries), ranking as Assistant Magistrates, stationed at Lhasa, Tashilumbo, and Ngari, acting as paymasters of the Chinese forces, and local deputies of the Ambans.

As to the secular administration: four "Kalon," Councillors of State, acted under the Ambans. They were appointed by Imperial Decree from Peking, on the nomination of the Ambans, and *ex officio* had the third degree of Chinese official rank.

Various other civil and military *Tibetan* officials were likewise granted Chinese official rank (down to the seventh rank).

The Institutes recognized thirteen Deba (or District Governors). Then, as to the *Hierarchy*. The successive Dalai Lamas, supposed to be reincarnations of one of Tsongkaba's disciples, were recognized by the Chinese Emperors as the supreme Pontiffs of the "Yellow Church." Owing to various frauds resulting in the election of unsuitable persons, Ch'ien Lung, in 1792, ordained that the selection should be determined by the drawing of lots from a golden urn. The miraculous particulars as to the candidate were reported to the Amban, who in turn reported to Peking. The baby candidates were brought to Lhasa, and the names of a selected three placed in the urn. The drawing took place under the superintendence of the Amban, and the child whose name was drawn was declared "Dalai Lama." At the age of two or three he was solemnly enthroned.

The Panshen Erdeni Lama was a purely ecclesiastical functionary. Succession arranged as for the Dalai Lama. He resided at Tashilumbo (700 li west of Lhasa).

The sixth Panshen Lama, Lobtsang Tanishi, was invited to Peking in 1780 by Ch'ien Lung, to attend his seventieth birthday celebrations. A special model of his residence in Tibet was built for his reception at Jehol, the summer retreat of the Imperial Court, outside the Great Wall. He died of smallpox at Peking at the end of the year. His remains were taken back to Tibet, and a mausoleum was erected in the temple he inhabited in Peking, and his robes are enshrined there.

We then come to the appointment of a Regent ("No Men Han"), rendered necessary by the long minorities of the Dalai Lamas. The first Regent recorded in the Institutes was the before-mentioned Mongol Gushi Khan, who, in 1643, made the Dalai Lama the temporal ruler of Tibet. The Institutes record several bestowals of the title in the eighteenth century and on up to 1844, when the then Regent, accused of treason, was unfrocked and banished to Manchuria by Imperial decree. This ex-Regent was subsequently permitted to return to his home on the Kansu border, where he died in 1854. In 1877 an application was made to Peking for the official recognition of his

reincarnation in the person of a youth then seventeen years of age. The decision disallowing the application is recorded in the *Peking Gazette* of September 7, 1877, wherein the deceased Regent "was forbidden for ever the privilege of appearing again on earth in human form."

Next, as regards abbots ("kanpu"), a Decree of 1792 directed that those of the larger monasteries should be appointed on the joint authority of the Dalai Lama and the Amban. A selected abbot bearing presents from the Tibetan Pontiffs was sent annually to Peking.

One hundred and sixty "Hutukhtu" (reincarnations), called by the Chinese "Huo Fu" (*i.e.*, living Buddhas), were recognized and registered at the Board of Dependencies; sixty-five of these were in Tibet and Kokonor, and fourteen among the Lamas at and near Peking. For political reasons, to conciliate Mongolia and Tibet and facilitate control over them, the Chinese Sovereigns established and endowed many Lamaist temples and official dignitaries in and near the capital—*e.g.*, Peking, Jehol, Lama Miao, Wu tai Shan, etc.

There was a Lama Metropolitan (a reincarnation of a "Hutukhtu" sent to Peking by a Dalai Lama in the seventeenth century). A Decree of 1786 gives a list of the ecclesiastical dignitaries under him with the order of their precedence. So much for the Institutes.

During the late eighteenth century Chinese power in Tibet waned, and Nepal, in 1788, invaded Tibet and sacked Shigatse. The Emperor Chien Lung sent an army into Tibet which defeated and expelled the Gurkhas, pursued them over the Himalayas, and dictated peace outside Khatmandu in 1792, Nepal agreeing to pay China an annual tribute and to send a mission to Lhasa every five years. (One such came to Peking while I was in China.)

An Imperial Decree of 1793 gave the two Ambans equal rank with the Dalai and Panshen Lamas, and made them responsible for the superintendence of the administration of the country. It further forbade the Dalai Lama communications with the throne save by memorial through the Amban.

After Ch'ien Lung's death Chinese power in Tibet again waned under the weak rule of his successors. In 1856 Nepal, after a series of conflicts, again concluded a treaty with Tibet, by which both countries acknowledged their dependence on China.

To turn now to East Tibet.

In 1860 the chief of Nyarong invaded Dege and the five Hor States, who appealed to both Peking and Lhasa. The former, fully occupied with the Taiping Rebellion, could, or would, do nothing. Lhasa, on the other hand, sent an army which quelled the disturbances, burnt the Nyarong chief and his family alive, and took over the administration. Lhasa then appointed an official to govern Nyarong, and also to superintend Dege and the Hor States. The Tibetan claim to Nyarong,

Dege, and the Hor States dates from this time—1865. The Manchu throne seems to have acquiesced, and the annexation was formally confirmed in 1898, and the region remained under the Dalai Lama till forcibly annexed by Chao-erh-feng in 1908.

To go on with the story of Nyarong, while I am at it. In 1894 Nyarong again rose and invaded Chala. The Viceroy Lu of Ssuchuan sent a force which occupied Nyarong, and he then memorialized the throne to annex it; but on the Dalai Lama protesting, the proposal was vetoed, and the Tibetan Government of Nyarong was reinstated. Lu's troops also occupied Dege and exiled the chief, who died in exile. The Dalai Lama again protesting, the throne again refused annexation, and the late chief's two sons were sent back, the elder being installed as Jyelbo (King).

From 1900 to 1908 faction fighting between the brothers at Dege continued. In 1908 Chao-Erh-feng appeared on the scene and expelled them both and occupied the territory.

To hark back, in 1875 the present (thirteenth) Dalai Lama was reincarnated; in 1886 Tibetans began to raid over the Sikkim border. After fruitless protests the Indian Government was eventually forced to send an expedition under General Graham in 1888, which expelled them, and then followed, in 1890, the "Sikkim Convention" between Great Britain and *China* (not Tibet), at China's request as suzerain. (This assertion of suzerainty carried with it a corresponding obligation —namely, to enforce the terms on her vassal state.) These events, for the first time, brought England on the scene of Sino-Tibetan relations.

Tibet failed to carry out the Convention. All attempts by India to open relations failed. Messengers were ill-treated, letters returned unopened, and the Chinese Government was apparently unable or unwilling to coerce her vassal. At last, in 1903, the Indian Government, finding it impossible to deal with Tibet through China, resolved to send a mission to deal direct with Tibet. There seems little doubt that Tibetan exclusiveness was deliberately instigated by China on the "buffer state" principle; but it is also a fact that Russia had, for some time past, been intriguing with Tibet against us through the agency of a Siberian Buriat Mongol, one Dorjieff, who was for a long time a thorn in our side. Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission, starting as a peaceful embassy, reached Lhasa, after considerable opposition, in August, 1904, as a military expedition, and the Dalai Lama fled (with Dorjieff) to Urga. Sir Francis, therefore, proceeded to make a Treaty with the *de facto* Government. By this Anglo-Tibetan Convention Tibet agreed to recognize the Sikkim Convention; to open Gyantse and Gartok to trade; to pay an indemnity; not to alienate Tibetan territory to any foreign Power; not to allow any such Power to intervene in Tibetan affairs or send representatives to Tibet; not to grant concessions or pledge Tibetan revenues to foreigners.

The Mission withdrew after the conclusion of the agreement, save from the Chumbi Valley, which also was evacuated when China (as suzerain) surprisingly quickly paid up the indemnity.

In April, 1906, the Anglo-Chinese adhesion Convention was signed at Peking, confirming the Lhasa agreement, England agreeing not to annex Tibetan territory or interfere in administration, while China undertook not to permit any other foreign Power to do likewise.

In 1907 Russia and England mutually agreed to recognize Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, to treat with Tibet only through China, and to abstain from sending scientific expeditions into Tibet for three years.

In 1908 China was a party to the Indo-Tibet Trade Regulations signed in Calcutta.

All these agreements gave China a very free hand in Tibet, and owing to our deliberate self-denial in the matter of representation at Lhasa, China gradually instilled into the Tibetans the idea that we had withdrawn from Lhasa through fear of her, and gradually the old procrastination and obstruction began again to crop up.

To go back for a moment to the fugitive Dalai Lama. He remained at Urga for one year (an unwelcome visitor for the Bogdo Khan, as his presence diverted the offerings of the faithful from the coffers of that local Pope to the willing pockets of the greater luminary). Thence he went to Kumbum, where he stayed two years then for the summer of 1908 to Wu tai Shan; whence he proceeded in September, 1908, to Peking on the summons of the throne. He was lodged (like his predecessor in 1653) at the "Yellow Temple" outside the Wall of Peking. Foreign legations were only allowed to visit him unofficially and in the presence of Chinese officials. He was received in audience by the Emperor and Dowager Empress, his position as a vassal being "rubbed in." He was, however, allowed to kneel instead of "kowtowing." On November 3, 1908, an Imperial Decree conferred on him the title of "Our Loyal and Submissive Vice-Regent"; an annual subsidy of 10,000 taels (to be paid by Ssuchuan); directed him to return to Tibet; to "be a good boy"; and to memoralize the throne always through the Amban; and "to respectfully await our will." The Emperor and Dowager Empress both died, almost simultaneously, very shortly afterwards. His Holiness left Peking on December 21, 1908, and reached Lhasa (via Si-ning) in November, 1909.

Meanwhile, during his long absence, the Chinese forward movement in Tibet, consequent on our expedition to Lhasa, had made great headway. In 1904 Feng Chuan was appointed "Imperial Resident at Chamdo," with orders to curtail the powers of the native rulers and lamas and bring the country under more direct Chinese control. His activities soon began to arouse disaffection, which the loss of prestige due to the British Expedition to Lhasa enhanced. In April, 1905, the Tibetans at Batang openly revolted, attacked the Chinese, and murdered

the Imperial Resident and two French priests. A general rising ensued, and small Chinese garrisons in South-West Ssuchuan and North-West Yünnan were annihilated. An avenging force from Cheng tu hastened to Batang and quelled the revolt, with ruthless severity. Let us put ourselves for a moment in their place. Imagine, for instance, a sudden Afridi rising, involving the burning of Government House at Peshawur, the murder of the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, the wiping out of small outlying detachments in the Khyber (supposing for the moment that they could catch these napping). Should we, in such a case, have felt over-lenient? One, Chao-erh-feng was now appointed to take charge of the pacification of the "Marches." A fiercer revolt blazed out at the end of 1905. The rebels concentrated at Hsiang Cheng, where they were besieged by Chao till the middle of 1906, when the monastery was taken and destroyed, its defenders being all slain. This opened the "south road," and Lien Yu (the new Amban, who had similar instructions—viz., to tighten up control) was able to proceed to Lhasa, where he arrived in the autumn of 1906.

Chao meanwhile at Batang had appointed a Chinese magistrate (vice the native chief—beheaded), had limited the number of lamas, and started schemes of Chinese colonization. He was appointed "Frontier Commissioner," but had to return to Ssuchuan for more than a year as acting-Viceroy. During this time the Native States of Ta chien lu, Litang, and Batang were converted into nine regular Chinese districts.

In March, 1908, Chao-erh-feng and his brother Chao-erh-hsun were appointed "Imperial Commissioner for Tibet" and "Viceroy of Ssuchuan" respectively. The combination resulted in the complete subjugation of Tibet (for a brief period).

Chao then successively occupied Dege (the largest of the Native States and autonomous for 1,000 years or more), Chamdo, Draya, and Markam, and established Chinese administration.

China, at this time, asked and was refused permission to send troops to Tibet via India.

In December, 1909, Lhasa, in despair, telegraphed (via India) appeals to Peking and all the Great Powers. A small mixed brigade (some 2,000 strong), under General Chung Ying, now advanced via Chamdo, Enta, and Lhari, meeting slight opposition at two points only, and entered Lhasa on February 12, 1910. The Dalai Lama (whom the advanced guard had special orders to capture), escaped over the frontier to Sikkim, and reached Darjeeling on February 24 (a very rapid flight). A violently worded edict of February 25 deposed him. "He has shown himself proud, extravagant, lewd, slothful, vicious, and perverse, without parallel, violent and disorderly, disobedient to the Imperial commands, and oppressive towards the Tibetans. He is not fit to be a reincarnation of Buddha." The edict went on to order the selection (in the orthodox manner) of a new Dalai Lama.

The administration was now, virtually, taken over by the Chinese, evoking a protest from Great Britain, who demanded the maintenance of an effective Tibetan Government.

Chao now suggested to Peking that Giamda should be the limit of Chinese administered territory. This proposal was vetoed, but was approved a year later.

At the end of 1910 the Chinese troops mutinied at Hsiang Cheng and the local Tibetans rose in revolt. Chao suppressed the rising. Early in 1911 an expedition from Lhasa under Lo chang chi to Bomed met with serious reverses. The Amban had to call on Chao for help. He sent two columns from Batang and Shuopando, who advanced through Zayul, defeated the Tibetans, and executed their headmen. Two Chinese districts, to be called Po-mi and Tsa-yu, were planned, but the Revolution prevented their establishment. Chao was then appointed Viceroy of Ssuchuan, but on the way back thither occupied and took over Nyarong, thus completing his task of bringing all Kam under direct Chinese administration. His successor on the frontier, General Fu sung mu, sent up a memorial (evidently Chao's work) advocating the conversion of Kam into a regular Chinese Province, to be called Hsi-Kang. Certain passages in this memorial are so interesting that I quote them. "The frontier regions in question," it says, "march with Tibet, and beyond Tibet lies the territory of a mighty Power This Power is closely watching Tibet, which it no longer regards as a dependency of China. By converting the frontier regions of Kam into a Chinese Province we shall secure ourselves against territorial aggression. As a result of the British Expedition to Lhasa in 1904 the Tibetans ceased to regard China as of any importance."

The Revolution broke out shortly afterwards. Chao was besieged in Cheng tu for three months. On December 23, 1911, he was treacherously beheaded by the revolutionaries after surrendering, a tragic fate for the great "Warden of the Marches," who had served his country so well. Though ruthless he was just, and was certainly a great soldier and Empire-builder. With his death passed away Chinese ascendency over Tibet.

The Revolution was soon followed by revolts all along the border, and by the middle of 1912 the Chinese had lost most of the frontier districts, the outlying garrisons being withdrawn to Batang and Chamdo. Thus the troops in Central Tibet were left, so to speak, "in the air." As they, in turn, learnt of the Revolution, the usual troubles broke out there also: mutinies, burning, looting. The Tibetans retaliated. Outside Lhasa the garrisons melted away, some joining Chung Ying in Lhasa, some being overwhelmed, and other small detachments in the Chumbi Valley trickling into British territory. In Lhasa the garrison fortified themselves in the Teng Ye Ling Monastery, and held out for some months against some 15,000 Tibetans.

In April, 1912, President Yüan issued a mandate that Tibet, Mongolia, and Turkistan would henceforth be regarded as provinces and integral parts of China. Britain protested, desiring that the *status quo* in Tibet should be maintained. In July, Ssuchuan and Yünnan started off their relief forces (I saw some of the Yünnan Relief Column at Yünnan fu in that month, on the eve of their departure for the frontier). Owing to British protests, assurance was given that they were not intended to go beyond the "Marches" (I may mention that common rumour at Yünnan fu had it that their destination was Pien-ma, on the Burma border, about which there was much soreness. But "that is another story"). On June 24, 1912, I paid my farewell official visit (as outgoing military attaché) to the President, Yüan Shih Kai, at Peking, under the wing of my Chief, Sir John Jordan, who went to discuss Tibetan affairs. Naturally, the plight of the beleaguered garrison in Lhasa cropped up, and Yüan suggested the possibility, in the last resort, of their withdrawal through India. Sir John, I remember, laughingly said to the President, "See, here is a friend of the Chinese army just going there. I am sure he will give them a helping hand if he can." Well, "there is many a true word spoken in jest." I arrived in India just at the time of the Chinese surrender at Lhasa, and the arrival of the joint telegram of the Amban and General Chung to the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge), asking leave for the withdrawal through India. I was put in charge of the Reparation Mission, which went to the Sikkim-Tibet frontier to receive and forward the Chinese troops. It meant a good deal of arrangement; stages, accommodation, transport, supplies, medical arrangements, escorts, railway arrangements from Darjeeling to Calcutta, shipping arrangements thence to China, etc. The 10th Gurkhas furnished the escorts. To cut a long story short, we repatriated the sorry remnant of the Lhasa garrison to the number of about 1,000 only; on New Year's Day, 1913, I was summoned to Gnatong again to deal in the same way with a miscellaneous crowd, including civilians, and sent down a few hundreds more.

A presidential mandate of October 28, 1912, reinstated the Dalai Lama. He re-entered Lhasa in (I think) January, 1913. Lien Yu was cashiered and Chung Ying appointed to act as Amban in his place. General Chung hung on in the Chumbi Valley for awhile, but was eventually forced to quit. He tried to linger again at Calcutta, but was at last persuaded to embark. His reluctance to return to China was only too well justified. He was executed at Peking two years later. His sentence appeared in the *Gazette* of March 22, 1915, wherein he was charged with failure to maintain discipline; leaving Tibet (when Amban) against orders; and murdering Lo chang chi.

The Ssuchuan Relief Force which left Cheng tu in July, 1912, under General Yin, succeeded during 1912-13 in recovering most of the

lost ground in the "Marches," and by the end of 1914 Chinese control had been re-established up to the Mekong. Lhasa, meanwhile, had sent the Kalon Lama (her Commander-in-Chief) to check the Chinese advance. He did so, on the line of the Mekong and Mekong-Salween "divide," and this line (thanks to the truce resulting from the Simla negotiations of 1913-14) remained the *de facto* boundary till 1917, Batang and Chamdo being the principal Chinese bases, and Shuopando and Shayu Zamka the chief Tibetan ones.

A special "military district" for the Ssuchuan frontier territory was created under a Commissioner with H.Q. Ta chien lu and two subordinate Generals at Batang and Chamdo.

When the Simla negotiations (just referred to) started, in October, 1913, the position was roughly as follows:

Tibet, freed from all Chinese control, extended east to the Mekong, north to the Dangla.

In *Kam*, east of the Mekong, Chinese control had been re-established.

Koko Nor (unaffected by the past ten years' events) remained *nominally* under the Si-ning "Amban."

The aims of the three parties to the conference were:

Tibet.—Complete independence, with boundaries enclosing all the regions of high Asia inhabited by people of Tibetan race.

China to recover the position held at "high water mark" of Chao-erh-feng's conquests.

Great Britain.—Peace, preferably on the basis of Chinese suzerainty over a stable Tibetan Government with whom we might deal.

The Conference eventually agreed to Tibetan autonomy under Chinese suzerainty; the return of an Amban to Lhasa, with suitable escort; and non-interference in administration by either China or Britain; but the question of the boundary was the rock on which the Conference split, Tibet wanting it at Ta chien lu and China at Giamda. The British representative proposed a compromise: an inner and outer Tibet (on the lines of Mongolia), the boundary to be the old 1727 one. Eventually they agreed accordingly, and initialled a draft convention on April 27, 1914, but China promptly disavowed it on the 29th, and the Conference broke up without agreeing. China, however, *did* formally notify Britain that the boundary was the *only* point she could not accept, and undertook that her troops should not move beyond their positions (*i.e.*, roughly the Mekong line) unless attacked by the Tibetans.

There was renewed trouble at Hsiang Cheng in 1914. In 1915 the Manchu "Amban" of Si-ning was abolished, his functions being transferred to the Muhammadan General of Si-ning.

At the end of 1915 Yüan Shih Kai ascended the throne, and at

once Yünnan broke into rebellion and started fighting with Ssuchuan. Owing to this civil war during 1916-17 the frontier garrisons were neglected, and left without pay, supplies, or ammunition. They naturally degenerated into little better than brigands. Similarly the administration of the frontier districts lapsed into the hands of ex-brigands and adventurers, whose misgovernment speedily led to rebellion all along the border.

Central Tibet, on the other hand, enjoying peace and prosperity, had reorganized her army, so that by 1917 the Tibetans were in a decidedly better military situation on the frontier than the demoralized Chinese. The latter, however, were the first to break the truce. General Peng, commanding at Chamdo, acted with great arrogance, while the Kalon Lama seems to have shown the utmost forbearance and restraint. The Chinese having started hostilities, the Tibetans took up the challenge, and eventually captured Chamdo with General Peng and the survivors of the garrison after a siege of several months. Two thousand to three thousand Chinese prisoners were marched to Lhasa, whence they were subsequently repatriated via India, Burma, and Yünnan. Neither Ta chien lu nor Batang had lifted a finger to help Chamdo. The Tibetans were fast recovering the states of the "Marches," and by the middle of 1918 came into conflict with the Ta chien lu reserve force at Rongbatsa, and threatened to cut off their retreat. A large Tibetan force was threatening Batang, and a Chinese battalion at Gaji was surrounded. Another month or two would probably have seen the Tibetans in control right up to Ta Chien lu. At this juncture the Chinese local leaders invoked British mediation, and Mr. Teichman, of the consular service, from whose interesting book most of my latter information is derived, most courageously performed this delicate task with such success that a cessation of hostilities was arranged. The provisional boundary agreed on was roughly the old 1727 line, the Chinese retaining Batang, Litang, Nyarong, and Kanze (where poor Pereira died recently), and the country to the east of them; while the Tibetans retained Chamdo, Draya, Markam, and Dege, and the country westward. By the end of 1918 the frontier regions had settled down after the conclusion of the truce, and there I will leave the story. What has happened in the last five years I do not know. Perhaps someone present can enlighten us.

In conclusion, let me give one final croak. Let us not be too confident that Chinese control in Tibet has passed away for ever. The eclipse of the Chinese power there was due more to the rot engendered by the Revolution than to the strong right arm of Tibet. I think it probable that when China settles down (as sooner or later she must do) she will begin to put out feelers to re-establish some measure of control over her old dependencies. Her suzerainty (however shadowy) has

been constantly admitted by us, and has been, time and again, reaffirmed by the Republic. Their national flag has a stripe (black) for Tibet as one of the five nations of the Chinese Commonwealth.

The old "Board of Dependencies" of the Empire merely changed its name to "Meng Tsang Cheng Chih Hui" (Department for Administering Mongolia and *Tibet*).

The Chinese are very tenacious in sticking to an idea. They are proud of their long history. They are intensely jealous and sensitive about questions touching their sovereignty, and I cannot think that a great and populous nation will quietly submit for ever to be shut out entirely from a region which they have controlled for centuries.

Sir JOHN JORDAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not think I can add very much to what General Willoughby has said. In fact, he has given us a most exhaustive account of the whole situation. I have spoken, I think, twice on the subject of Tibet before, and each time I have found myself in disagreement with the lecturer. This time I am happy to say I entirely agree with him. He is one of a band of men who have done great service in the Far East. (Applause.) He is, I am sorry to say, almost the only survivor of that band, one of those military attachés who did so much work in China. And he is probably the most representative traveller that we have so far as China is concerned. His lecture gave you a most exhaustive account of the whole situation from the beginning up to very recent times. Chinese influence in Tibet dates largely from the reign of Ch'ien-lung, not only a great emperor but a great traveller, something like our own Prince of Wales, who travelled over the whole country and mixed with the people. He did not make speeches, but wrote poems which are still graven on stones all over the country. The importance of Tibet from my point of view is largely this: Forty or fifty years ago China was a great, overgrown empire with five feudatory states—Burmah, Annam, Corea, Nepaul, and Tibet. All these were large countries that sent tribute to Peking and acknowledged the authority of the Emperor there. Now, during these forty or fifty years, all these countries have gradually drifted away from China, and in most cases there has been a very great deal of trouble connected with the change. The fate of Corea, for instance, where I lived ten years, was decided by two great wars: one between China and Japan, and one between Russia and Japan. That was largely due to what General Willoughby has told us of the tenacity of the Chinese, who never yield an inch of this ground if they can avoid it. The same with regard to Annam, which caused a war between France and China. It was a very unnecessary war, but it caused a great deal of bloodshed. In the case of Burmah we were more fortunate, because we and China are accommodating people, fond of compromises. We made a com-

promise. We made a treaty by which we were to send local produce and become feudatories of China for some time. Of course, the treaty was never observed, it was never intended to be observed; but it was all right in its place. I think that was in 1886. The only thing that occurs to me is this: Tibet is almost the last country about which there is any dispute. The others have all become incorporated either in Japan, Great Britain, or France; but Tibet still remains an outstanding sore, and what is to be the future of Tibet? It is very difficult to say. The evening is rather late and I do not wish to detain you, but General Willoughby has given us so much solid material that I think I may indulge in a little forecast. Tibet is, of course, under the Dalai Lama, who is both a spiritual and a temporal ruler. In my early days in the Far East empire was the great thing. Everybody wanted to be an emperor. That was the fashion at that time. I remember very well the King of Corea one morning declared himself an Emperor, and he sent round to all the legations to see what his precedence would be in the hierarchy. After a time it was settled he should rank after the Emperor of Austria. That is all changed; the fashion now is not empire but republic. China became a republic against the advice of a great many of us, and has had a pretty bad experience. What about Tibet? I should not be surprised if Tibet became a republic some day; it is the vogue nowadays. The Dalai Lama is not going to remain a shuttlecock between Great Britain and China. Then his spiritual influence will go because you cannot have the President of a Republic turning prayer wheels all the day. He would join the League of Nations and we should have questions. But I think in the present state of things we are not going to have another war over Tibet, as we have had over Corea and Annam and those others. I do not think it is worth the trouble. In one thing I disagree with General Willoughby; I think it is a very good thing we did not establish a Resident in Lhasa, as it was at one time thought we should. I have had some experiences of Residents: in Corea we used to have one. If you establish a Resident in the place, you will find there is a great deal of trouble before very long. There is a great deal of competition for power and influence. The Tibet question, I think, could easily be arranged between Great Britain and China. In fact, just before I left Peking, one of the very last things I did related to this matter, and it was within an ace of being settled. It was in 1919, towards the end of my time there. The Chinese came to us—it is not a secret—and said, "We want to settle this question before you leave." They made a fair proposal on the whole with regard to the future status of Tibet: it was practically that we should acknowledge their nominal suzerainty, and that they should send back their Resident with a small escort of two or three hundred troops. The only question that really was not settled was that of the boundary. The Tibetans, in my opinion, have always

been very unreasonable about the boundary, and have claimed a frontier right away to Ta-chien-lu. No one would make me believe that Ta-chien-lu and Batang are not Chinese. For years we have had people living there under British and American passports, so that the Tibetan demand was quite unreasonable. The negotiations broke down at the last moment through reasons not connected with Tibet at all, but the situation will probably be settled in the end on the basis of what took place in Pekin in 1919. I would like to say that I think there is in the audience a gentleman who has lived in Ta-chien-lu for years. I think you might perhaps get a paper out of him some time with regard to the whole situation there. In conclusion, I would only say that I have listened to General Willoughby's paper with very great interest indeed. I think he has covered the whole ground very minutely and with extreme accuracy. (Applause.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, —As I came into the room from another engagement about half-way through the lecture, I heard the words, "He ran away from Sir Francis Younghusband." I gathered from the rest of the address that it was the Grand Lama who ran away from me. There have been a great many vicissitudes in Tibet since I was there twenty years ago, and I understand from the last speaker, Sir John Jordan, that the Lecturer had said in the course of his address that it was a good thing that the advice of some of the agents of the Government of India, myself included, had not been followed, and we had no Resident at Lhasa. I gathered that the Lecturer and Sir John Jordan disagreed with this policy of stationing a Resident at Lhasa.

The LECTURER: I did not quite say that.

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: I think that if we had had one there we could have saved all this coming and going backwards and forwards of the Tibetans running away from the Chinese one day and the Chinese running away from the Tibetans the next. I think that if we had had a Resident there, especially if that Resident had been Mr. Wilton of the Chinese Consular Service, who was with me in Tibet, and who is a very skilled and able adviser, we should have kept the Chinese and Tibetans in hand. We never wanted to do away with the suzerainty of China over Tibet, and we do not want to do away with that now. But I think that with a British Resident there and with the prestige that we had at the end of our Mission twenty years ago, and with the policy we had of keeping in with the Chinese, we should have had their support, and could have calmed down the Tibetans. I really think, and would like to take this opportunity of saying so, that in that way we might have saved a great deal of the troubles that have been going on during the last twenty years. As regards the general situation, it has struck me that at the root of the Chinese, I might almost call it, failure in Tibet is this, that through their pride of race they keep very much aloof.

I saw them myself at Lhasa, and they treated all the Tibetans, even the highest, as very contemptible kind of people. Of course, the Tibetans resented that, and as soon as they see the Chinese weak they rise up against them. Then the Chinese gather strength, and come in with one of their tremendous rushes and subdue the Tibetans, as they did some fifteen years ago. And I quite agree with the Lecturer as to the great military capacity of Chao-erh-fung. His was a most wonderful feat, and I testified to it when I last spoke before the Society. Then, after they have made some tremendous spasmodic effort like that, their energy evaporates away. There is no steady or persistent control over the Tibetans, and consequently you get the trouble. It is my personal opinion, which I give for what it is worth, that if a British Resident had been at Lhasa he would have kept things steady. I should like to express my very hearty thanks to General Willoughby for the exceedingly interesting and well-delivered lecture that he has given to us. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN thanked General Willoughby for his valuable lecture and congratulated the Society on having had the opportunity of hearing both sides of the Tibetan question, so ably put by Sir Charles Bell in his lecture in the autumn and General Willoughby respectively. He hoped and believed that it might be possible to make some sort of a final arrangement, which might be acceptable to both parties, without coming into conflict. He then closed the meeting with a vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Tuesday, April 8, 1924. The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided, and the Rev. Father Antoine Poidebard, S.J., M.C., Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur, Croix de Guerre, late Major of the French army, attached to the General Staff of the British Force in Persia in 1918, lectured on "The Junction of the Highways in Persia."

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by calling on the Hon. Secretary (Sir Raleigh Egerton) to make an announcement as to new members of the Society.

The HON. SECRETARY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to announce that twelve new members have joined the Society since the last meeting, which brings our numbers up to 783. Of course, our ambition is to reach a thousand, and I hope that some of those who hear the interesting lecture to-day, and are not already members, will be impelled to become such. The Secretary will always be very glad to receive proposals of membership at 74, Grosvenor Street.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall stand between you and the interesting lecture we are going to hear with only as few words as possible, in order that I may just tell you in brief outline who is the gentleman who has so kindly come over from Paris to give us the benefit of his large experience in the countries in which our Society is so deeply interested. Père Antoine Poidebard was, I think, for ten years in eastern Asia Minor—the Armenian part of it—in charge of the important French religious missions in that part of the country, and he utilized the time at his disposal in making a very close study of the conditions of life, political, economic, racial, and geographical in that country. Then came the war, during which Father Poidebard rendered distinguished service like so many of the Army Chaplains and Almoners —to which class he belonged—in his country and in ours. We all know the devoted and heroic service which they rendered at the front during the war. Then, towards the conclusion of the war the French general staff, being well aware of his remarkable attainments in the knowledge of the Armenian language and the whole of the Armenian problem, deputed him to go to that part of the world again, and to study the communications between the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus, so that he might eventually get to Tiflis, where there

was already a French General Chardinier, who had been attached to the Russian armies at the time when they were fighting in alliance with ourselves. Père Antoine Poidebard accordingly went out in the early days of 1918, and made his way through the Suez Canal, Red Sea, and Persian Gulf up to Baghdad; there he made acquaintance with many of our officers, both civil and military. He proceeded on his journey along the well-known but difficult route from Baghdad into the country of the Caspian by way of Hamadan, and as he passed along that route he had many opportunities at the different military posts of making acquaintance with our officers, to whose staffs, indeed, he was actually attached, and with them he discussed the great questions that were then at issue—in particular the collapse of Russia. Consequent upon the Russian revolution a great gap had been created, through which there was imminent danger of the Turks, with the Germans behind them, making an attack, and occupying northern Persia and so onwards. All these questions Père Antoine Poidebard discussed with those most competent to talk about them, and he acquired a great fund of knowledge, which he has since recorded in an admirable book that I have before me—an account of his journeys and of the conclusions he comes to, "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse." He describes all the roads which lead through Persia, which if occupied by an enemy might form a threat to India. All those matters he studied profoundly. Eventually he got to Tiflis after the Armistice. He went back to Paris, then went again to the Caucasus for some time, and his special knowledge of Armenian questions made his services there invaluable. He saw the formation of the different Caucasus states, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia, and also witnessed their destruction at the hands of the Soviet forces which overran the country and before which the Turk retired, leaving the whole of the Caucasus in the hands and under the authority and power of the Soviet Government at Moscow. I believe Père Poidebard was almost the last to embark and take flight before this invasion, which has had, of course, such enormously important political consequences. I may say that his book conveys to one the general opinion that Père Poidebard was very much impressed by the dangers of the situation, and certainly we do not wish to diminish these in any way. We must face them. But the great danger before the final defeat of the enemy in his mind seems to have been this, that the great empires and powers of Germany, Russia, and Turkey might combine forces, which combination, operating through a great pan-Islamic or at least pan-Turanian movement, might constitute a very serious threat to our Indian Empire. That is very much the conclusion to which he comes, and I think we must all feel that it is a danger that did exist, and that may conceivably exist in the future, and if so we must take every precaution against it. Père Poidebard's defence against such a possible

attack is a very simple one, it is that the two great countries in the world which are most concerned in the Islamic question—that is to say, our country and France—should agree on some policy which would, between them, enable our two countries to stand up against such an attack. I wish to say that we feel very much gratified at having the advantage of his presence here to-day.

THE JUNCTION OF THE HIGHWAYS IN PERSIA*

By A. Poidebard, M.C.

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Among the many articles which my recent work on Persia as the junction of the highways has called forth, a writer, none too friendly to the British and French armies, thus humorously describes me: "Major Poidebard, small, fat, and short, his pipe eternally in his mouth, as fond of gossip as a *concierge*, ever full of sensational tales . . ."

Another adds: "This good man has the 'Road to India' on het brain. He cannot eat, drink, or sleep for thinking of it. As if the enemies of the Entente had nothing else to think of in 1918 than to seize the road to India."

Now all my chiefs and comrades know that Major Poidebard, after fulfilling certain official missions in Asia, disappeared from the public ken some three years ago, and that since then Father Poidebard has been free to resume his scientific labours and his life of missionary.

I know not if I be small and short; but the 14th Hussars has not forgotten that I was a heavy rider, nor the 13th Aerial Squadron that my weight made me an unwelcome observer to pilots.

As for the pipe, that is a familiar habit which has stuck to me since the pleasant days I spent with the British General Staff.

If I am talkative in my mother-tongue, I can hardly say as much for English, which I learned only in Persia in 1918. General Dunsterville will remember that at his headquarters in Hamadan my English was known as "explorer's" English. I must therefore beg the members of the Central Asian Society, who have so kindly invited me here to-day, to excuse my faulty pronunciation.

* I regret that the Journal of the Central Asian Society, Vol. XI., 1924, Part II., was shown to me too late to enable me to reply, in my lecture of April 8, to the criticisms contained in an article directed against certain points maintained in my book, "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse."—A. P.

In the humorous portrait, however, which I have just quoted one point is perfectly accurate. Ten years' sojourn on missions in Asia have convinced me of the importance of that question of the road to India. The fight for the road to India is at the root of all the events in the East during the Great War, and that is precisely what I have endeavoured to bring home to the French public in my recent book, "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse."

The composition of the book was for me a labour of gratitude towards my chiefs and comrades of the British Expeditionary Force in Mesopotamia and Persia. It was, moreover, a labour of justice towards our gallant British Tommies, who, as I have said in it, died by thousands on the plains of Mesopotamia and the mountains of Persia to keep the road to India, fighting for the same ideal as those who fell in the fair land of France in defence of their homes and those of their French comrades.

The many letters I have received from my French and English friends have shown me that my idea has been understood in all sincerity.

Keeping strictly outside all political and military questions, and confining myself solely to the geographical domain, I would ask leave to make some remarks on the question of communications across Persia.

By its geographical constitution, Persia is a striking example of the great laws of human geography.

An American explorer, Miss Ellsworth Huntington, remarks that the Pamir plateau is the "pulse" of Asia. That is true; but west of this plateau, between Western and Central Asia, between the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and Central Asia, the Persian plateau is the "wrist" by which have passed in every age the great routes of communication by land. This is one of the laws of historical geography.

PART I.

THE JUNCTION OF THE HIGHWAYS ON THE PERSIAN PLATEAU.

1. Configuration of the Persian Plateau.

Persia as the meeting-place of roads from the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, China, and India, is one of the great junctions of Asiatic communications. Before, however, studying this question, let us cast a rapid glance at the characteristic features of the Persian plateau as regards configuration and climate.

"Certain trade and transport routes," remarks M. Jean Bruhnes,* "are prepared in advance by geographical conditions, and man has

* "Géographie humaine," p. 151.

merely to make slight modifications in the parts most favourable to his passage." Nowhere is the truth of this law of human geography more clearly demonstrated than in Persia. There, as Sir Percy Sykes aptly puts it, the real road-makers are the caravan mules,* and the routes are the tracks that have been determined by geographical conditions; and the wreck of successive empires in that part of Asia has been powerless to alter the lines of communication laid down by its orographical configuration.

Geographically Persia forms part of Central Asia.

The plateau of Iran extends between the valley of the Indus and the plain of the Tigris. It is the most westerly and most extensive portion of that upper region of Asia which is occupied to the east by Afghanistan and Baluchistan. On all sides it is surrounded by lofty mountains, which attain a higher altitude west and north.

The orographical map shows us in a striking manner how Persia is confined within the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. Its position and geographical conformation make it the sole passage for the land routes running from Central Asia to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

Bounded on the north by the Elburz and on the south by the Zagros, the Persian plateau rises between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. On every side it has the appearance of a gigantic staircase. The southern rim rises by broad steps leading to a central terrace, which is itself supported by two parallel chains of the chief range. Between the two central crests are situated the ancient cities of the Medes and Persians: Ecbatana, Persepolis, Ispahan, Shiraz, and Kirman.

The geographical and political backbone of Persia is formed by a lofty, elongated terrace, of a uniform height of over 5,000 feet, along a superficies about 100 miles in breadth by nearly 700 miles in length. Northward, near Tehran and Meshed, the plateau is uniformly above 3,000 feet. South and west it exceeds generally 4,000 feet. East and centre the desert is, on the contrary, uniformly below 2,000 feet—considerably below the plateau which encloses it on every side.

Persia is not, as it is sometimes described, a vast elevated plain bounded by lofty mountains. All along the plateau one meets with parallel chains, always running in a north-westerly direction, and separated by valleys nearly twenty miles broad. This formation is not merely exasperating to the traveller, who, coming up from the south, has to cross them at right angles. It also plays an important part in the regularity of the wind, which is an important factor in the aridity of the climate of Persia.

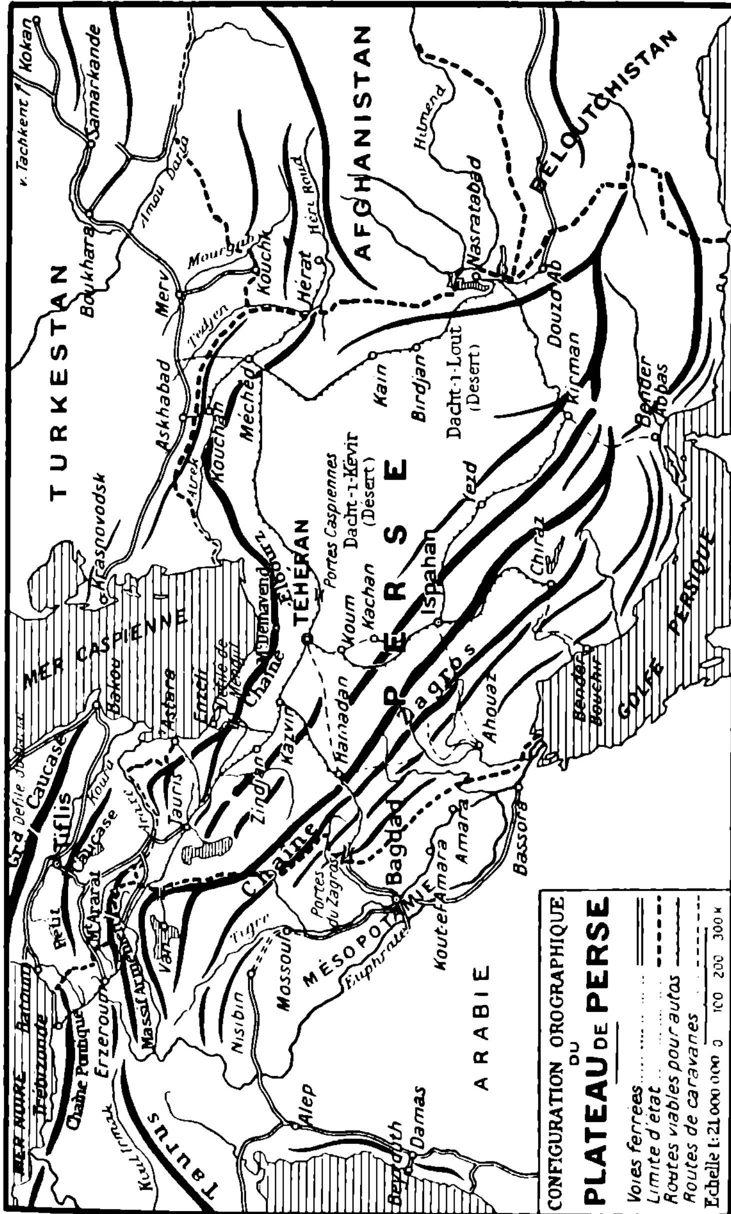
There are but a few natural passages across the elevated girdle of the plateau. The sole points of access relatively easy are marked by an important route.

* "History of Persia," i., p. 28.

To the north-east, the Tedjend cut in the northern chain (communications with Turkistan and Afghanistan).

To the south-east, the Nasratabad Pass (communications with Baluchistan).

To the north, in the Elburz chain, the Safid Rud cut south of Resht and Enzeli (communications with the Caspian).



To the south, the steep barrier of the Zagros contains only one passage really practicable as a great route of communication—the Defile, or Gates, of the Zagros (Pa-i-Tak Pass, Tak-i-Girreh Pass) giving access into Persia from Mesopotamia. This is the itinerary of the Baghdad-Hamadan route, the ancient Royal Road of Babylon to Ecbatana. In every age it has been the great highway of communication for Persia with the neighbouring empires.

The other routes starting from the Persian Gulf—Bander Abbas-Kirman, Bushire-Ispahan, Mohammerah-Ahwaz-Hamadan, Mohammerah-Ahwaz-Ispahan—were, before the war, mere mountain roads particularly difficult and only practicable to caravans. We know what great efforts were made by General Sykes's expedition (1916-1918) to improve the first two of these itineraries.

Finally, to the north-west, there is the Tabriz region, more favoured. From that town four principal routes have their natural course marked out in the chains surrounding Persian Azerbaijan. They are: Tabriz-Astara, on the Caspian, by the Ardebil Pass; Tabriz-Tiflis, by the Julfa Pass; Tabriz-Erzerum, by the Khoi Pass; Tabriz-Van, by the Kotur Pass. There is a fifth itinerary—Tabriz-Baku, by the lower course of the Araxes.

The rarity of natural passages existing across the border of the Persian plain and the manner of their distribution will make it clear, in our study of ways of communication further on, why in all ages, including the present, political and commercial movements have made use of the two great itineraries Baghdad-Hamadan-Kazvin (the Royal Road of Darius) and Meshed-Tehran-Kazvin-Tabriz (the silk route and road to China). It is a fulfilment of that law of human geography which says: "The pass is indicated by the general conditions of topographical modelling and relief; but, if it is, and if it is to remain a route, it needs the urban centres which safeguard it and which, by exercising afar their radiating influence, maintain the passage of the road by this naturally favourable point." *

2. Climate of the Persian Plateau.

Before studying the itineraries of the Persian roads, it is necessary to take note of the climatic conditions of the plateau.

The climate of Iran is peculiarly favourable to caravan transport. For the explorer it combines, during the greater part of the seasons, the ideal conditions of open-air life and camping outside the centres of habitation.

Pending the construction of railways and the regular upkeep of the great highways, it permits of the use of motor transport over the main roads of communication.

A remarkably dry climate is a characteristic feature of Persia and, indeed, of the whole of Central Asia.

The causes of this dryness are the same as for all the central regions of the Asiatic continent: rarity of moist winds coming up from the sea, a low yearly rain average, and a strong proportion of drying land breezes.

Rarity of Moist Winds from the Sea.—Deprived, like all Central Asia, of the moist currents of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, Persia

* Brunhes, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 231.

cannot even take advantage of the vicinity of the Caspian. The lofty chain of the Elburz intercepts most of the clouds coming from the sea. Their abundant moisture is freely discharged over the narrow riparian provinces, and very seldom crosses the mountain. "Nothing," remarks Sir Percy Sykes, "is more striking than to stand on this mighty rampart and behold on the northern slopes a luxuriant expanse of forests and fertile plains, while to the south the immense plateau is bare and dry."

Annual Rainfall.—The centre, east, south-east, and south of Persia, as climate, are arid regions, and the soil is cultivated chiefly by means of irrigation.

By reason of the latitude and the sun's power, the very small annual rainfall average, as indicated by the statistics, shows that the situation of the region is altogether unfavourable.

Over and above the parched regions of Persia, however, which owe the vegetation of their oases to the mountain watercourses fed by the winter snows, there are provinces more favoured in annual rainfall. Such are the districts of the north and west—Khorasan, Azerbaijan, and Kurdistan.

In Persia, setting aside the plains of Arabistan and the richly watered shores of the Caspian, the "highlands" will necessarily be the most fertile and the most populated. The Iran plateau depends for its existence specially on the mountain snows. The higher and broader the mountain ranges the vaster the reservoirs they offer to this source of moisture.

Persia is, therefore, on the whole an arid region dotted with green oases.

In picturesque language, Stevenson, speaking of the south, has this characteristic sentence: "There is a certain tawny nudity of the south, bare, sunburnt plains, coloured like a lion, and hills clothed only in the blue transparent air."

The highlands of the west have this general physiognomy as one flies above them by aeroplane from Baghdad to Tabriz or to the Caspian. Only, in these less arid regions of the plateau, thin strips of verdure descend from the mountains and broaden into rich oases around the white splashes of the towns and villages. They mark the path of the watercourses over the tawny expanse of the plain. The translucent blue tint peculiar to the atmosphere of Iran forms a very limpid setting to the whole on the horizon.

Seen from above, the plateau looks like those Persian carpets on which, on a light brown ground surrounded by bright and brilliant bands of colour, the skilful workwomen trace arabesques of verdure It is indeed the dryness of the air which gives to the colours of Iran those pure, transparent tints which form the charm of the Central Asian landscape, tints which we find reproduced in the carpets, stuffs, and miniatures of its artists.

Drying Winds.—The natural aridity of the plateau is considerably increased by another cause. Deprived, by its geographical position and its orographical configuration, of the moisture of the winds from the sea, this lofty region is, moreover, subject to the drying action of land currents.

A remarkably constant and uniform wind blows over the surface of the land. When the burning sun falls upon these treeless plains and bare masses of rock, it creates a vast column of hot air which in its turn calls forth a powerful current. On the plateau, the juxtaposition of these countless parallel chains, all running diagonally north-west, favours the creation of these air-currents invariably blowing towards the north-west or south-east.

No one who has not flown across Persia can so well realize what this constant draught is which is produced on the surface of the plateau by the sun's heat, untempered by any moisture. These columns of hot air of varied intensity, rising from the bare and rocky expanse, often render the journey by air from Baghdad to Tehran a stormy one. Over each valley he crosses, the pilot meets with air-pockets which are severe ordeals for the motor.

Conclusions.—These few geographical observations lead us to precise *conclusions*, "full of human geography," as Jean Brunhes expresses it, or as an English geographer puts it, "crammed with economic facts."

"From one snow to the next, there is no rain in Persia," says a proverb which is constantly in the mouth of the peasants of the plateau of Iran. This strict law is important in a region where the principal ways of communication are themselves mere tracks marked out by the caravans across chains and valleys. In the eight months of the fine season motor transport is therefore possible when the passes are not too rocky in parts and when the ascent is not insuperably steep.

For the rest, as soon as the snows melt, the dryness and limpidity of the atmosphere give great power to the sun's rays and quickly raise the temperature by day to torrid. But, for the same atmospheric reason, the twilight is the hour for a sharp drop in the temperature. The cool nights of the Persian summer and the luminous brightness of the stars enable caravans and transport to make long marches before sunrise. Then they halt in the oases of the villages.

The Persian plateau, as we have just seen, is a central basin, barren and low, surrounded by a mountainous plateau which becomes higher and higher as one travels from north-east to south-west, until the Zagros range presents a culminating terrace of a regular altitude of 5,500 feet.

Given the aridity of the climate, *the vital regions of the plateau must be in the highlands.* 'There it is that the snows which have accumulated during the winter in the mountains give birth to the chief rivers. From this point of view, Persia is a precise and interesting example of the influence of altitude on the density of production and population

in certain regions near the tropics. History shows us the empires of the Medes and Persians establishing their important centres on the culminating portion of the plateau in the Zagros range. In the plateau *the highest region will be the best watered, consequently the most fertile and the most thickly populated. There it is, further, that the great routes of communication (the highways) will pass.*

We still see to-day this quadruple law in permanent operation. The charts of annual rainfall, production, population, and roads are, so to speak, superposed, and offer an interesting similarity.

In the list of altitudes we see that the principal towns are all above 5,000 feet in the Zagros range (Kerman, Shiraz, Ispahan, Hamadan, Birjan, and Sehneh); above 4,000 feet in the eastern and north-western mountainous girdle (Birjan, Kain, and Kuchan, Kermanshah, Kazvin, Tabriz, Urmieh, Ardebil); above 3,000 feet in the north part of the plateau (Tehran, Meshed).

3. The Roads of the Persian Plateau—Baghdad-Enzeli, Kazvin-Tabriz.

In January, 1918, having been instructed to study on the spot the shortest lines of communication between the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus, our mission found on the map of Asia only two possible itineraries: either enter the Persian plateau by the Zagros Pass, north-east of Baghdad, and thence by way of Hamadan, Kazvin, Enzeli, and Baku reach the Tiflis railway; or else avoid the Caspian Sea by following from Kazvin the road to Tabriz, and thus reach in the latter city the terminus of the railways of Russian Armenia.

Our itinerary would therefore be Baghdad-Kazvin-Enzeli or Baghdad-Kazvin-Tabriz, according as we entered the Caucasus from the east or from the south.

Railways.—On the map of lines of communication, Persia, in common with the upper regions of Central Asia, presents an enormous gap in the midst of the system of great railways. No railway appears between the Russian lines of the Transsiberian and the Transcaspian, the Mesopotamian lines and the Indian systems.

The true cause of the lack of railways in this part of Asia is to be found in reasons of international policy, rather than in difficulties of a natural or financial character. This map* is of a great interest. It points out very precisely which are the geographically possible itineraries of the land route to India. Consequently all the land routes necessarily pass through the Persian plateau.

Main Lines of Communication in Persia.

Two main lines of communication alone exist across Persia: the Baghdad-Hamadan route between Mesopotamia and the Caspian and the

* From "Mossoul et la Route des Indes," by A. Poidebard, in the *Asie Française*, Paris, May, 1923.

Meshed-Tabriz route, which links up Turkistan and Afghanistan with the Caucasus and Turkey in Asia.

From Tehran a branch road runs to Ispahan and Kerman, where it joins the caravan route to Bander-Abbas, thus connecting the Persian roads with the seaborne trade of India by way of the Persian Gulf.

The main junction is at Kazvin.

1. *Baghdad-Hamadan Route.*

Historical.—In the Persian Empire, the Baghdad-Hamadan route lay along the famous artery of the *Royal Way* of Darius and Alexander, connecting Babylon with Ecbatana. From time immemorial it was the chief line of communication by land between the West and the East.

The Royal Way, which has been minutely described by Herodotus, started from Ephesus and Sardis, and by way of Ancyra (Angora), Comana (east of Tokat), and Melitène, reached Arbela (Erbil) and Susa. From Babylon it threw out a branch to Ecbatana (Hamadan) by the Gates of the Zagros, traversed Rhages (Tehran), and by the defile of the Caspian Gates gained the plains of Bactriana. In the Greek-Roman period it took the shorter route by the south, the actual line of the Baghdad railway through the Cilician Gates.

Under the Roman Empire it remained the great road of communication by land with Asia. As early as the second century B.C. it was the *Silk Way*. The caravans, starting from the markets of Chinese Turkistan, gained the Mediterranean by the north of Persia and Mesopotamia.

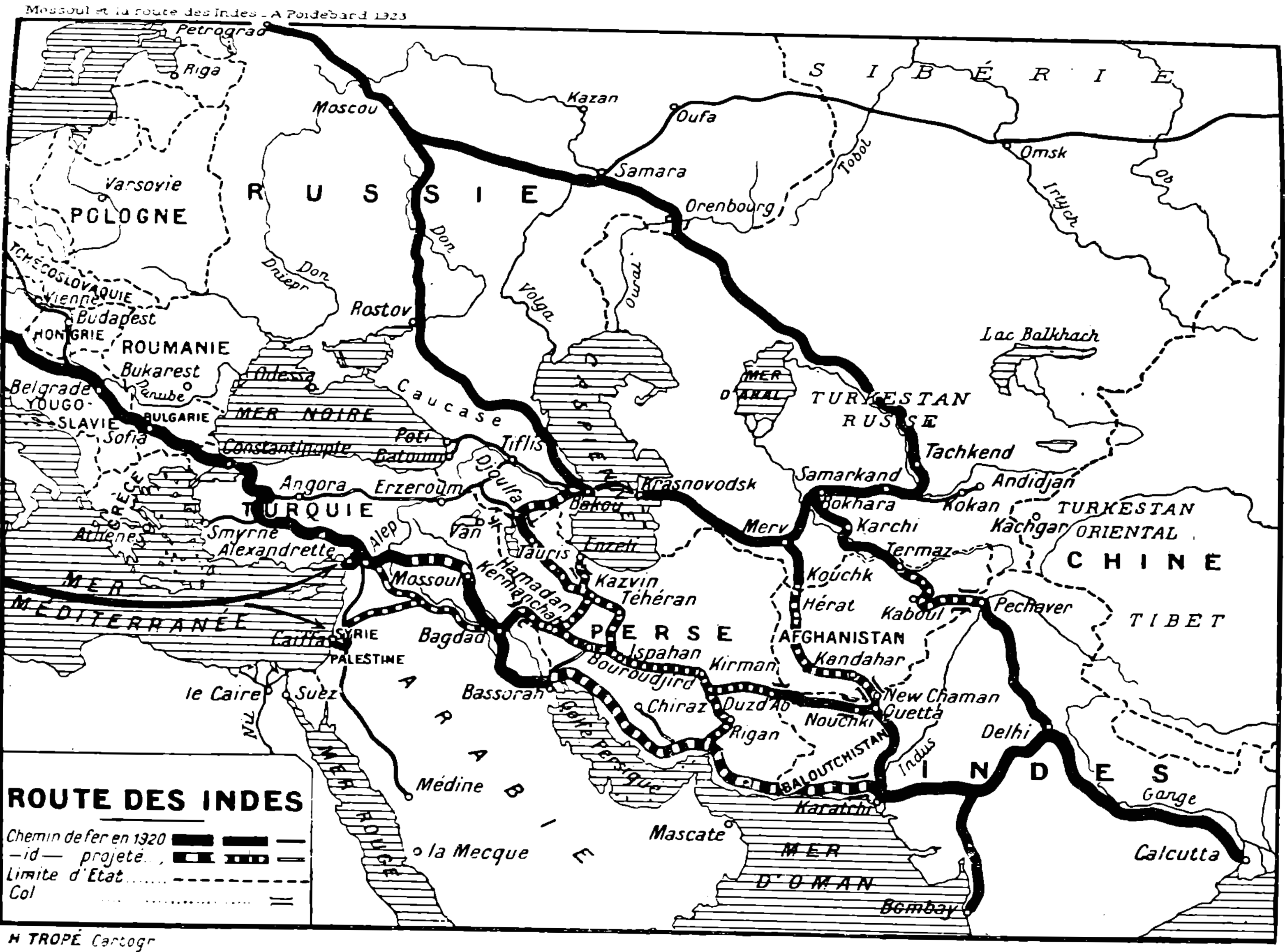
The Silk Way, from Antioch, joined the Royal Way in the north of Mesopotamia. By Arbela, the Gates of the Zagros, Ecbatana, Rhages, and the Caspian Gates, it entered Bactria (Balkh), and on leaving the Stone Tower came out on Issedon Scythica (Kashgar) and Issedon Serica (Khotan). It was in these markets that the Greek merchants met the Chinese caravans.

This Silk Way of the second century is interesting in that it marks out one of the natural routes from the Mediterranean into Central Asia, a great potential land route to the north of China and India.

Road to India.—In her commercial expansion "eastward," the Germany of 1914-1918 had vast ambitions. Her plan of a Berlin-Constantinople-Baghdad, completed by a pan-Islamic action, sought "beyond Constantinople Baghdad, beyond Baghdad the Persian Gulf, beyond the Persian Gulf the Indian Ocean and India itself." *

Brought to a standstill in 1917 on the road to the Persian Gulf by the loss of Baghdad, she endeavoured to seize the land route by way of the Caucasus, Turkistan, and Persia. This is proved by one of the annexes of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, March 3, 1918: "Germany shall

* Brunhes et Vallaux, "Géographie et l'Histoire," p. 490.


Mossoul et la route des Indes - A Poidebard 1923
ROUTE DES INDES
Chemin de fer en 1920
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S I B É R I E
R U S S I E
POLOGNE
TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE
HONGRIE
ROUMANIE
YOUGO-SLAVIE
BULGARIE
GRÈCE
TURQUIE
PERSE
AFGHANISTAN
BALOUTCHISTAN
I N D E S
C H I N E
T I B E T
TURKESTAN ORIENTAL
TURKESTAN RUSSE
A R A B I E
SYRIE
PALESTINE
MER NOIRE
MER D'ARAL
MER MÉDITERRANÉE
MER ROUGE
MER D'OMAN
Golfe Persique
Lac Balkhach
Petrograd
Moscou
Riga
Varsovie
Vienne
Budapest
Bukarest
Danube
Belgrade
Sofia
Athènes
Constantinople
Odessa
Angora
Smyrne
Alexandrette
Alep
Erzeroum
Batoum
Poti
Tiflis
Caucase
Rostov
Kazan
Samara
Oufa
Orenbourg
Omsk
Irtych
Ob
Tobol
Oural
Volga
Don
Dniepr
Djoulfa
Van
Tauris
Bakou
Enzeli
Kazvin
Téhéran
Hamadan
Kermanchah
Bagdad
Mossoul
Bassorah
Ispahan
Bouroudjird
Chiraz
Kirman
Duzd Ab
Rigan
Nouchki
Quetta
New Chaman
Kandahar
Hérat
Kouchk
Kaboul
Pechaver
Termaz
Karchi
Bokhara
Samarkand
Merv
Krasnovodsk
Tachkend
Kokan
Andidjan
Kachgar
Delhi
Indus
Karatchi
Bombay
Calcutta
Gange
Mascate
Médine
la Mecque
Suez
le Caire
Caïffa
Nil

have free access across the Russian territory to Persia and Afghanistan "! General Dunsterville tells us the same in his book.*

The Route of Invasion.—The Zagros route, after having been throughout the history of the Arabian, Persian, and Turkish Empires the route of invasion, the passage by which the armies attacked Baghdad, became in 1916-1918 the route by which the British and Russian armies put a stop to the German "Drang" towards the Persian Gulf and India.

In 1916-1917 it witnessed the passage of the Russian corps under General Baratoff, which was despatched from the Caspian to raise the siege of Kut-el-Amara and join hands with the British forces coming up from Basra.

Again in 1918, it was the route of General Dunsterville's force hurrying in motor cars from Baghdad to relieve Baku, Tabriz, and Krasnovodsk, which were threatened by the German-Turkish invasion.

To-day the Zagros route is still the high road of trade communication between Tehran and Baghdad (by rail from Baghdad to Kuraitu, near Khanaqin, and by motor car from Kuraitu to Tehran).

2. *Meshed-Tabriz Route.*

Historical: The Road of the Genoese to China.—In the Middle Ages, Tabriz-Meshed was the route chosen by the Venetian and Genoese merchants. In order to reach the silk markets of China from the shores of the Black Sea they landed at Trebizond, and travelling by way of Erzerum and Tabriz gained at Meshed the cross-roads leading to Chinese Turkistan. In the jargon of the Persian muleteers and camel drivers this route is still called the "Road to China." In 1921, when the Caucasus was seized by the Bolsheviks and every outlet on the west was closed against the Persian trade, the caravans, in the

* *Vide* Liman von Sanders, "Cinq Ans en Turquie" (Payot, Paris), pp. 375, 376:

"J'ai derrière moi cinq années d'activité militaire en Turquie, dans une situation lourde de responsabilités. Je suis donc bien fondé à porter un jugement sur ce que l'on a voulu et ce que l'on a réalisé . . .

"Dans le domaine militaire, ce que l'Allemagne attendait des Turcs dépassait de beaucoup leurs moyens et par suite était irréalisable.

"La Turquie n'avait pas seulement à défendre les Détroits, à protéger ses frontières sur leur prodigieuse étendue, mais elle aurait du conquérir l'Égypte, *soulever la Perse, préparer en Transcaucasie la création d'États indépendants afin de pouvoir, dans la suite, menacer de là les Indes par l'Afghanistan*, et enfin apporter un concours efficace sur les théâtres de guerre européens . . .

"A l'Allemagne on peut reprocher de n'avoir pas eu la froide et claire conception objective de ce que la Turquie était en état de fournir avec ses forces.

"Il semble que les souvenirs des 'Contes des Mille et Une Nuits' ou des mirages du désert de l'Arabie aient troublé le jugement de nos compatriotes d'ordinaire plus clairvoyants."

space of a few weeks, were using once more the ancient road from the Black Sea to Tabriz by way of Trebizond and Erzerum.

Road to India.—In 1918 the road of Northern Persia was the itinerary assigned to the Turkish army of Islam.

Meshed-Tabriz is still one of the possible roads of the future from India to the Black Sea. The pre-war plan was that of a direct railway from Batum to Kars, Erivan, Tabriz, and Tehran. It was to avoid the circuit by way of Tiflis and cut straight across from Kars to Erivan and Julfa. But with the Russian revolution Persia has again been isolated within her own system of communication. Political calm would have to return to Asia before she would desire to see those great arteries of international exchange pass across her territory.

A Road of Islam.—In concluding this study of the Persian roads it is necessary to call attention to a point seldom touched upon, which is, nevertheless, of capital importance if we would understand the present pan-Islamic movement.

On the geographical map, between Turkey and Russian Islam, the people of Caucasian and Russian Azerbaijan are seen to form an important centre of population, Turkish in origin. Placed at the very meeting-place of the principal routes connecting the Black and Caspian Seas, the Persian Gulf, and Central Asia, they form an active link between the extremities of the Turanian world. The old road to China and the Silk Way have thus become one of the roads of Islam.

PART II.

FROM BAGHDAD TO THE CAUCASUS BY THE PERSIAN PLATEAU.

In January, 1918, the route from Paris to Tiflis by way of Arkangel (Murmansk) or Vladivostok was in danger of being cut by the Bolshevik revolution. All the other routes eastward were cut by the front of the Central Powers. There was urgent need to reconnoitre the communications between the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus, which were soon to become the sole practicable means of reaching Russia. With my comrade, Lieutenant Gerardot of the Army Staff, I was instructed to study this itinerary.

On January 25, 1918, our mission left Paris with letters from General Sir Henry Wilson (of the inter-Allied Military Council in Versailles) for the British staff in Mesopotamia.

In the autumn of 1917 the operations in Palestine and Mesopotamia had, once and for all, barred the way against the German-Turkish "Drang" towards the Suez Canal and Persian Gulf. But at the same moment the falling away of the Russian Caucasus front opened up to it a fresh road to India: Batum-Baku-Bokhara and Batum-Tabriz-

Tehran. General Dunsterville's expedition was designed to meet this menace by marching across Persia to the Caucasus.

On receiving my orders at Versailles, on January 26, 1918, and in the few minutes of conversation which I had with the French and British Chiefs of the inter-Allied staff, I saw how important was the defence of the road to India in the mind of the defenders of the Allied front.

On March 4 we arrived at the bar of Shatt-al Arab.

The map of the oilfields of Mesopotamia and Southern Persia shows us the object pursued by the Germans and the Turks in their push towards the Caucasus and Persian Gulf. In Ludendorff's Memoirs we see that in the eyes of the German General Staff the land route to India was first of all the road to the oilfields of Asia, in order to obtain the all-important supplies for the German Army during the final offensive in 1918. General Sir Percy Sykes has not failed to point this out in his "History of Persia."

On arriving at Basra, on March 4, we learned that the road to the Caspian was closed by the Bolsheviks. General Dunsterville had not been able to embark at Enzeli for Baku, and had been compelled to fall back on Hamadan. On March 16 we went aboard the *P.* 51 for Kut-el-Amara, whence we were to take train for Baghdad. The chief interest on this journey by water across Mesopotamia lies in the picture it presents of the richness of this vast and naturally fertile plain, which only wants water to recover its ancient prosperity. The trade in cotton, corn, dates, and oil will, as soon as the old canals have been reconstructed, turn this region into one of the capital centres of the Asiatic highways.

We reached Baghdad on March 20. At G.H.Q., General Marshall and General Beach informed us that orders had been issued to facilitate our journey across Persia. "The orders of the War Office and of General Sir Henry Wilson," said General Beach to me, "are formal. Your mission is to be furthered at all costs," and let me add that, whether I had to do with General Beach or with Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel Sir) A. T. Wilson, Sir Percy Cox's able assistant, I was destined to experience in the fulfilment of my mission the fullest collaboration and sincerest friendship.

*On March 25 we left Baghdad in motor cars, running along the road to Persia, the ancient Royal Way of Darius. Thirty miles further, in the desert, we reached the palms of Baquba. Another thirty miles and we were on the spurs of Jebel Hamrin, the north-eastern girdle of the plain of Mesopotamia. Jebel Hamrin precedes the outlying slopes of the Persian plateau, whose massive rocky chain now begins to bar the horizon. In the evening we reached the camp

* Slides were shown throughout the lecture giving maps and illustrations of the distinctive features of the roads, buildings, and people.

of General Sir William Thomson, who was in command of the northern front of Mesopotamia, and whose cavalry secured the high road against the attacks of the Kurdish tribes.

On March 26, setting out at dawn, we passed through Khanaqin.

From Khanaqin, Kurdish and Persian costumes began to intermingle, and up to Kermanshah our way lay through Persian Kurdistan.

In the evening we entered Sir-i-pul. The gorge became narrower. We were at the Gates of the Zagros. In the shade of the ancient Persian fortress, which commands the pass, were pitched the tents of a British camp.

The outline of the Baghdad-Enzeli route shows us the natural difficulties of this line of communication. The map shows us that on leaving the Zagros the road must cross the Persian plateau at the point where all the folds of the mountain ranges draw together before continuing towards the Caucasus and Turkey in Asia. In a stretch of 580 miles, 375 are above 3,000 feet, and several passes have an altitude exceeding 5,500 and 6,500 feet.

In 1918, as the metalled road only existed from Hamadan to the Caspian, the remainder of the route was practicable for motor cars only at the close of the snowy season. Before the first days of April the heavy clinging mud of the plains and the deep snow in the passes did not permit of any but caravan traffic. But the sun no sooner appears than the track regains its solid crust, making it possible for a light motor car to cover with ease in four to five days the Baghdad-Hamadan-Enzeli route.

In 1918, at the cost of immense labour, the British army established a good line of communication: the railway constructed from Baghdad to Kuraitu, near Khanaqin, and the road opened up to motor-car traffic. The Persian Government has thus a central route between the Caspian and Mesopotamia.

In the course of the day our escort and horses arrived, the escort being in charge of Captain Cropper, of the 14th Hussars.

On March 27, leaving our cars, we climbed on horseback up the road which crosses the steep barrier of the Zagros. By the Pa-i-Tak Pass we reached the camp of Surkadiza, where Colonel Mathews, commanding the Hampshire Regiment, was stationed, and as we approached the tent which served as a mess-room, and in which a welcome fire was blazing, a gramophone struck up the Marseillaise—a delicate attention on the part of the doctor.

The Royal Way had once again been laid waste by war. Famine ravaged the people of the villages which had been destroyed, and hunger-stricken natives gathered together in the neighbourhood of the camp and were fed by Colonel Mathews and his kind-hearted Tommies. We stayed here until April 1, when, well wrapped in furs, we again set out with our escort of the 14th Hussars for Kirind and Kermanshah.

Caught in a snowstorm on the Pa-i-Tak Pass, we had to halt in the evening at Kirind to rest our horses and men.

On the muddy plateau of Kirind we passed through the gangs of navvies who were busily engaged, under the direction of the officers of Colonel Mathews, in repairing the route for the motor cars of the Dunsterville expedition. One has no idea of the enormous difficulties encountered by the British expeditionary force before the Zagros route from Khanikin to Hamadan was rendered practicable to motor transports. From Kirind, an important centre of the Kurdish sect of the "Ali-Allahi," our little caravan had to advance cautiously as far as Kermanshah. Our route led us through defiles held by hostile Kurd tribes. Before descending into the marshy plain of Mah-i-Dasht, we crossed the rocky pass of Shekar Zabar. At last the sun broke forth and the snow began to melt, but a day's warm sunshine dried the way, restoring its fine level and hard surface. We halted that night at Mah-i-Dasht, an important stage for the caravans of Persian pilgrims going to Kerbela. On April 5 we arrived at Kermanshah. The road had been thoroughly dried by the sun and we were able to push on. In the rear was Captain Goldberg and his armoured car, which had succeeded in crossing Pa-i-Tak Pass and was to join us at Kermanshah.

On April 8, after enjoying three days of charming hospitality at the hands of Colonel and Mrs. Kennion, we started in our Ford vans for Hamadan, escorted by Captain Goldberg. This is the ideal means of transport on the Persian plateau, when the road is dry and one is not hampered by too much baggage.

Twenty miles from Kermanshah we reached the Kuh-i-Parao chain. It breaks off abruptly at Bisitun. This was the grandiose mountain site selected by Darius to be a lasting memorial of his victories. Through this central passage of the Royal Way all the great historic invasions between Babylon and Ecbatana have passed. The bas-relief, which is in a state of perfect preservation, is sculptured on the face of the rock at a height of 300 feet from the ground. It represents Darius triumphing over his enemies, his foot on the neck of the chief Gaumata, the most powerful among them. Around him stand the other vanquished chiefs with their hands chained behind them.

One of the arches of the Bisitun bridge had partly fallen in, and only pedestrians and asses could venture along the parapet. Our cars had to be ferried across in *kelcks*, a primitive kind of raft, on which we had some difficulty in stowing them. The Bisitun peasants had not seen the modern means of transport, and were much astonished thereat.

The Persians, who are renowned as gardeners, run their irrigation canals across the road from one field to another. These crossings are danger spots for a heavily laden motor car, as we found to our cost occasionally.

On April 11, avoiding the Asadabad Pass (7,600 feet), which was still covered with snow, we turned the summit of the Alvand by the right, and after crossing three high passes arrived at Hamadan. We lost no time in placing our baggage in a big Persian building where we were to have our quarters with other officers of the staff and in reporting to General Dunsterville, who received us with winning cordiality.

On the map the General briefly explained the position in the Caucasus and Northern Persia. "The situation," he said, "in the Caucasus is such as to render the fulfilment of your orders a sheer impossibility. All my couriers were arrested last week. The route to the Caspian is cut by the Jengali revolt, under the direction of German officers. The Germans are on the point of occupying the Caucasus. The Turks are invading Russian Armenia. With troops despatched from Baghdad we are going to try and stiffen the resistance of the Christians of Urumieh, Armenia, and Baku, and hold up the German-Turkish push towards the Caspian and the north of Persia. Gerardot will return to Paris with your report on the routes of the Caspian Gulf to the Caucasus, and Poidebard will remain with me until he can get through to the Caucasus." A few days later the General Staff in Paris detached me to Dunsterville's staff, and shortly afterwards Dunsterville attached me to Wagstaffe's party, which was about to operate towards Tabriz. It was not the least interesting experience of my journey.

The famine in Hamadan was terrible. The partisans of the Turks and Germans maintained corn at such a price that many of the inhabitants died of hunger. The object was to stir up the Persian population against the British army by making it think that the famine was caused by the arrival of the British. At every step one came upon the dead and dying. General Dunsterville did his utmost to revictual the Persian population.

On May 11 the Wagstaffe expedition set out hastily from Hamadan to establish its headquarters at Zenjan and advance on Tabriz. We were ten officers, twenty sergeants, plus an armoured car and a wireless station—thirty merry fellows well armed and eager for the fray. Success depended on rapid action ahead of the troops coming up from Baghdad.

On September 6 the Turks launched their attack. The patrols came in with information on the situation in the villages around Mianeh. Urumieh, our left wing, had been captured by the Turks on August 5. On our right, Baku, attacked by the army of Islam, was to fall on September 14. Our little expedition, with its ridiculously insufficient effectives, was pitted against a whole Turkish division supported by 2,000 horsemen. On September 9, 10, and 11 our headquarters were withdrawn to the rear of Kuflan Kuh. To meet a Turkish division and 2,000 horse we had only a few British soldiers and a squadron of the 14th Hussars. Our Persian levies fled at the first shot. In spite of

the arrival of reinforcements sent from Kazvin, on September 12 Kuflan Kuh was taken by the Turks.

Having reached Kuflan Kuh the enemy stopped short, the sole reason being that victory had now declared for the Allies on the Western front and in Palestine. Our comrades had barred and bolted the road to India.*

In appreciating the work of the Dunsterville expedition too little attention has been paid to the innumerable difficulties which it encountered on every side. Critics have forgotten the solid results obtained by it. Ludendorff remarks in his Memoirs that the resistance offered by Baku held up the Germans for five months from the reserves of petrol so ardently coveted by them for the offensives of the summer of 1918. Numerous reserves were imprudently shut up by the Turks in the Caucasus and Northern Persia. The pluck and energy shown by the little Wagstaffe expedition in its desperate retreat excited the admiration of the Turks themselves. At the headquarters of the 9th Turkish Army at Kars, on December 8, 1918, I heard Shefki Pasha's staff speak in terms of the highest praise of that little handful of Englishmen who endeavoured to close the Kuflan Kuh against a Turkish division, and of those sixty Hussars who patrolled the country in the teeth of 2,000 enemy horse.

From September to October, during which period I was attached to the 36th Indian Brigade under General Champain, we were able to fly over these roads from Zenjan to Tabriz and photograph them under all their aspects.

On November 29 I joined my French Colonel at Baku, which had been occupied by a British force under Major-General Sir W. Thomson. A Ford convoy took me through the Elburz Mountains towards Enzeli.

On December 16 I arrived at Erivan as the French military representative. For two years in sight of Mount Ararat, the culminating point of the plateaux and key to the roads of Asia, I was a spectator of the struggle which went on for the possession of the road to India.

In 1919 and 1921 the Musulman movement, aided by Bolshevik Russia, was to make one more effort to fight its way across Russian Armenia and seize the Persian highways.

CONCLUSION.

This expedition led us to the central junction of the Persian routes, which has at the same time become an important junction of the roads of Asia. It has been remarked that unless one knows Persia it is difficult to understand events in Asia. I may add that, unless we knew the geographical meaning of the routes in this part of Central Asia, we should fail to understand aright the great movements which, like a

* *Vide* "Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse," pp. 236 237.

mighty tide, alternately rise and fall between Europe and the Asiatic continent.

"It required the discovery of the sea routes to India by the Cape at the end of the fifteenth century before the zone of migrations lost its commercial value. To the din of battles succeeded for three centuries a kind of lethargy which only terminated with the construction of the Suez Canal and the Asiatic railways (Caucasus, Russia-in-Asia, and Mesopotamia). These new ways have given a modern equipment to the ancient zone of movements and migration of the Old World. They have given it new life." *

The historic routes of Asia—the Royal Way of Darius, the Roman Silk Way, the route of invasions are as important as ever. To-day their names are : Road to India by land, oil route, central route of Asiatic Islam.

In spite of its defective communications, Persia is and remains, therefore, a vital point, a great junction of the roads of Asia. Without a knowledge of Persia, it is hard to understand the tangled skein of Eastern problems which have their centres of fermentation not only on the shores of the Bosphorus, but especially east of the Black Sea.

General DUNSTERVILLE : Sir Maurice, Père Poidebard, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a very great pleasure to me to be here this afternoon —not to find myself up here by way of delivering a lecture to you, but to have had the opportunity of shaking the hand of one of my best comrades of the war, Commandant Poidebard, with whom I parted at Hamadan, and have not met from that day to this. I am very glad to have this opportunity, though as regards the subject of the lecture there is very little I can add, and very few criticisms I would care to make on the subject with which he has dealt so thoroughly : but it is just the pleasure of paying a personal tribute to this gallant French officer, who joined us in Hamadan, and who we felt from the very first day was one of ourselves. He represented our great Ally France, but although our languages were different, we felt from the very first moment that here was a human being with whom one was at once in the relationship of a comrade. It is, I think, one of the points he wants to make in the book, though he has not dwelt upon it to-night, the necessity of a thorough understanding between ourselves and our great Ally. (Applause.) All the troubles we have, or are ever likely to have with France, arise from that one sad failing, the inability to understand each other. It is just as difficult for a Frenchman to understand an Englishman as for an Englishman to understand a Frenchman. We do not want to be like each other, but we must understand each other's temperaments before we can arrive at a common point of view, which will enable us to adjust the affairs of

* Brunhes et Vallaux, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

Europe in the way they should be adjusted. The force that I had the honour of commanding during the war was engaged in operations which have frequently been described as a gigantic piece of bluff, and with some truth I think. But of all these operations the bluffiest, I think, was the one in which Commandant Poidebard took part, which went under Major Wagstaffe in the direction of Tabriz. I think it was rather the limit when ten officers and twenty non-commissioned officers started out with the whole of the Turkish army in front of them. The Turks at that time were not very enterprising, and the little force was right on top of Tabriz when the Turks suddenly discovered there was not very much there and decided to push them back. Imagine those three days when the Turkish officers were watching the little force with their glasses and wondering what was behind it. There was nothing behind it but an armoured motor car which refused to move when wanted to. That difficulty was got over, and the little force was able to withdraw in good order and without severe loss. The Lecturer deserves the heartiest congratulations on addressing us in our own language. A great number of us like to think we understand French very well indeed, but perhaps we understand it better when it is put into English—(laughter)—and I think it requires some courage to undertake to address a foreign audience in their own language as he has done. As he says himself, when he joined us, his English was qualified as "explorer's English": certainly to-night he has reached a very much higher standard. (Applause.)

General Vicomte DE LA PANOUSE said that in spite of General Dunsterville's remark about English people understanding French best when translated into English, he would ask permission to speak in his own language: it was a good thing to hear the two languages, and he was quite sure that the great majority of those who heard him would understand him when speaking in French. He wished, first of all, to say something about their Lecturer: he had not met the Rev. Father Poidebard until to-day, but he had known his name from long past, and he had met his brother when that gentleman had been with himself (Vicomte de la Panouse) an officer in the French army of the Rhine. He wished to pay his respects to the habit worn by the Rev. Father, who, with his brother Jesuits, had set a fine example of patriotism during the war. He knew that on the first day of general mobilization all the mobilized Jesuits living in England had presented themselves at Dover in order to put on the uniform and rejoin their units. He wished also in Father Poidebard to salute the missionary. Since 1904 Father Poidebard had been occupied with the school mission. He belonged to that admirable phalanx of missionaries who, alike in British and French colonies, did so much for their country. In the region extending between Samsoun, Siwas, and Adana, he had helped in carrying on the work of civilization, but after the war that work had been very much impeded. All the colleges and scholastic

establishments of Asia Minor had been closed, and the property of the mission sequestrated by those who have been educated there. No one could tell when they would be able to recommence their admirable work, but it was to be hoped that better days for the missions were in store, and that they would be able to resume their activities. What we saw in Asia Minor was, in effect, a sort of wave of nationalism which took an anti-religious form. Moreover, there was what would, perhaps, be a bigger danger, a wave of Bolshevik propaganda, destructive not only of all religion, but of all morality. Mischief would be done unless that propaganda could be arrested. He thanked the committee of the Central Asian Society for having been good enough to invite himself and compatriots to the meeting. The presence in the hall of such a distinguished gathering of people who had been members of the British Diplomatic Service, of the Indian Civil Service, some of them having held high office in that country, together with the presence of high officers of the army, showed that the Committee desired to make a little Franco-British demonstration, and above all to recall the loyal comradeship which had existed during the war. To-day everybody wished for peace, but there were some people who no longer dared to pronounce the name of war, and who seemed to think that the word could be expunged from the dictionary. He thought that a profound error. The future belonged not to man, but, as the greatest French poet had said, it belonged to God, and we must always be ready for any sacrifice that might be demanded. We must be ready, if need be, to fight for liberty and for the just cause which we had victoriously defended; but in order to maintain the peace of the world or to fight successfully, one condition was necessary, and that was the union of Great Britain and France.

The CHAIRMAN: Amongst those whom our Lecturer was associated with in his venturesome journeys, and on whose staff he was, is General Bateman Champain. I will ask him if he will kindly say a few words with regard to his experiences in Persia. (Applause.)

General BATEMAN CHAMPAIN: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am indeed honoured to have the opportunity of saying a few words on this occasion; and I can promise you, looking at the time, that they will really be a few words; because I do not intend to touch on either the political, strategical, or even the geographical side of the lecture that we have heard to-night; but I do feel that it has given me this opportunity of saying a word of thanks to an old comrade of mine who served with me for the latter part of the time he was in Persia. I came rather late on the scene: I missed the exciting part that he has told you of, his advance under General Dunsterville's orders to Tabriz, and how he and his gallant band and twenty-nine others with a motor car faced the Turkish army; but I was there in time for the advance of the Turkish Army on to that little band, which had then been reinforced by a handful of the Hampshires under

Colonel Mathews, and by a few Gurkhas. I think, in all, when the main force of the Turks bumped up against us, we had something like seven or eight hundred rifles and two guns, and there was still the little squadron of the 14th Hussars, consisting at that moment of thirty-five sabres. With this little force—I always congratulate myself that it was so—was Commandant Poidebard. (Applause.) When I first arrived at Kazvin I was told by the staff that I took over, "There is a fellow called Poidebard, a Frenchman, up there. He is our intelligence officer." I had personally just met him before on my way up there, but did not know he was attached to our army then. When I met my friend, Commandant Poidebard, I found out that not only was he what Sir Maurice de Bunsen says, a good comrade to all of us, but, in my way of thinking, he was an absolutely first-class intelligence officer. He had a command of the language, and I do not know where he had learned the art of intelligence, but he had learned it well. He produced for me, and I was able to pass on to General Thomson, information that it would have been very difficult to have found out without him. I think this is an opportunity of thanking him publicly for all he did for us. I would like to congratulate him on the advance he has made in the English language, and I think from what you have seen from his pictures to-night, and from the way he went forward with that little band, that he earned what I am glad to say he did get, that is the English Military Cross. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think it is the first time I have had the pleasure of hearing the Vicomte de la Panouse speak in French. He has always said, as far as I understood, that he preferred to speak in English while in England. Why he changed his mind to-day I do not know. I think in listening to the lecture to-day, we have all begun to realize what our soldiers went through in the operations in Persia. There we had an almost unknown country. I can remember the time after the Afghan War, when I rode across Persia from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, and except for the telegraph officials along the telegraph line and a few officials in Tehran, there were comparatively few travellers in the country. Now we have opened up a new route and built a road—which the Persians had never done—and I do not think they have ever thanked us for doing it. (Laughter.) We explored the country, and did a enormous amount to try and keep the people from starvation. What the force under General Dunsterville and other Generals did to employ the Persians and feed them is a thing that has never been acknowledged by the Persians, and is known to very few people. We have seen by the pictures on the screen what unaccustomed situations our soldiers were put in, and how they accommodated themselves, as the British soldier always does, to whatever state of affairs he finds himself in. But it is not only what the soldiers did; we must realize what the sailors did. I took a particular interest in what was done by

Captain Norris and the sailors on the Caspian Sea: I remember the day in the middle of the war when, as a Member of Parliament, I wrote a letter to the War Cabinet, suggesting to them that if we could only get a gun of some decent calibre on to the Caspian Sea we should be able to cut the whole line of the communications stretching across that sea. That eventualized, as we know, into the force under Captain Norris, and I only wish we had retained that force on the Caspian instead of handing it over to the Russians, as we did with such disastrous results. ("Hear, hear.") Our Lecturer has given us an account of the various roads through Persia, and has shown how there were great routes there in ancient times. Well, whether those routes will ever be resuscitated or not I do not know. We remember that before the war there were great plans for railways across Persia, but they never matured. How far they will ever mature it is very difficult for us to say at the present time, but there is no doubt, I think, that circumstances will bring communications in Persia to the fore again, and that we may have roads or railways constructed which we have no knowledge of as yet. Doubtless these communications will be most important in time, and we may see a route from the Mediterranean right through to India, but how long that will take to develop no one can say at present. However, I think our Lecturer has given us a great exposition to-day of what the possibilities of Persia are and what the old roads were; and I can only say we must leave the development of Persia for the future. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: The operations about which we have heard this evening had for their principal object always the defence of India. Now, on the subject of the effect which these operations may have had on opinion in India, I believe that we have a gentleman present this evening who can speak with a good deal of authority; I refer to the Maulvie Abdur Rahim Nayyar, whom I am very glad to see here. (Applause.)

MAULVIE ABDAR RAHIM NAYYAR (Representative of the Ahmadia movement in England): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has pleased me to see so distinguished an assembly of people here who are connected not with England alone but with the Empire, and, at the same time, to see that a fellow-missionary of a faith of the Empire has spoken to us, and has spoken of defending the hearths and homes of the people who were in danger of being robbed of honour and property, and who fought in our defence on the road to India. (Applause.) Ladies and Gentlemen, those people who lived in India in those days were of two kinds—officials and the people who belonged to that land. The officials had a great protection, because they had a force and a prestige behind them. Then there were the people who belonged to that land. Among these were again two kinds of people, those who were fond of foreseeing the downfall of the British Empire and of foreseeing that some new people should come. But there were people who

appreciated the good which the British Empire has done to them, and acknowledged the benefit of the benign rule of England. There were and there are such people in India among them, and I am one of those. (Applause.) It was in those days that we used to hear, "The Germans are coming; the Turks are coming; now in a very few days we will butcher you in the streets of the cities." We used to hear: "Kaiser Wilhelm has become Mahomet Kaiser Wilhelm; he is a Mohammedan. The Germans have become Musulmans. The great days of Islam are coming." Those were the rumours. I still believe there was some kind of organization behind which spread those rumours. I was denounced for making this statement. Sir Michael O'Dwyer may or may not believe with me, but, as far as my knowledge goes, there was something behind which put forward such kinds of rumour. In those days of danger, for what your soldiers, sailors, and this gallant French gentleman along with them did for us we are grateful. In those days there was a great torment in the souls of the people who saw that perhaps the Germans would come. There was a time when the rumour was spread that the Germans had reached Karachi. In those days I had been sent to Sind, and was in Jampore when I heard the rumour that some people had formed themselves into groups. Certain towns in the Mooltan district had been named Belgium, Paris, and so on, and there came red Germans, yellow Germans, and blue Germans. First of all they descended upon "Belgium," and there was a German king, as they called him. He was on a camel, and all his party was with him; and when he came near, all his party got down, and he said, "Gentlemen, what are we to do? Go and have everything from the shops." They had everything, and "Belgium" was looted and destroyed. Then they were to go upon "Paris"; but Sir Michael heard, and sent his people, and in this way the peace and prosperity of India were saved. My thanks as an Indian and an Indian Ahmadi Moslem, who never agreed with the Turkish Khalif, or Turkish Empire, or pan-Islamic question. My belief has been, and will always be, that the Moslems in the British Empire should be British Moslems, the Moslems under the French rule should be French Moslems, and the Moslems under other rule should be those Moslems. The Turkish should be Turks, the French French, and the British British, and Indians should be true to the people whom God sent to do good to them. I am thankful to you for fighting for us, for safeguarding the interests of the Empire, and it is my wish that we should always go on together to do good to God's creatures wherever they be. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then closed the meeting, summing up the lecture and the remarks made by the various speakers, praising the Lecturer's courage for delivering his address in English, and thanking him in the name of the members for his most interesting lecture.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE OTTOMAN KHILAFAT

By Sir Valentine Chirol

A Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, May 8, 1924, when Sir Valentine Chirol delivered a lecture on "The Downfall of the Ottoman Khilafat."

Sir Maurice de Bunsen, who presided, said there was no need to introduce the lecturer, and congratulated the Society on having secured so well-known an authority to speak on a subject which was of such importance and interest as the fall of the Ottoman Khilafat.

The Lecturer: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—If the revolution by which the Grand National Assembly has put an end to the Ottoman Sultanate and Khilafat had happened forty or fifty years ago, I think that attention would have concentrated almost entirely on the disappearance of the Sultanate. That of the Khilafat would have attracted much less interest, for it is only since then that an extraordinary endeavour has been made in different quarters and for different purposes to identify with the Turkish Khilafat an ancient Islamic institution, which came into being seven hundred years before the Turks or the Turkish Sultans appeared in history. I must therefore in the first place ask you to bear with me whilst I remind you of what the origin and history of the Khilafat as an Islamic institution have been. You know that Mohamed founded what was essentially a theocratic state. He received, as he believed, through successive revelations, a code of laws, moral, political, and religious, by which his people were to be governed. The temporal and spiritual authority were to be vested after his death in a Khalif—*Khalifa-Rasul-Allah*, the Vicegerent of the Envoy or Prophet of God; also called *Imam-el-Kebir*, the Great Guide; also *Ameer el Muminin*, the Prince of the Faithful. He was not a supreme Pontiff in the sense in which the Roman Catholics regard the Pope of Rome as such, because orthodox Islam knows no priesthood properly so called. He was to be the interpreter of the sacred law and the defender of the faith—the Sword of Islam. Unfortunately Mohamed died without designating a Khalif. the Khilafat, as a matter of fact, remained but a very short time universally recognized by the Mohamedans, and its story has been frequently stained by violence and fraud. Dissensions arose very early as to whether the Khilafat was to be elective or transmitted by descent in the family of

the Prophet. Discord, open discord, only broke out under the fourth Khalif, Ali, who was assassinated. From that moment sprang up the great schism in Islam between the Shiahs, who were followers of Ali, and have recognized no other Khalif since him, and the great majority of the Sunni orthodox Mohamedans, for whom the Khilafat is a matter faith. The Khilafat passed after Ali's death to the Omeyyad dynasty of Damascus, and then to the Abbasside dynasty of Baghdad; and simultaneously with the latter there came the great Khilafat of Cordova in Spain. The Arab empire had spread over such an enormous area within a hundred years—right away from Central Asia, all through Northern Africa into Spain, and once into the very heart of France—that unity either of temporal or spiritual sovereignty could not be maintained. It was during the Khilafat of Cordova that Arab civilization reached its apogee, and produced great Arab thinkers—men of science and philosophers—who in fact held the torch of ancient learning burning whilst it was very nearly extinguished in the rest of Europe during the dark ages.

The Khilafat of Cordova crumbled away as well as the Khilafat of Baghdad, and only some fugitive descendants of the Abbasside Khalifs still bore the almost empty title in Cairo when the Ottoman Sultan, Selim the First, conquered Egypt; and from one of these he secured the transfer of the shadowy rights that he enjoyed as Khalif. Having conquered the Holy Places, Selim returned to Turkey as the first Khalif who could not claim any kind of descent from the Prophet. But the claims of the Turkish Sultans to the Khilafat have been frequently challenged by learned and pious Moslems, amongst others in our own time by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of the Alighur Mohamedan College—now a university—and it was challenged forthwith by the Sultan of Morocco, who, although an orthodox Sunni, just like the Turks, refused to recognize the Ottoman Sultan as Khalif, and proclaimed himself Khalif, and, to the present day, his successors are alone recognized as Khalifs in Morocco. The Ottoman Sultans themselves never really made much use of their spiritual authority. Selim died a few years after he proclaimed himself Khalif. His successor, Suleiman the Magnificent, was absorbed in European conquests which brought the Turkish armies up to the gates of Vienna, and he was the last of the great Sultans.

Then came a long period of decay, of horrible corruption and depravity—the era of the seraglio—when Turkey was governed by sultanas, concubines, and favourites, and the heirs to the throne were brought up in what was called "the cage," and, if not sooner or later killed off, deliberately debauched and emasculated; so that if and when they came to the throne, they should be mere puppets in the hands of the ruling faction. This was the age of the janissaries, who sold their swords to any faction that was prepared to pay for them.

Turkey was rescued from dissolution at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the rivalry of the European powers, and England, for political purposes into which I need not enter to-day, made an attempt to reform Turkey in order to make her something like a bulwark against Russian ambitions, and actually fought the Crimean War to keep her in being. At that time, too, very little was said about the Khilafat outside Turkey. In fact, when the Grand Viziers, Ali and Fuad, who enjoyed an almost European reputation in the middle of the nineteenth century, were engaged in putting a sort of European façade on the Ottoman Empire, they were so anxious for the West to forget the Oriental origin of Turkey, that, in documents exchanged with European powers, the Sovereign was generally not styled Sultan, much less Khalif, but Emperor of the Ottomans. It sounded more Occidental.

But, after the Russo-Turkish War, when Turkey was bankrupt, and stripped of many of her provinces, and once more saved by England alone from a much worse fate, there came to the throne one of the most remarkable of Ottoman sovereigns. That was Abdul Hamid the Second. In his youth he had been told by a pious fakir that he would live to revive the glory of Islam as Sultan and Khalif. He was not a fanatical man, in spite of many things that point that way; but he was very superstitious, and it may be that that prophecy sank into his mind. The fakir had assured him that he had discovered his star in the heavens, and it is at least a curious coincidence that, when he built himself a palace, in which he lived in seclusion during the greater part of his reign, he called it the palace of the star—Yildiz Kiosk. He conceived the really great idea of finding compensation for the territorial losses which the Sultanate had incurred by reviving and extending the spiritual authority of the Turkish Khilafat, and, having successfully destroyed the old ring of Pashas, who had established under his predecessors a powerful bureaucratic oligarchy in Stamboul, he made himself in the first place an absolute autocrat in Turkey. Then he was ready to start his great pan-Islamic propaganda in order to rally all the orthodox Mohamedan peoples around him as Khalif; and it is interesting to note that India was one of the first fields to which he turned his attention. As far back as 1884 he had printed for him at Yildiz a paper in Urdu called "Peik-Islam"; which was written by an Indian Mohamedan who had been expelled from the Indian public service in the Punjab. It was a bitterly anti-British paper, directed against British rule in India, and he wanted to pay off England for insisting that he should carry out in his Empire the reforms to which he had pledged himself under the Treaty of Berlin, and, to Great Britain in particular, under the Cyprus Convention. Later on, he was in a still better position to snap his fingers at England, for he had the good fortune to find an appropriate ally in the ex-Kaiser, who, in return for value received—the Baghdad railway and other concessions

—was the only European sovereign who ever publicly recognized the Sultan as Khalif. In his famous speech at Damascus, a few days after he had been masquerading as a Christian Crusader in Jerusalem he greeted "his good friend and ally, His Majesty the Sultan Abul Hamid," as the Khalif whom "three hundred million Mohamedans" revered as the head of their religion—one of his usual exaggerations. The greatest success which Abdul Hamid's propaganda achieved was probably the construction of the Hejaz railway to the Holy Places of Arabia—to Mecca and Medina. It was built with German aid, and Abdul Hamid sent out his agents all over the Mohamedan world to collect subscriptions, and to preach at the same time, of course, the glory of the great Sultan and Khalif who was so paternally concerned for the welfare of all Mohamedans. Unluckily for Abdul Hamid his internal methods of government led to his downfall. He was a pitiless despot; he relied upon delation and corruption as instruments of government; he held the army at arm's length; and he created much dissatisfaction amongst his own Turkish subjects by surrounding himself, especially in connection with the pan-Islamic propaganda, with non-Turkish Mohamedans—Syrians, Albanians, and Kurds, whom he also employed almost exclusively as his Prætorian guard.

The Turkish revolution came. He was deposed in 1909, and the power passed into the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was formed partly of Turks who had imbibed certain liberal ideas, and been banished or interned in consequence, and partly of disaffected army officers. The leader of these was Enver. On the Committee of Union and Progress religion sat rather lightly. It came in on the Nationalist cry, and it relegated Pan-Islamism to the background, retaining it, however, as a second string. The central idea of the Committee of Union and Progress was the Turkification of all the subject races of Turkey; and even when they dragged Turkey into the war as the ally of the Germanic empires, it was only once that they attempted to mobilize the Khilafat, if I may use that expression, in support of Turkey. That was when they got the Khalif to proclaim a Jehad, or holy war, against the Infidel Allies. That created, no doubt, a congenial atmosphere for the policy which Enver and Talaat had borrowed from Abdul Hamid's days, of simplifying the situation in Asia Minor and making it safe for Turkish domination, by eliminating the Christian populations—expelling the Greeks immediately after the war broke out, and subsequently expelling and massacring the Armenians. But they were always careful to explain that this was done not from any religious motives—not from Mohamedan fanaticism at all—but as a measure of political expediency. There was no response to the Jehad, or hardly any, outside Turkey. In fact, as we know, our Indian Mohamedan troops, and the French Mohamedan troops, all fought loyally, not only against the Germans in France,

but against their Turkish co-religionists in Mesopotamia and in Syria; whilst the Mohamedans outside Turkey displayed, and continued to display, a good deal of indifference, even when Turkey was compelled to sue for peace, and the terms to be imposed upon her were expected to be very severe.

There is no doubt that if Allied diplomacy had insisted upon imposing terms of peace upon Turkey within six or twelve months of the Armistice, the Turks would have accepted practically anything; and the rest of the Mohamedan world would not have demurred. Inter-Allied jealousies, and the long diplomatic delays, and Mr. Lloyd George's infatuated belief that "the East is never in a hurry and that Turkey could wait," gave a very remarkable man, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, an opportunity to reorganize the Turkish army, and make a great appeal to Turkish nationalism when the Greek army was landed, in the first place as a mandatory of the Allied Powers, in Asia Minor. Then the loins of the non-Turkish Mohamedans were unwrung, and especially in India, where a number of Indian Mohamedan extremists had joined hands with Hindu extremists for the subversion of British rule—for that is what their agitation came to—and they now saw their chance of striking a big blow at British influence in the East and at the British Raj in India. Some of them, and notably the two brothers Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, had been in touch with the Young Turks before the war, and were interned during the war. They were animated far more by hatred of England than by love of Turkey, and they had a very brilliant idea. They recognized that they would be unable to carry the bulk of the Indian Mohamedans with them in a pro-Turkish campaign, unless they could discover a religious label which would appeal to their co-religionists. The label they discovered was the Khilafat. Their case was: Temporal power is essential to the Khilafat for the discharge of its spiritual duties, the Allies are endeavouring to curtail the territorial sovereignty of the Sultan; therefore they are making war upon the Turkish Khilafat: therefore they are making war upon Islam. Their agitation assumed tremendous proportions—though I should like to remind you that up to the Crimean War, and even up to the despatch of an Indian contingent to Malta by Lord Beaconsfield, when war threatened again between England and Russia over Turkey in 1878, the Indian Mohamedans cared and knew very little about Turkey. I have in my possession a book written less than a hundred years ago by a Mohamedan Indian, dealing with the customs and religion of Indian Moslems: from cover to cover there is no mention whatever of Turkey, or of the Khilafat; except that in reference to the pilgrimage to Mecca, the statement is made that Mecca is under Turkish sovereignty. But education and facilities of communication had, long before the Khilafat agitation, developed increased intercourse with Europe, and there had grown up

more interest in Turkey. Nor had Abdul Hamid's propaganda fallen on to altogether barren soil. So the Khilafat agitators were able to carry a very large number of Mohamedans with them. But one of their most skilful moves was to capture Gandhi, who never looked into the merits of the case but, as he himself told me, regarded this Khilafat movement as a splendid demonstration of religious faith on the part of his Mohamedan fellow-countrymen, and therefore threw his mantle over it. It then rapidly assumed such proportions that, with a benevolent Secretary of State in office here, Mr. Montagu, who, like many of his co-religionists, had a singular weakness for Turkey, and displayed it as early as the Peace Conference, the Government of India began to lend it official countenance. It was, in fact, frightened —I think frightened out of its wits. At any rate, the Khilafat agitation in India undoubtedly ended by deflecting our whole imperial policy, and (with other causes) led us ultimately to surrender practically all our war aims proclaimed during the Great War with regard to Turkey. The idea of an independent Armenia under a European mandate vanished into thin air when the Treaty of Sèvres made room for the Treaty of Lausanne. In the latter, even the protection of minorities remained only on paper, and it could, anyhow, be no longer of much value, because, so far as the Christian minorities were concerned, they had by that time disappeared. They had been eliminated —Greeks, as well as Armenians—by massacre, and expulsion, and starvation. For the Straits a régime has been elaborated, which restores the occupation of the Straits to the Turks, and provides conditions which on paper read well. But the only sanction provided by the treaty, in the event, for instance, of Turkey violating the conditions under which she reoccupies the Straits, is an appeal to the Council of the League of Nations; and I think, remembering Corfu, we cannot attach implicit confidence to that sanction.

The Turks won the peace at Lausanne. But what of the Khilafat? As soon as Mustapha Kemal's hands were set free by the cessation of hostilities in Asia Minor, after the Greek debacle, he hastened to turn a cold shoulder upon his Indian friends and all others who had upheld him as the Sword of Islam, fighting for the indissoluble connection between the Sultanate and the Khilafat in the person of the Ottoman Sultan. Even before the Conference at Lausanne, the Grand National Assembly of Angora put an end to the Sultanate and deposed the Sultan in October, 1922. He, as you know, had to fly on board a British man-of-war, and he disappeared out of history. The Khilafat was, for the time being, retained, but a Khilafat shorn of all temporal power. This was a nasty jar for the Khilafat agitators, who had sworn that temporal power was absolutely essential to the discharge of the proper functions of a Khalif; but some of them tried to get out of it in India by saying, "Well, after all, the Khalif will be able to devote

himself now, free from all worldly cares, to the spiritual needs of Islam; and he will have the power of Turkey—of victorious Turkey, of the ever-victorious Mustapha Kemal—at his back as the secular arm of the Khilafat."

After the Treaty of Lausanne, however, Mustapha Kemal was ready to go a step further. The word "republic" had never been uttered when the Sultan was deposed in the preceding year. The formula adopted had been that the sovereignty of Turkey was vested in the Grand National Assembly. But, just a year later, the new Turkish state was proclaimed a republic, with Mustapha Kemal as its first President, and invested with practically dictatorial powers. He was President of the Republic, President of the Assembly, President of the Council of Ministers, and Commander-in-Chief. I don't think you can have anything more comprehensive in the way of dictatorship. Again the Khilafat was not mentioned, but its days were soon seen to be numbered; and it is a curious thing that one of the biggest nails was driven into its coffin by two eminent Indian Mohamedans, well known in this country—Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan—when they wrote their extremely ill-advised letter to Angora, purporting to voice the anxiety of the Sunni orthodox world in regard to the maintenance of the Khilafat. It was particularly unfortunate, because neither of those gentlemen is a Sunni; and the effect produced upon the men of Angora was very much the same as that which would be produced upon devout Roman Catholics if some Calvinist divine and, we will say, the General of the Salvation Army, undertook to write to Mr. Mussolini in the name of the whole Roman Catholic communion to be kind to the Vatican. It increased the growing suspicion with which the Khalif, who still lived in Constantinople, was regarded in Angora. For it was looked upon as a great British intrigue—as those two gentlemen were credited with far more influence in British official circles than I think they possess. Anyhow, in March of this year the Grand National Assembly was once more set in motion by Mustapha Kemal, and it suddenly proclaimed the abolition of the Khilafat. The men of Angora kicked down the ladder which they had been quite glad to use in the stormy years that had followed the war, and the Turkish people, as far as one can gather, remained equally indifferent to both those revolutions—the abolition of the Sultanate and the abolition of the Khilafat.

Yet, what was meant by the abolition of the Khilafat, Mustapha Kemal very soon showed in a series of drastic measures which converted the Turkish republic into a lay republic, and shattered all the principles of Mohamedan government. The Sheikh-ul-Islam was excluded from the Council of Ministers; he was told he had only to look after religious affairs in future. The Evkaf, or pious foundations, to which Mohamedans in all countries often have recourse, in order to establish civil rights in favour of their own families, were placed under

civil authority, and their property confiscated to the State. The administration of the sacred law and of education were equally subordinated to the civil authority. Turkey was converted into a lay republic, and a lay republic is an absolute negation of Islam, a negation of the theocratic basis on which, in theory at least, an Islamic state is, and must be, constituted. The Turks themselves remained indifferent, and there has been far less excitement than might, I think, have been expected in Mohamedan countries outside Turkey. For the Turks can, of course, abolish the Turkish Khilafat, but they cannot really abolish the Khilafat as an Islamic institution, which existed outside Turkey for many centuries before Turkey existed. The Khilafat will doubtless be revived by somebody somewhere outside Turkey. Several candidates are talked about. There is King Hussein of the Hejaz, who belongs to the same tribe as the Prophet, and, in addition to that, has a strong claim in the possession of the holy places of Mecca and Medina. There is King Fuad of Egypt; there is the King of Afghanistan. The Khilafat extremists in India have been driven in their despair to turn their cheek to the smiter, and to implore Mustapha Kemal Pasha to proclaim himself Khalif, so that Turkey should not entirely secede from the Islamic fold, and the power of Turkey be lost to the Islamic cause.

What, however, are the motives that have really prompted Mustapha Kemal? It is a difficult question to answer, but, before sitting down, I will just say a few words about that very remarkable personality. The British army knows Mustapha Kemal as a stout and clean fighter at Gallipoli, the man who defeated our last and desperate effort on the Anaferta heights, above Suvla Bay, in August, 1915. General Liman von Sanders, the chief of the German military mission in Turkey before and during the war, who has written a very dispassionate history of his five years in Turkey, singles Mustapha Kemal out for special praise as one of the very few able and upright generals that he came in contact with. He certainly must possess great powers of organization, or he would not have brought about that great rally of the Turks after the war. Is he really an enlightened reformer, who believes that only by the emancipation of his people from the trammels of a narrow creed can he achieve their regeneration? Is he, on the other hand, merely actuated by great personal ambition? Has success turned his head? Has he taken a leaf out of the Bolshevist book? Bolshevist influence was very powerful at Angora, and the predatory part of Mustapha Kemal's programme—the wholesale confiscation of the property of the house of Othman, and that of the semi-sacred trust property vested in Evkaf, seems to point to a Soviet contagion. In the same way, his war upon Islamic institutions in Turkey—the abolition of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, and the subordination of the sacred law and education to the civil authority—is a sort of anti-clerical war, less deadly, perhaps, than the Bolshevist war against religion, but very much on the same lines.

It seems difficult to explain why he should have deprived Turkey of the very powerful lever she had on the Mohamedan world so long as the Sultan, the head of the Turkish State, was also Turkish Khalif. One does not quite see what the future of Turkey is going to be; she is reduced now to a small State—eight millions, at the most, of Turks—and this is not the first generation in which their numbers are shrinking from congenital disease. They are more homogeneous than they ever were before, because the Christian populations have disappeared; but with these have disappeared the most valuable economic factors in Turkey, and her natural resources are no greater than those of any one of the Balkan States over which she formerly ruled. However that may be, I think that for ourselves, in fact for all nations that have large Mohamedan communities in their overseas possessions, but especially for ourselves, there is no reason to regret the disappearance of the Turkish Khilafat, which, two or three years ago, threatened to be really the spearhead of a great Mohamedan, and even of a great Asian, revolt against the West.

Sir Thomas Arnold: Mr. Chairman,—Sir Valentine Chirol's clear and illuminating account of this matter leaves very little for anyone else to say; but, first, I should like to associate myself with him in the emphasis he has laid on the fact that the Khalifah movement in India gained its strength from the appeal to religious feeling; and in any consideration of the Khalifah in the Mohamedan world we must realize how strongly this institution is bound up with Mohamedan ideals. Sir Valentine Chirol has rightly pointed out to us that the action of the present Turkish Government has been a great shock to the Indian Mohamedans. It has been a shock to them because of their close clinging to this ideal which runs through the whole of Mohamedan history, and though the Ottoman Government may reject the Khalifah, the rest of the Mohamedan world, and doubtless a very large number of inarticulate Turkish Moslems, still cling to it, and will continue to cling to it. It is an ideal that has had a certain amount of manifestation from the first century of Moslem history, and though as an ideal it has largely failed of realization, still it puts before the Mohamedans the hope that at some time or other the whole of the true believers will form a political unity, that through that political unity they will be able to stand up against their enemies and (a very important point) continue that extraordinary series of conquests of the early days of Moslem history to which Sir Valentine Chirol has alluded. This ideal is, and will be for a long time to come, a serious subject of contemplation for European statesmen. For the present I think, as Sir Valentine Chirol says, it has had a certain set-back, in the fact that instead of the ideal being represented by a powerful Ottoman Sultanate, there is now one Khalifah in Morocco, another in Mecca, and five small ones

in the Malay Archipelago. Though there are six or seven of them, still not one of the potentates who claims the title possesses the wealth or power, or controls such an army as the Ottoman Sultan possessed. I should like to add a few words in connection with Sir Valentine Chirol's reference to the alleged transference of the office of the Khalifah to Selim I. in Cairo in the beginning of 1517: the matter requires closer study than it has yet received. We have a great deal of contemporary evidence about that campaign of Selim I. There are two official reports of the campaign, which follow his movements from the opening of it in the north of Syria down to the time when, after conquering Egypt, he returned to Constantinople. The second of these official reports is very lengthy; it records the events of every single day. It is preserved, or was preserved, in the Government records at Constantinople, and has been printed. There is absolutely no mention of the fact that the Abbasid Khalifah in Cairo transferred his office to the Ottoman Sultan. There were two Turkish historians who accompanied their ruler during that campaign and wrote histories of his reign; they also make no mention of it. There was a contemporary Persian historian who was present in the camp; he, too, says nothing about it. We have a contemporary Arabic account written by an Egyptian scholar; he says nothing about it either. And the extraordinary thing is, that the first mention of this supposed transference of the office is in a French book by an Armenian, who wrote in 1787. I think any impartial study of the matter shows that there is no basis whatsoever for this alleged transference. On the contrary, during the fifteenth century and in the early part of the sixteenth century, there was in the Mohamedan world a state of things very much like the state of things at the present time; that is to say, anybody who cared could call himself Khalifah, and the Ottoman Sultans had called themselves Khalifah for several generations before Selim. His great-great-great-great-grandfather called himself Khalifah. Murad I., in 1362, was styled Khalifah by contemporary Mohamedan rulers, and he himself in his own official documents called himself Khalifah. So every single Ottoman Sultan from the time of Murad I. up to the time of Selim I.—that is, over 150 years—called himself Khalifah, and was styled Khalifah by his neighbours. As is well known, Akbar called himself Khalifah; and there is an amusing correspondence between Akbar and the contemporary Ottoman Sultan, both asserting their right to this title. So we have an interesting parallel, I think, between the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth century, when this alleged transference is supposed to have occurred, and the present time—namely, in this, that any Mohamedan potentate, big or small, may assume this title. That gives the theory of the Khalifah a rather different aspect from that in which it is presented by those Mohamedan theologians who say that the Khalifah

must be of the tribe of the Quraysh. All these Ottoman Sultans and their correspondents are in the habit of quoting that verse in the Koran in which God, addressing David, says: "We have made thee a Khalifah upon earth;" and they say that that verse rightly interpreted means that God, having given to David power, had made his His vicegerent; that he must care for the good of his subjects just as God cares for the good of all men. They quote this verse over and over again in their diplomatic correspondence, and it is taken as the basis for their claim to the title, and, of course, along with that claim goes a certain aspect of divine right. I am rather inclined to think that it is this view of the matter that has partially influenced Mustapha Kemal Pasha. He must know of the unhappy fate of previous Grand Viziers in Constantinople; he must know how Sultan Abdul Hamid very rapidly got rid of any minister that he did not care for; and I am inclined to think he probably felt that he would wisely not expose himself to the risk of being dismissed by an autocrat who looked upon himself as being in Constantinople by divine appointment, and was therefore not responsible to man for any actions he might take. (Applause.)

Lord RAGLAN: Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, after two such experts as Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir Thomas Arnold I feel rather nervous about opening my mouth; but there is one small aspect of the question that neither has referred to, and that is the importance of the Khilafat to the ordinary Mohamedan man in the street. Where he hears the Khilafat mentioned is in the mosque every Friday, where the Khalif is prayed for. It is, of course, a fact, as Sir Thomas Arnold said, that Moslem potentates have always been in the habit of arrogating to themselves the right to the Khilafat. The difficulty arises where there is no Moslem potentate, in countries like British India, where, ever since the fall of the Mogul Empire, they have had to name a foreigner in the prayers. How that question will be solved now I do not know, and I should be glad if anyone would tell me how it is being solved in Turkey at the present day. I should expect from what I know of that part of the world, that in every Mosque in Turkey outside Angora Abdul Majid is still named in the Friday prayers, and will continue to be so named. How it affects us is, What will happen in British India? I do not know whose name appears there now; but, naturally, the person whose name is mentioned in the Friday prayers, although he may be a person of no political importance whatever, gets in the eyes of ordinary ignorant Mohamedans a very great prestige, and that is, I think, nowadays, and will be in future, the importance of the Khilafat.

Lord HEADLEY: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Sir Valentine Chirol, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not know if it is a case of fools rushing in where angels fear to tread, but I have just come back from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and feel a great deal of interest in the matter. I also have had the privilege of living in India a good many years, and have a large

circle of Mohamedan and Hindu friends. I must say that, when the action of the Angora Government in deposing the Khalif and abolishing the Khilafat was first announced, it came rather as a cold douche to Indian Moslems. They were very guarded in what they said, and there were but few strong expressions, and there was no panic or anything of that sort, but I know that they felt very deeply, and that some regarded the high-handed action almost as an insult to the Faith. It seems to me like this. For generations past the Indian Moslems have been in the habit of looking to the Sultan of Turkey as their head; not quite as the Roman Catholics look at the Pope, but still they have looked upon him as their spiritual head; and the Sultan of Turkey was originally selected for the post of Khalif, not particularly on account of his qualifications as a man, but on account of his power as a potentate in protecting the sacred places, and also in affording adequate protection for those making the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. In those circumstances, the feeling aroused has been this, that whilst Moslems generally are anxious that the best man should be appointed as a Khalif, the Moslems of India, numbering some 70 millions, and the Moslems in many other parts of the world—Java, for instance, numbering 40 millions; Morocco, and so forth, all over the world—feel that they should be consulted in such an important matter. One section of the Moslem world ought not to be sufficient to create a Khalif. To my mind the Khalif should be a man of piety. He should also have ability, and he should be conspicuous for his toleration. Those qualities, so marked in the Holy Prophet Mohamed, have not always appeared amongst the potentates who have ruled over Turkey; but those are the qualifications which I think should carry very great weight in making the selection. Now, of course, I am speaking as a British Moslem: and to my mind the abolition of the Khilafat is a comparatively small matter. It does not matter to me very much whether there is a Khalif or not: a British Moslem cannot be expected to feel the same about it as, perhaps, a Moslem of India or other parts of the East. My belief in God and adherence to Islam would be just the same if there were no Khalif at all; and I suppose the average Roman Catholic, if the Pope was suddenly abolished, would go on just the same—he would still be a Catholic. In the Greek Orthodox Church, if the Patriarch ceased to exist, the worship would still go on in the same way. Similarly, a Khalif is not essential to Islam. Only I feel aggrieved personally that so many of my co-religionists, in so many parts of the world, should be very much upset indeed at the idea of the abolition of the Turkish Khilafat. There has been talk lately of King Hussein of the Hejaz having been appointed Khalif, and he is to my mind eminently suited for the post on account of his piety, his toleration, and his broad-minded way of looking at things. I was very much struck by something he said whilst I was in Mecca, and witnessing a review of his troops. I

was standing at the saluting-point with His Majesty, and I made a remark, "You seem to have got some good fighting material"; and he turned round and said, "It is only a beginning; I am not thinking so much of fighting just now: I am trying to understand European politics." Standing out there, close to Mecca, this simple-minded King Hussein—an excellent man, straight and God-fearing, was making his effort to understand what is quite beyond most of us over here. I do not know any Englishman who does understand European politics, but I suppose there are some politicians who think they do. It interested me greatly to hear him say that, as it evidenced a mind ever on the look-out for information, and endeavouring to understand things. I do not think a better man could be chosen as far as his personal qualifications go, but whether he has the power to protect the holy places is quite another matter. I do not think there is any country you can go to, or any nation whose ruler is, at the present moment, in a position to say *for certain* that he can protect the sacred places—Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina—or, indeed, any other place. I think we shall have in the future to choose our Khalif on account of his goodness, broad-mindedness, and capacity, rather than for any other qualifications, and, if he wants assistance, he should be able to appeal to the League of Nations. (Applause.)

Colonel MASSY: I only want to say one word on the point of the Sultan's position as Khalif. It was the power of the Sultan of Turkey to conquer Egypt, some five centuries ago, which wrested the Khilafat from the then Sultan of Egypt, and the temporal power of his successors on the Ottoman throne has secured for them the title of Khalif ever since.

I believe one of the first conditions of being Khalif is that you must have temporal power. If you are shorn of temporal power you cannot be Khalif. Now Mustapha Kemal had shorn the Sultan of his temporal power; therefore he certainly could not remain Khalif. I believe I am right; perhaps Sir Valentine Chirol will correct me if I am wrong in that statement. One of the first conditions of being a Khalif is that you must wield the power to defend your Khilafat and your people.

The CHAIRMAN: If no one else wishes to speak on the subject, I would ask Sir Valentine Chirol to be kind enough to comment in any way he would wish on what has been said.

The LECTURER: I would just say, in reply to Colonel Massy, that I entirely agree with him that the possession of temporal power is believed to be absolutely essential to the Khilafat; but to my great astonishment I read the other day an article by no less an authority, and no less enthusiastic a supporter of the Turkish Khilafat movement than Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, in which he now says it is not essential. He never said it before, and I must leave it at that. Of course, I cannot

undertake to argue with the distinguished Englishman who tells us he has become a Mohamedan, and I will pass on to Sir Thomas Arnold's very interesting and illuminating address. I was aware that the actual transfer of the Khilafat from the descendants of the Abbassides at Cairo to Sultan Selim had been challenged, but I certainly was not aware, that, as with his great knowledge Sir Thomas is able to tell us, there was absolutely no contemporary authority for the statement regarding its transfer. I think, on the other hand, that what one has to bear in mind is what the Mohamedans and the Turks themselves have always believed; and in Constantinople many years ago, when I was there, I was assured by Turkish Mohamedans that not only did the deeds of transfer exist, but that in the mosque of Eyub where the sacred investiture of the Sultan-Khalifs used to take place, the insignia of the Khilafat brought by Selim the First to Constantinople were still preserved. Undoubtedly the title of Khalif has often been rather casually assumed; but I think that in most cases it has been treated by other Mohamedan potentates more as a matter of courtesy; just as, I presume, European sovereigns, when they address the Pope, would address him as Holy Father, even if they are not Roman Catholics. It does not mean any particular recognition of his authority as Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, but it is an act of courtesy. I think that, with regard to the future of the Khilafat, as you very rightly pointed out at the first, Mr. Chairman, the wisest thing for us to do is to leave it entirely in the hands of Moslems. They must settle the question for themselves, but that does not debar me from repeating that I do not think that in our own interest it is at all a bad thing that it should have passed out of the hands of the Turks, and by their own doing.

The CHAIRMAN: It now remains only for me to ask you to join with me in a sincere vote of thanks to Sir Valentine Chirol for his illuminating address. I cannot conceive a more interesting contrast than that which he has drawn between the Khilafat in its glory and in the present. Sultan Abdul Hamid, as I very well remember to have seen him during the years I spent in Constantinople, was a great personality with great power, whatever we may think of the way in which he exercised it. The contrast between that and the present position of Turkey is indeed graphic and supremely interesting, and one wonders indeed what will be the ulterior results of this great change and revolution which have taken place. Is it conceivable that Turkey in her present condition can continue as an independent power of any very great importance? The possessor of Constantinople and the Straits must always, of course, be important in the international world; but it is to me difficult to conceive that, in spite of the enormous and disproportionate influence which Turkey has lately exercised—an influence largely due to the division of the leading powers

with which she was negotiating—it is difficult, in spite of the position she achieved owing to that fact, really to believe that she can have before her a future corresponding in any degree to the power and importance she has had in the past. However, the last thing I would do would be to prophesy. We shall watch the problem with the deepest interest, and certainly we are more qualified to do so than before the beginning of this lecture.

I will end now as I began by asking you to join me in passing a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir Valentine Chirol. (Applause.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, March 27, 1924, at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., presiding, when a discussion took place on "The Influence of Communications on Military and other Policy on the North-West Frontier of India."*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have been delayed by the 'bus strike in opening the proceedings, and consequently I think we shall have to ask speakers, if we get plenty of them, to limit their remarks to ten minutes each. We hope to have seven or eight real experts talking to-night, and in order to give them all a fair chance, we propose, with your approval, to limit the length of the speeches. The lecture we are to discuss was delivered two or three weeks ago. Perhaps most of you were present at it, and I wish Lord Montagu himself were here to-night, but I do not see him, and I am not quite sure that he is expected. He was asked to come, of course. The consequence is that we shall have to limit ourselves to discussion on the paper without hearing what the principal protagonist might now wish to say on the matter. As some of you may not have heard the lecture or read it, I am going to ask Sir Raleigh Egerton to give us a short synopsis of Lord Montagu's remarks, and after that I think we must try to make the discussion as little discursive as possible. It is very desirable to keep clear of the wider political questions connected with the region generally, such as the "close border," "the Durand line," and "the forward policy"—especially "the forward policy," as I see an ex-Secretary of State here at the present moment. I would also add that it would be convenient if speakers limited their remarks to the areas with which they were particularly identified, and which they know well. They would naturally do so, but it is very important to-night to try and focus the discussion, and I suggest that the question of roads generally in these areas might be dealt with in about eight different groups. For instance, on the extreme right of the maps there are the roads which lead from India through Gilgit and Chitral to the far northern frontier of the Hindu Khush, the country between the Chinese Pamirs and Kafiristan. That area includes the road to the Malakand, and on through Dir to Chitral. The next area would be that comprising the roads leading from Peshawar, which perhaps is the most important area of all, because any great line of military operations must always be through the Peshawar Valley westwards towards Kabul, or *vice versa*. But it is not only the routes

* *Vide* "The North-West Frontier of India," by Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (*C.A.S. Journal*, Vol. XI., Part 2).

towards Afghanistan with which we are concerned, there are other very important roads that bifurcate from Peshawar—the roads into Tirah, and those into the Momand country, so that this area alone gives great opportunities for discussion. The third area is the Kohat area, where you have a line running from Thal up to the Paiwar Kotal and onwards into Afghanistan, or diverting at Thal, either going south to Tochi, or to Khost, and also from the country between Kohat and Thal northwards into the Orakzai Tirah. The next area is the Bannu-Tank area, which leads into Waziristan and the Tochi, and all the roads with which we have been so much concerned during the recent Waziri operations. The next area would be the Derajat. That is now of less importance. At one time it was very important, because there are several roads leading from it into Zhob and thus linking up with Quetta. Then we come to the Quetta area which, next to the Peshawar area, is the most important in a military sense. It is that which leads to Kandahar and on towards Herat. Also, you have the lateral roads which lead up into Zhob. I am glad to see here a late Chief Commissioner of that area, who will perhaps give us his views later. Further south still you have the Nushki area leading into Baluchistan and on to Seistan, which, as you can well imagine, may be the base for possible military operations at some future date. That, I think, comprises pretty well all the areas which lend themselves to our subject, except, of course, the far wider field which is offered by discussion of roads that lead from Kabul onwards to Turkistan. I will now call on Sir Raleigh Egerton to read the synopsis that he has kindly prepared.

Sir Raleigh Egerton read a synopsis of Lord Montagu's lecture.

The Chairman: Perhaps it would be convenient if I called upon an officer who has had a very great deal to do with these subjects recently, one of the Indian General Staff. I therefore call on General Charles to open the discussion.

Major-General Charles: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I find myself in a little difficulty, seeing that I had not the pleasure of being present when Lord Montagu gave his original lecture. Such claim as I have to talking on the subject is based on the fact that, for a couple of years at Simla, I worked under Sir Archibald Montgomery in doing the "devilling" work on this frontier policy as regards the area that is contained between the Tochi Valley and the Gomal River—the country which we call Waziristan. I had also the fortune, last summer, to be given the officiating command of the Waziristan Force; our main job there was to put through the trans-frontier road, which originally started at Tank, was completed to Jandola three or four years ago as a motor road, and has since gradu ally been pushed up the Takki Zam Valley; at the same time we had to carry on the extension of the road through Tal to Razmak, where it

was eventually to join the first-named road that came up from the south. It was an engineering project which was pretty bold in its conception, in that the estimate for the road had to be made before the unfortunate individual who had to estimate its cost had been given a chance of looking at the ground. For all he knew, it might run through solid rock for those eighty odd miles, or through the easiest of clay. It fell to my unpleasant lot to justify an excess on this estimate; that is purely the engineering aspect of this road. There was also a very strong political reason for building the road; as our Chairman has pointed out, our policy for many years past—instituted by Lord Curzon—was to hold those fingers that stick out into the independent territory by locally raised forces, which, in certain cases, contained representatives of the cisborder Pathan tribes. Well, so long as there was peace, these people were able to maintain themselves; but in 1919 this policy broke down because we were not in a position to back up these militia forces by regular soldiers. The policy which the Government of India has instituted since then is to maintain these garrisons with what we now call scouts—militia under another name—holding the tips of those fingers sticking out into independent territory, but in every case to have a regular military force within easy supporting distance, so as not to let the scouts down if they are attacked by the turbulent semi-independent tribes surrounding them. We have now a pretty large regular force in the Khyber, and we have double the strength of troops in the Kohat district compared with what we had there in pre-war days, whilst we have now included in the post-war army of India a force of sixteen battalions of infantry, plus cavalry, artillery, and other troops detailed to hold Waziristan. The result, therefore, is that our irregular forces (as the Government of India terms them) have a strong regular backing. The Tochi Militia, who hold the posts of Miram Shah, Datta Khel, and Spinwam, have regular soldiers within supporting distance who can get through to these posts within twenty-four hours, owing to the fact that the roads leading to these places are now fit for mechanical transport, and troops can be run up in three-ton lorries. Similarly, in the south we hold Sarwekai with 500 scouts, with Jandola as the headquarters, and there are two brand-new posts quite recently completed at Sorarogha and Kotkai which are also held by the same corps. Lord Rawlinson, the Commander-in-Chief in India, has arranged a mobile brigade at this place (Razmak) capable of sending out four battalions, artillery, engineers and pioneers, at an hour's notice, and either running them down by motor transport to Jandola, whence they can motor up the Shahur Tangi and succour the people at Sarwekai, or, if there is trouble in the north, we can run the brigade up to Datta Khel, and in a few months I hope to Spinwam. That is a very different state of affairs from what existed in Lord Curzon's day, when he instituted

this policy of holding these fingers by irregular troops, because we can now push our highly trained regulars up at very short notice in numbers and at a speed never possible in the old days; that is entirely due to the fact that the Government of India has spent a lot of capital in making those roads fit for mechanical transport, and in providing mechanical transport which is the only means of maintaining these large forces at such distances from the railheads of Bannu and Khirgi. As to the reasons why the Government of India consider it necessary to embark on a policy of placing these striking forces in the middle of Waziristan, I think, perhaps, in discussing these, I should be going a little bit outside the limits imposed by the Chairman. I also see at the back a gentleman who will disagree with me very strongly in such a discussion. (Laughter and applause.)

Sir GEORGE SCOTT-MONCRIEFF: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I speak with much diffidence because it is twenty years since I left that part of the world: but it is something like forty-five years since I first began engineering work on the frontier, and I spent eight of the best years of my life making roads, railways, and other public works there. I was much interested to hear what Lord Montagu has said about the matter. Undoubtedly the mechanical transport question has entirely altered the problem from the military point of view and also from the engineering point of view. On the one hand we know that by means of mechanical transport you are saved all those long convoys of mules and camels which used to be such a source of serious trouble; on the other hand, from the engineering point of view, you have a much more difficult task, because the roads must be much more solid, the bridges have to be of a different character, and the gradients very much less than they would be under the old system of pack and cart transport. With regard to these maps here, while they are exceedingly valuable for showing the main lines of road, there are a good many subsidiary roads valuable from a military point of view, though not from that of mechanical transport. From Abazai to Mardan, along the Swat Canal, there is a good road for wheeled vehicles, possibly also for mechanical transport. There is another road from Landi Kotal, north of the Khyber, in the Mullagori country reaching down to about here. [*Indicating.*] It skirts the Afridi territory, which is a political factor of some considerable importance. Then there are some other roads in the district from Bannu into the heart of exceedingly difficult country, between the Miranzai Valley and the Bannu road. Perhaps the most important of all, however, is one from Dera Ismail Khan, through a very difficult defile called the Chur Khel Dahana to Fort Sandeman, and thence to Quetta. That road passes for about forty miles over a perfectly barren plain, seamed by ravines, and without water or villages. Then it passes into a very difficult mountainous country, but I know Lord

Kitchener drove his motor-car over it, so it must be available for motor transport. Very possibly it has been left to some extent derelict owing to the relative importance of the work which General Charles has recently described to us between the Gomal and the Tochi. Another very important road is from Wana by Sarwakai, over a most difficult pass to the Gomal Valley. These are a few of the subsidiary roads on the frontier not shown on the map. One point of considerable importance in considering any of these new developments of road work and improvement of old roads is this, that at certain times the rivers there are subject to very violent floods. In the Gomal, for instance, I am told that the floods rise as much as 90 feet. I have not actually seen this, but I know and have seen what the tremendous effect of the floods has been further south, in the Harnai Valley, just north of Quetta. The floods, in the year when we thought we were going to war with Russia, in 1885, were terrific and stopped all communications for a very long time. That sort of thing might quite possibly occur in the middle of military operations. One of the things, therefore, which engineers have to look to is the possibility of rapidly reconstructing bridges, which probably would be swept away in these heavy floods—maintaining certain quantities of material, and working out schemes for rapid reconstruction of bridgework, which would not necessarily take a whole season or anything of that kind. The first of the big frontier roads made, from Kohat to Bannu and thence to Dera Ismail Khan, had two very large bridges, one crossing the Kurram River near Bannu, and another over the Gambila between Bannu and Pezu. But there are a great number of streams along the road there which were not bridged at all, but simply left to be crossed by ford—and, if there is a heavy flood, waiting until the water is down. Now military operations, of course, cannot be allowed to be interrupted in that way, especially if mechanical transport is the sole means of supply, so I think one very important feature of frontier work is this bridge question; and I must say I was rather surprised that Lord Montagu did not lay stress on that point. He spoke a great deal about the importance, and one realized how very important it was, of the reconstruction of the bed of the road so that it should be fit for taking heavy mechanical transport —and that, I may say, is a problem not yet solved even in this country. It is still a matter for consideration, and the best engineering brains have not yet solved it, though I think they are within sight of so doing. Engineers will now have to tackle these subjects on the frontier. They will have not only to consider this reconstruction of the road bed, so as to take the new and heavy class of mechanical transport vehicle, but they also will have to consider the bridge problem in its widest aspects. I know it is being done now. I know how many of the old girders from railway bridges are being utilized for the road work upon the frontier, and it is an excellent way of using

up the railway girders which are not sufficiently good for railway work, but more than sufficiently good for road work. The subject is a very big one, and will certainly be an expensive one, and one to be viewed from a great many different points of view. (Applause.)

Sir ARCHIBALD MONTGOMERY: Sir Edmund, Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I came this evening I must confess I had no intention of saying anything. I came here to hear the views of people who know the frontier much better than I do. But as Sir Edmund has asked me to say something, all I can do is to give you the views, so far as I know them, of Lord Rawlinson and Sir Claud Jacob on the subject of frontier roads and their effect on policy. With all due deference to Sir Edmund, I do not quite see how you can separate the question of the frontier roads from policy. If, for instance, you start on a supposition that you are going to come back, as some people suggest, out of this tribal territory between the administrative border and our frontier with Afghanistan there is no necessity to build roads. If, on the other hand, you accept the policy of building frontier roads, that means you accept the policy of gradually bringing these tribes under our control. Otherwise there is no object that I can see in building the roads. Therefore, if Sir Edmund will allow me, I will include a few remarks about the general policy, but as few as possible. If you go into the bedrock principles of this problem, you have to study them, as Sir Edmund said, from the military, political, and economic points of view. I would like to take the economic first. I shall quote very largely from Sir Claud Jacob, who has spent forty years of his life on the frontier, and I do not suppose there is anyone who knows it better. All writers and others who know the frontier well agree that the bedrock cause of all the troubles we have on the frontier is the poverty of the tribesmen. It always has been. I think it was Oliver who said that "the hills breed many and feed few." These tribesmen have to live on something; if they cannot live on what they produce by their fields and flocks in their own hills, they look down from the hills and see a great many fat bunnias and other people ready to be robbed. Being lawless by nature and some of the best fighters in the world, they naturally turn to the plains to gain their living. After all, that is only human nature. The question is, How are you going to cure that? You cannot kill them all off. There are broadly two alternatives: one is to try and make them sufficiently prosperous so that they no longer have to rob their neighbours in order to live; the other is to shut them in like wild beasts inside a cage, and hope by putting sufficient troops along the frontier to prevent their raiding the people of the plain. We have tried shutting them in for something like sixty years, and I think that everyone must admit that that system has failed. For the last four years, ever since 1920, we have begun to try the other system—that is to say, by building roads, by giving them employment, and by other

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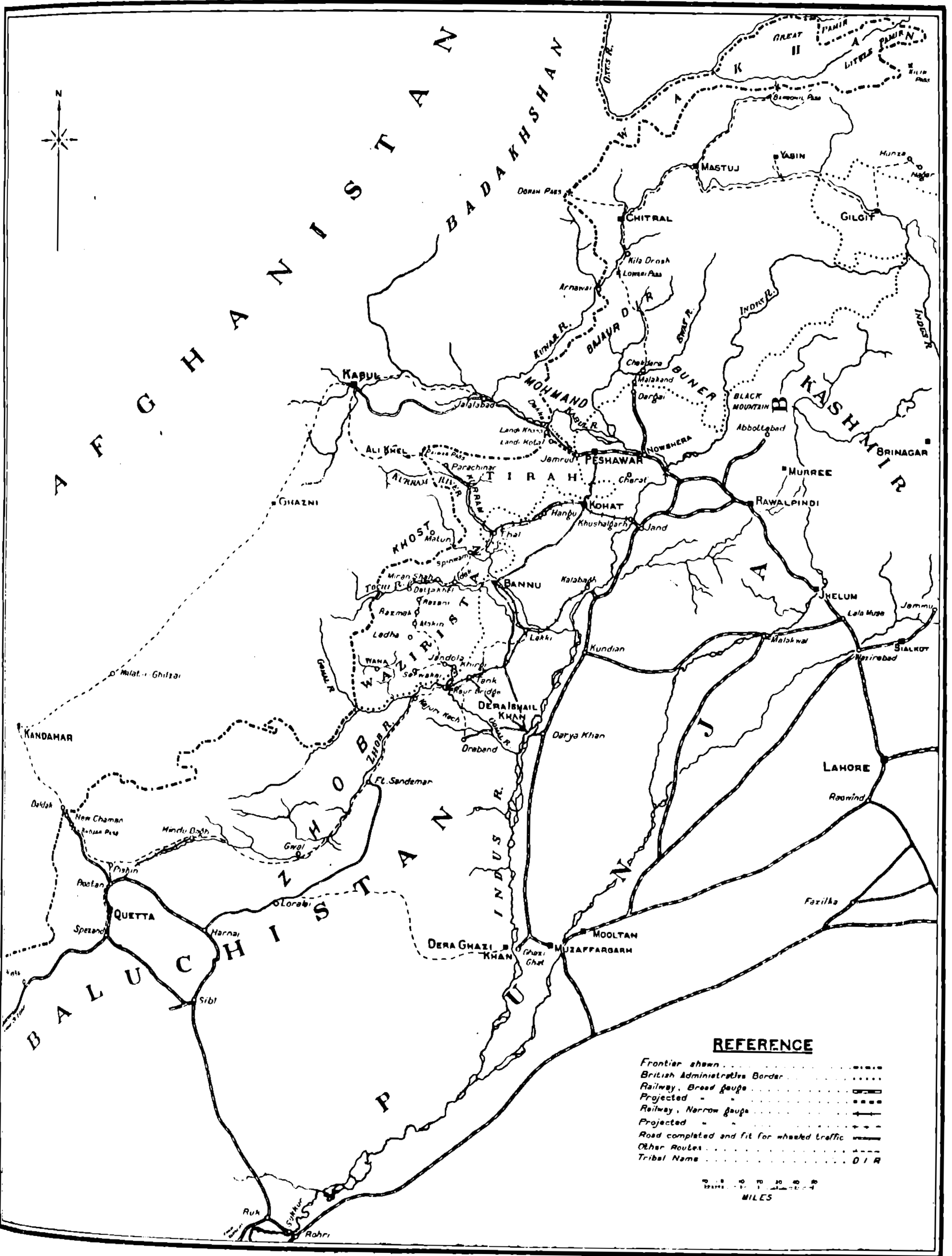
means to win these tribesmen from their lawless habits and provide them with some means of subsistence other than raiding the plains, thereby gradually making them more civilized and more able to support themselves. When I say we have tried the other system for the last sixty years, I mean we have tried it along the greater part of the frontier; but down south in Baluchistan and the Zhob area, from I think 1866, when Sir Robert Sandeman first looked after the frontiers of Sind, he adopted another policy. One of the principal points of his policy was to build roads: I think I am right in saying that somewhere between one and two thousand miles of road were built in Sir Robert Sandeman's time in the Zhob and Baluchistan. The civilizing influence of that I do not think anyone can deny. In the north we have our experience in the Khyber. There, again, I do not think some people realize the civilizing influence that the double road that goes from Jamrud to Landi Khana and the railway that has now been built have had on the Afridis. During the last two or three years there has been very much less trouble with the Afridis than ever before. Briefly I put that down to three factors: One is the construction of the roads and railway, which has given very good employment to the Afridis; the second is that a lot of Afridis are employed as Khassadars for guarding the roads; and thirdly, a regular garrison has been established for the last four or five years in the Khyber to show that the British Raj is able to exert force when peaceful means—road-building and others—do not have the desired effect. In both these cases roads, combined with a certain amount of force, have had the desired result. Here, in all this middle part [*indicating* Waziristan], the contrary has been the case: we have not until lately built roads; we have tried to keep the tribes under control by putting posts along the border and on each flank. Pre-war we used to have a brigade at Bannu and another at Dera Ismail Khan to overawe the Mahsuds and Wazirs. We left these tribes in their own district without roads or other civilizing influence, and sat on the borders and tried to keep them down by fear. The policy is now changed, and I feel convinced it will have the desired result. General Charles will bear me out that it has already had considerable effect. The presence of the garrison at Razmak, the employment of a large number of fighting men as Khassadars and of others on building roads, has already reduced the raiding into Derajat and all this area enormously. I think in 1920-21 the raids into our border district numbered 324; in 1921-22 they had already been reduced to 129. During 1922-23, I understand, they were fewer still. Therefore, even in these three years, the policy adopted in March, 1920, by the Government of India, and approved by the Government at home, has already begun to have effect. Another point, sometimes forgotten, is that there are very big resources in that country in the way of minerals and forests, which can only be exploited by means of roads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through the country. If those internal resources can be exploited, then it is the Government's intention, I know, that the results shall go to the tribesmen, and not to the Treasury in India. In fact, our policy there is not a selfish one. What we are trying to do is to help these tribesmen to get a livelihood, and one of the chief means of doing this is to build roads through the country by which its mineral and other dormant wealth can be developed for the good of the tribesmen. From a military point of view, and that is the point of view we are always faced with in India, we were and are constantly being told, "We cannot afford to spend so much money on the army, how are you going to reduce it? Cannot you reduce the number of troops on the frontier?" So long as you have all these tribesmen ready to rise at a moment's notice, whether from fanaticism, or at the instigation of the Amir, or for some other reason, you cannot reduce the number of troops on the frontier. The only way to reduce them is by having good lateral roads the whole way along so that the troops can move about, and the large garrisons on either flank, at Peshawar and Quetta, can be made use of to reinforce the centre. It is really a very simple problem. When we speak of the five fingers that Lord Montagu mentioned, the left one being at Quetta, it simply means that if we have a rising near Bannu or among the Mahsuds, we have to bring troops from Peshawar or elsewhere in India round here [*indicating* Mari Indus and Darya Khan], and up one of these fingers to reinforce them. That is obviously the most extravagant way of doing it. If, on the other hand, you gradually get roads and later on railways running laterally, you can tap the two big garrisons at Peshawar and Quetta, which may enable you to reduce the garrisons at the other places. That is the only way by which the present covering forces can be reduced, and you can get further economy in the army in India. Any other course, such as coming out of Waziristan, will not reduce the expense at all. You cannot come out of the Khyber, the Kurram, the Tochi, Zhob, or Quetta. It is impossible: I do not think anyone suggests it. If you cannot come out of those places you are compelled to occupy part of the tribal territory. That being the case, the only real solution is not to come back out of Waziristan and the other places, but build a lateral road by which you can connect the garrisons, so that they can reinforce each other rapidly in times of emergency. Some people say, moreover, that it is a very dangerous thing to keep our troops so far forward in the tribal territory as it ties up so many troops and that they are dangerous detachments. There is one guiding principle of war about detachments, and that is that a detachment is justified if it engages more than its own number of the enemy. What we maintain is that a garrison at Razmak sits on the heads of thirty or forty thousand potential enemies. So long as it does that it is pulling its weight and is worth it. To sum up, we maintain that this policy of

roads is economical and logical from every point of view. It will ease the situation on the frontier politically; it will ease it from the military point of view, especially if we have war with Afghanistan, as we shall not have so many potential enemies on our lines of communication. It will ease the situation economically. In fact, it is the only means by which you can reduce the cost of the army in India still further; also it is the only way to help the tribesmen to earn their own living without being compelled to raid the fat bunnia of the plain. (Applause.)

Sir ARMINE DEW then spoke, comparing the frontier and its problems to those which Wade and his colleagues faced so successfully on the Highland border in the eighteenth century. He advocated the road schemes, and urged that as much work as possible should be found for the Pathans. In his opinion they should be employed as much as possible, both as soldiers and as roadmakers.

Sir ARTHUR BARRETT: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thought from the way in which Sir Armine Dew spoke just now that he was of opinion that the soldiers present took a contrary view from his own. I should like to say that I agree with all that Sir Armine Dew said about the frontier. I understood that he was in favour of the policy of making roads, and that he thought the only way to pacify the tribesmen was to give them some kind of employment which would enable them to earn a living. So far the road policy has done that, but we none of us know what is going to happen when these roads are finished, and when there is no longer that source of income for the tribesmen. Shall we then be in any better position than we were before? That is the point that is doubtful. I am speaking now of the new roads in Waziristan. On the rest of the frontier there is not much that is new, except the extension of the railway from Jamrud, which was a scheme inaugurated by Lord Kitchener a good many years ago, but afterwards abandoned. That scheme has not so much to do with frontier policy as with Afghanistan, with which we are now not concerned. The plan of occupying Waziristan is new, and, of course, we all hope that it will succeed. But I do not know that we are justified in feeling very great confidence in it unless some means can be devised of employing the tribesmen. It has been said that the old frontier policy was a mistake, and that it broke down. No doubt there were drawbacks, and it may be said in one sense that it did break down. But why? Because there was seldom, or never, money available to undertake the necessary measures to make it a success. Of recent years a large sum has been spent on roads and on the maintenance of garrisons in Waziristan. My idea is that if that money had been spent within our own territory—for instance, in harnessing the Gurmal River, and so bringing into cultivation the extensive plain about Tank, which is now more or less a barren waste—we should have found lucrative employment for the

tribesmen, and brought them more into touch with our own people, and in that way the tendency to commit raids would gradually have been overcome. After all, this question of what has been a failure and what has been a success on the frontier is comparative. I remember, as long ago as 1879, the first year I spent on the frontier, I rode through the hills from Bannu to Thal. I took with me only one tribesman as escort. Anybody could do it in those days, but it is doubtful if it could be done now. The chief item in our defence of the frontier in former times was cavalry. We had a line of outposts, and lateral communications good enough to enable troops to move rapidly to any threatened point. Of course, we now want metalled roads, mechanical transport, wireless communications, armoured cars, aeroplanes, and every kind of modern device. But we want them inside our own frontier, and I cannot see that any advantage is gained by going on beyond. Suppose an expedition is to be undertaken, I do not see that it would be any better off starting from here [*indicating* Razmak *on map*], with a long line of communications, than from here [*indicating* D. I. Khan]. I think General Charles mentioned that the frontier militia broke down in 1919 because they were not adequately supported. That is perfectly true of Waziristan, but it should be remembered that in the Khyber we had troops all up the line, and the militia gave way behind us. That happened to the Khyber Rifles, which were the oldest established and best known, and in some ways the cream, of the frontier militia. Actually we had at the time one or two brigades at Lundi Kotal, which was the militia headquarters. After the outbreak of hostilities with the Afghans, I went to the commander of the militia, and said, " We are going on in a few days ; are you game to take your men with us? I would rather have them in the forefront against the Afghans than behind us here." He said, " I cannot make any kind of promise until I have consulted the men. I will let you know in a few days." A few days later he came and said, " Our men are on the go," and they disappeared. I mention that to show that you cannot feel any kind of confidence in what these tribesmen will do. Regarding the Northern Waziristan Militia, I was up there a few weeks before they broke up, and I can assure you they went out of their way to entertain us most hospitably, and within a month they were up against us. I am afraid that my views may be thought reactionary, but I believe that if money is to be spent, it ought to be spent on our own side of the frontier in improving communications, and in providing up-to-date equipment for our troops. Something has been said about the fingers sticking out into a barren country. I am in favour of the clenched fist. I think it is better both for attack and for defence. (Applause.)

Colonel MUSPRATT: Sir Edmund Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,— I think the ground has been pretty well covered, but there are one or two points I would like to refer to. Sir Arthur Barrett said that if we

were out of Waziristan we should be in a better position than now, but I think if you are out of a country altogether, the time comes when an expedition is forced upon you, and when you undertake that expedition it becomes an invasion of the country. Say that trouble has been brought on by one small hostile section; you have to make big preparations, and at once the Mullahs raise a cry that the country is in danger. The whole tribe is raised against you straight away, and you have to fight your way into the country in the face of united tribal opposition. But suppose that at Razmak you had a mobile column, it could move out and squash the trouble before it assumed alarming proportions. The same speaker has also asked what advantage the roads are going to be to the tribesmen. Obviously you do not pour out so much money when the road is a *fait accompli* as when it is being built, but you have to keep the roads up. That provides a small but constant flow of money, and the Khassadars also bring in a certain amount of money to the tribe. Indirectly, roads will always add to the wealth of the tribe, because they open up the country, and our experience is that the construction of roads gives a tremendous impetus to trade, even amongst these very uncivilized tribes. I think I can admit Sir Arthur Barrett's main contention that when the road is finished there is less gained by the tribesmen than while it is being built, but still they are better off than if we had never built the road. I might deal with one subject not yet mentioned, that is, to take what appear to be the weak links of our lateral chain along the frontier. Just taking the frontier as a whole, there is not very much we can do at the present moment, north of the Kabul River. The present circumstances I do not think would justify our going much further in the way of road construction. As regards better communications with Chitral, much as we might like them, I do not think the present situation makes construction a practical proposition. I should like to say a word about increasing wireless communication in that part of the frontier. Why we should be at the enormous expense of keeping up the Gilgit-Chitral line I do not know, now that wireless is proved. I think both at Gilgit and Chitral we might very well carry on with wireless. Coming south of the Kabul River, I think the first weak link in our chain is the road between Peshawar and Kohat, where it passes through independent territory in the Kohat Pass. It caused us some inconvenience in the Afghan War of 1919, when we had a very indifferent road, though lorries could get through. Had it not passed through independent territory, the road would certainly have been better than it was in 1919. Our next weak link in the chain is the very narrow gauge railway from Kohat to Thal: it would be a great advantage if we could make that a broad gauge. A road is now being constructed between Thal and Idak: the better we can make that road, the better our position will be. If we can

ultimately extend the railway in this direction also, I think that will be a still greater improvement. Further south we have another weak link in our lateral communications at Kalabagh. There is no bridge over the Indus here. We have to link up with the Punjab railway system by a ferry, and carry on by a 2 feet 6 inch line to Lakki, with one branch to Bannu and another to Tank. It is very desirable to have a bridge at Kalabagh. It is almost impossible to conceive a permanent bridge from Darya Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. The Indus there is several miles wide. Although we have a bridge in the cold weather, which is a mixture of trestles and pontoons, it has to be dismantled in the summer, and very precarious communication is maintained by a small ferry boat, which in the old days used to take sometimes six or even twelve hours to get across.

Colonel Muspratt indicated other places on the maps where communications could be improved by better roads; Zhob, he said, was a country of big distances, where a railway would be invaluable. He concluded: You may ask, Why am I ignoring the big block of Tirah, where there seems rather a painful lack of communications? It is a most difficult country for road construction, and in the immediate future I do not see much prospect of the development of lateral communications in this area.

These lateral roads I do not think are only required for the tribes. As Sir Archibald Montgomery pointed out, lateral roads lead to an economy of force not only against the tribes, but against the tribes combined with Afghanistan. If we ever have to take on Afghanistan again, we shall not find them bumping their heads against Landi Kotal. Their probable plan will be to use their troops as a nucleus operating through tribal territory. It is a little more than a domestic matter, these roads. So far as I can see at present, there is no prospect of combined Russian and Afghan operations against us, but lateral roads are very important for tribal operations by themselves or against the tribes in combination with Afghanistan.

Sir R. EGERTON: There are two points made by previous speakers on which I should like to comment. Sir A. Montgomery and General Charles both claimed for the completion of the double line of roads and the construction of the railway the credit for the peaceful state of the Khyber Pass which now prevails there. I do not know if they can recall the Afghan War which ended in 1880; at its conclusion the maintenance of an open road through the Khyber was a matter which was arranged for by the Government of the Punjab with the Afridi tribes which command the route. By means of a cash subsidy to the clans concerned, amounting to one lakh of rupees per annum, and the expenditure of another lakh per annum on the maintenance of the Khyber Rifles, the free transit of goods and travellers throughout the route was guaranteed by the Maliks. The Khyber Rifles, in fact, were

the nominees of the Maliks for the fulfilment of a treaty of obligation; and this obligation was most faithfully fulfilled. In 1888, however, the stability of the agreement received a shock. In that year, for reasons which I need not give, a demand was made on the Khyber Rifles to furnish a contingent for service with an expeditionary force which was operating on the Black Mountain. The Maliks at once protested that the Rifles were maintained by them for the purpose of fulfilling their engagement to keep the Khyber Pass open, and not for general service. If their men were removed, how could they be held responsible for the safety of the Pass? This protest was ignored, and some three or four hundred of the Khyber Rifles were taken for general service. Though nothing serious resulted in the Khyber, there is no doubt that the confidence of the Maliks was seriously shaken. Again, in 1897, the fidelity of the Khyber Rifles, as nominees of their Maliks, received another shock. They were commanded by a British officer, who with his wife was at Landi Kotal with the main portion of the force, and his reserve was at Jamrud. The political control of the Khyber was in the charge of a reliable old Afghan, of a refugee family, who had once been in the Indian Cavalry and afterwards in the Punjab Police. In 1897 trouble broke out at various points on the North-West Frontier —in the Tochi and on the Mohmand Border in the first place. The British officer in command of the Khyber Rifles, foreseeing the possibility of this trouble extending into the Afridi area, took steps to cope with it. He filled up the water tanks in Landi Kotal Fort, and brought up his reserves of ammunition from Jamrud to Landi Kotal and other posts in the Pass, reporting his action to the Political Officer, his immediate superior. For unknown reasons this report was never passed on to the Commissioner at Peshawar. In consequence, when the troubles on the Peshawar border seemed to be extending, the Commissioner, after discussing the military aspects of the situation with the G.O.C. Peshawar, decided that Landi Kotal and the Khyber posts could not be held in the face of an Afridi rising, owing to lack of water and ammunition, and also to the fact that no regular troops were available for their reinforcement. As a first step towards abandonment, he proposed to order the Commandant of the Khyber Rifles to come back to Peshawar, and referred to the Punjab Government for sanction to do this. Sanction was not given, as the Punjab Government were advised that the officer would be justified in refusing to obey an order to desert his men. However, the officer was summoned to Peshawar to confer with the Commissioner and the G.O.C., and went down telling his men that he would return in a day or so. He was never summoned to any conference, and the Khyber Rifles were left to take care of themselves when their fellow-tribesmen rose and attacked the posts after calling on the garrisons to surrender. They put up a good fight for some days, but hearing nothing of reinforcements or of

any support, one cannot be surprised that eventually they gave over the posts. With the exception of this incident, the Afridi Maliks kept the Khyber an open road from 1880 till 1920.

The other point on which I wish to remark is Colonel Muspratt's explanation of the advantages of maintaining a garrison at Razmak in the heart of Mahsud country as compared with Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. He said that with troops at Razmak, if trouble broke out at Ladha or Makin in Mahsud territory, it could more easily be tackled by that garrison. But what, I would ask you, does trouble at Ladha or Makin matter to us? It would merely mean that Mahsuds were killing Mahsuds, and why should we wish to interfere? We need not maintain a garrison at Razmak to stop Mahsuds raiding Ladha in their own territory. (Sir A. MONTGOMERY: "It all starts there.") What, a raiding party? Who has ever seen a Mahsud raiding party start? It is formed of men from various places, who travel by various roads and converge on their objective, or its vicinity, by some pre-arranged date. You cannot touch it till it reaches its objective; it is intangible, though you may perhaps cut it off on its retirement. But to do this a garrison in Mahsud country is not required.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—there is no occasion to introduce the late Secretary of State for India, Lord Peel. (Applause.)

Lord PEEL: The only reason I get up to make one or two observations is that Sir Armine Dew felt rather nervous as a civilian amongst so many soldiers, and I think that if I, as another civilian, can say a word in support, it will give him confidence. My difficulty in speaking of this subject is that I am in agreement with most of what has been said. One generally rises to controvert the views expressed by a previous speaker, but I am, of course, a convinced supporter of this road policy. I may say that I have just returned from a journey in Morocco, where I have had the opportunity of seeing the faithful way in which the French in that country have been following our policy, and how they have taken up the policy of the driving of main roads through that country, as the one way of civilizing it, reducing it to order, and of developing its great resources. I have not heard anybody referring to one way of controlling the frontier, and that is by aeroplanes. I read some time ago a report, with which you are all familiar, which dealt summarily with the whole position, and seemed to consider that the presence of those who were referred to as ground troops was hardly necessary. With a few aerodromes planted on this side of the Indus, the whole settlement of the frontier could easily be maintained. There are two points I wish to mention. Quite apart from the purely military aspect of the case, by far the most interesting point I think is—and it has been touched upon by every speaker—whether the road system will really have that

civilizing effect upon those tribes, without which some permanent solution of the raiding difficulty can never be arrived at. I understand that the Mahsuds—I only know personally the northern portion of the frontier, and speak about Mahsuds and Waziris from information of others—I understand they are very good at taking contracts, but not quite so good at carrying them out. They are quite ready to take the money, but the other side of the contract is not always faithfully observed. I argue from this fact that there will always be a considerable amount of work to be done in the repair and renovation of these roads, which will have the effect of keeping a certain number of these people peacefully employed. Another speaker has observed what an amazing effect the construction of the Khyber railway has had. I expressed the opinion the other day in the House of Lords that I wished the railway could never be finished. (Laughter.) I do not know whether any other speaker is going to develop this very interesting point, which has not been alluded to, as to what are the real resources of Waziristan and the country of the Mahsuds, and whether the mining and other development and trade will be such as to give employment to these warlike people, and make them as active in business as the Scotch Highlanders have been since their country was first developed by roads. The only other observation I should like to make is this. This road policy was arrived at after, I should think, more full consideration than perhaps most policies that are carried into action. It was thoroughly examined, of course, by all the authorities in India, military and civilian; it was supported strongly by the Government of India. It was then threshed out in detail, to the verge of tediousness, on the Imperial Defence Committee, where I had the opportunity of hearing the views of all the authorities on the subject, and the only difference of opinion, I think, that arose there was on the question of expense, the usual question in these matters. The soldiers, of course, put forward the view, which they generally do, that this expenditure was the most economical that could be devised. (Laughter.) That is a sort of smoke-screen which from long experience I can aver that soldiers generally do put forward. Anyhow, the promulgation of that scheme had in itself an extraordinarily pacifying effect—at least, on that portion of the frontier. The tribes knew all along the frontier that the Government had decided on a special line of policy. The Mahsuds knew it, and felt that their isolation and security in their own fastnesses was no longer what it had been. I think the matter was going on smoothly, but, unfortunately, there was a momentary set-back. Some eminent men made a tour on the frontier, discussed the question with different officers, military and civilian, and travelled up the road, and the rumour got about the country that the Government of India had changed its mind. The results were most dangerous, and, unfortunately, some good British officers lost their

lives because of the loss of confidence in the decisions that the Government of India had taken. All I hope is that now this policy has been, after the most minute investigation and care, decided on, that it will be maintained unchanged. Of course, there must be difference of opinion among officers, military and civilian, on the frontier as to the best methods of dealing with the border; but I hope that this policy once accepted will be carried out thoroughly, and that a severe check may be given to raiding, and that the tribes may find raiding an unprofitable thing.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I submit that we have had a most interesting discussion, and I only regret that there were not more people to listen to it. They might have learned something. We have also been very fortunate in inducing a Secretary of State, who has been closely connected with these very questions, to give us his views. I believe it is considered to be the usual duty of a chairman to sum up, but I must do it very shortly, because I see it is now twenty-five minutes to eleven, and a great many people want to catch trains.

General Charles opened the discussion, and he referred to the Curzon policy, what he called the five-finger policy, of holding five lines by means of tribal levies only. That policy was excellent so long as it could be relied on, but unfortunately there was a weak point, which was, that we had no British troops close at hand as spearheads for those five lines on whom the tribal levies could rely for support. It was a point not fully appreciated at the time, and the result was that when trouble came those unfortunate levies saw nothing to back them close at hand, and, naturally, being of the same race as the people who had risen around them, they would not fight alone against them. I believe that, supposing in 1897 when the great tribal war along the whole frontier took place, which was, I may remark, before Lord Curzon became Viceroy, if we had had a small body of regular infantry in Lundi Kotal to back the Afridi levies there—I think they were called the Khyber Rifles at that time—whoever they were, if they had had someone to back them, they would not have gone wrong so easily. The present policy of going to Razmak is a sound policy for the very reason that we now have got British troops close at hand, and the tribal levies know they will be supported. They have a whole brigade on the spot ready to deal with any trouble in that area. Therefore, it is, I think, reasonable to suppose that in future we shall have loyalty from these levies that we have raised, and that they will support us in carrying out the policy of the Government. Therefore, I am all for this policy myself. There is another remark which I would make with reference to General Montgomery's observations. He spoke about the importance of finding employment for the tribesmen, and that has been represented and corroborated

by nearly everyone who has spoken. But in one way we have rather failed of late in this respect. A few years ago, before the war, we had a very large number of Afridis in our service, and I am one of those who greatly regret that the reduction of the Afridi element was carried to the length it has been, because I am quite sure that the main reason which has kept the Afridis quiet of late years was that so many of their people were employed by us. They were employed on the railways, they were employed in the regiments, they were employed in tribal levies, and thus got plenty of work. Therefore I think our recent policy, of greatly reducing the trans-border element in our Punjab regiments, is unfortunate.

Then Sir Armine Dew contrasted with our frontier policy the employment of Scottish Highlanders in the eighteenth century. We all know that that was a most successful policy. It was a double policy of both roads and Highland regiments, and it was, of course, and indeed always has been, an extraordinarily successful policy throughout the history of the world. It is no new thing. Whenever warlike tribes have been given employment they settle down, and trade develops owing to the roads thus made, but it may be carried too far. I have lately been reading up my old history books, and particularly a good deal about the invasions of Alaric and Attila, and people like that, fifteen hundred years ago, and I have been impressed by the fact that there is a danger in employing too many of such men as soldiers in our army. There is also some danger in the road system. The reason why those invasions of the Roman Empire were so easy and so fatal to it was because a very large proportion of the frontier tribes, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths and Vandals and Franks, were employed in the Roman legions and knew all about Roman warfare and understood the business of invading those settled countries, and, moreover, they had the most splendid roads which made invasion easy for them. All that, I think, bears on questions of road and employment. You must not go too far in these matters. You must not make it too easy to invade your own territory. You must not have too many of such men in your ranks, men who are thoroughly *au fait* with your methods and just as good soldiers as yourselves. But that is only a question of proportion.

Sir Arthur Barrett was the next speaker. I am afraid I rather disagree with the views of Sir Arthur Barrett, and I am very sorry to do so, because I am proud to say he was one of my brigadiers in years gone by. But I disagree with him when he says he has no trust in these militias. I think that the militia, if supported by troops, can be relied upon! However, I have already commented on that point.

I myself agree with nearly all that Colonel Muspratt had to say, and also with many of the remarks of General Sir Raleigh Egerton, although the views of those two speakers rather conflicted with each other,

but still, there were good points in both of them which can be reconciled. I do not presume to act the part of a judge between such high authorities, nor, indeed, is there time to do so.

Of course, I shall not comment on the very interesting and instructive remarks that we had from the late Secretary of State for India, as only a few weeks ago I was one of his subordinates. (Applause.)

OBITUARIES

THE RIGHT HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

THE death of Sir Mortimer Durand removes from among us one who played a leading part on the stage of India and Central Asia. He held high posts in Europe and America, but this review will deal with his achievements in Asia. He was the most distinguished member of his generation in the Foreign Department of the Government of India. Lord Dufferin realized his remarkable capacity and character, and promoted him to the Secretaryship at the early age of thirty-five. Before that he had served Lord Roberts as Political Secretary in the Afghan War, and, although a civilian, had taken a leading part in a successful dash to save a battery of artillery, which feat won him a mention in despatches for gallantry. He thus knew a great deal about Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of India, and many years of hard work resulted in the formation of the Durand Line, which will keep his memory green for ever on the frontier. Incidentally it will also be kept alive by his gift of a silver football, which is annually competed for in India, for Sir Mortimer Durand was a man of many parts, and among other things was a good Rugby football player.

In 1893 he was appointed chief of a mission to Amir Abdur Rahman, the grim ruler of Afghanistan, and after a while the two strong men became great friends, the Amir insisting on creating a decoration to honour the British representative, just as Fath Ali Shah did in the case of Sir John Malcolm. This Mission was most successful, and British influence in Afghanistan was placed on a far more satisfactory footing than it had been for many years.

In 1894 Durand was appointed Minister at Tehran. There was hardly scope in the post for a man of his capacity, as Great Britain took little interest in Persia at that period. At the same time he made many valuable recommendations on Persian policy, and, owing to his deep knowledge of and insight into Oriental character, he was able to carry through various difficult questions, including a boundary commission which delimitated the division between British and Persian Baluchistan. Persia was the original home of polo, which

had, however, ceased to be played there, and when the writer of this notice revived the game at Tehran, the Minister became a keen player and kept up the game for many years.

He was at this time the leading authority on Central Asia, and it was a great pity that his services were not utilized as Viceroy of India, a post for which he was eminently suited, but his modesty stood in the way, and he never pushed his claims.

After his retirement Sir Mortimer Durand devoted himself to literature, and served as Director of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from 1914–1917 as Chairman of the Central Asian Society, where his dignity, courtesy, and knowledge were of great value.

To conclude, Sir Mortimer Durand was a model public servant, whose achievements and accomplishments were remarkable, but those who served under him will never forget that he was the best of friends, the most chivalrous of men, and, to sum it all up, a great English gentleman.

P. M. Sykes.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR G. K. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E.

George Kenneth Scott-Moncrieff was born in India, the country where so much of his service was to be spent, on October 3, 1855. He was the younger son of Major Alexander Pringle Scott-Moncrieff, of the 44th Bengal Infantry and of Elizabeth Hastie, younger daughter of the Rev. George Coventry of Shanwell, Kinross-shire. He had his first experience of active service as a child, for during the Indian Mutiny his mother escaped with him and two other young children from Perulia to Calcutta, his father being absent on duty. After the death of his father in 1865 his mother settled in the family dower house, Elie Castle, in Fife, where she lived till 1913.

Scott-Moncrieff was gazetted Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers on September 11, 1873. His career in India began in 1878 as Assistant Engineer in the Public Works Department, and very soon afterwards he saw active service in the Second Afghan War, where he was present at the capture of Ali Musjid and in operations near Kabul. In 1886 he returned home, and from 1893 to 1898 he served as an Instructor in Construction at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. In this capacity he made the acquaintance of numerous batches of young officers, and his personal knowledge of so many of his juniors must have been of great value to him in later years when he was required to make selections for particular appointments. He then returned to the Public Works Department in the Punjab, and in 1900 went to China as C.R.E. of the China Expeditionary Force, taking part in the actions of Peitsang and Yangtsoun and in the

relief of Peking. For his services in this campaign he received the C.I.E. On returning to India he was appointed Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, and served in the Waziristan Expedition in 1901-1902. In 1904 he returned to England and served as C.R.E. at the Curragh. In the autumn of 1906 he was appointed Assistant Director of Fortifications and Works, and in the following year was awarded the C.B. In 1909 he was given the important appointment of Chief Engineer at Aldershot, and in 1911 was made Director of Fortifications and Works at the War Office, thus becoming the administrative head of his corps. He served in this capacity till April 1, 1918, when he was retired. He had been promoted to Major-General in October, 1912. In 1915 he received the K.C.B., and three years later the K.C.M.G. After his retirement he became a director of the firm of Donald Gibbs and Co., and worked on the development of the shale oilfields in the neighbourhood of King's Lynn and various other engineering projects.

In 1886 he had married Helen Morin, youngest daughter of Robert Mowbray, of Naemoor, by whom he had six daughters. His wife died in 1916 after a long illness caused by being knocked over by a motor-car, and after a companionship of so many years he was left saddened and lonely.

On June 4 he died suddenly of heart failure at Deutschen, in Poland, whither he had gone in company with the Rev. C. H. Gill.

Scott-Moncrieff's was a life of untiring industry and continuous employment. The work he did in India, where he was a worthy successor of Alexander Taylor and "Buster" Brown, still lives to-day, and the roads he made on the North-West Frontier are the pioneers of the more elaborate highways now being constructed through the heart of Waziristan. Great though his services were in Asia, his presence as Director of Fortifications and Works at the War Office at the outbreak of the Great War was of inestimable value. Scott-Moncrieff was no amateur engineer, but an engineer by instinct, training, and experience. He wrote a book on structural design which was for many years the textbook for young officers studying at the School of Military Engineering. He had been made an Honorary Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers. At the outbreak of the war he was faced by a position which might have staggered the hardest head, but Scott-Moncrieff's quick brain and cool judgment were equal to the occasion. Fortunately he had as chief a brother officer of his corps, Lord Kitchener. They understood each other and could work in harmony. It was Scott-Moncrieff's task, amongst many others, to arrange for the construction of hutted camps all over the country for the vast numbers of men who were being recruited. By enlisting the aid of civilian firms of contractors this apparently impossible task was successfully carried out. At the same time he had to provide for the

supply of the immense quantities of engineer war material required on the various fronts.

Scott-Moncrieff was a writer of no mean ability, and he has himself recorded in a series of articles in *The Times Engineering Supplement* an account of the work done by the Royal Engineers in combination with the civil engineers of the country during the war. He was for many years a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* of articles of military interest; several of his later articles have dealt with his experiences at the War Office as Director of Fortifications and Works, and his last article, which appeared in the June number, on the roads of the North-West Frontier of India, is one of considerable interest, and might be read with profit by any politician. Scott-Moncrieff was a frequent contributor to the journal of his corps, where his name was always a guarantee of an article of genuine interest and value.

A notice of Scott-Moncrieff would be incomplete without a reference to his deeply religious nature. Brought up in the Presbyterian Church, he developed strong evangelical tendencies and took great interest in foreign missions, being Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society; yet he was essentially broad-minded and tolerant, and never forced his religious views on an unwilling hearer. From the human standpoint it is safe to say that all who came in close contact with him regarded him with something more than mere liking and respect. His nature was indeed a lovable one. He was "straight" to the backbone, a firm and loyal friend, intolerant of slackness or indifference, appreciative of well-meant effort, a good talker with a real sense of humour, quick-witted, fond of riding and the open air, always ready to help anyone, a truly charitable man.

Ever since its formation he took a great interest and an active part in the Royal Engineers Old Comrades' Association, and the success of this movement must be largely due to his influence.

And now another old comrade has gone.

A. H. B.

REVIEWS

A Consul in the East. By A. C. Wratislaw, C.B., C.M.G. Blackwood and Sons, London. 15s. net.

Entertaining hours, certainly not lacking in instruction, may be enjoyed in perusing Mr. A. C. Wratislaw's reminiscences of his career as a consular officer in the Near and Middle East. Though dwelling preferentially on the lighter aspects of life in those regions—the traits of character displayed by his chiefs and companions, adventures gun in hand by flood and field, strange happenings in his varied intercourse with Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, and Persians—his narrative throws light on much of the intricate and often troubled history between the year 1883, when he took up his studies as a student interpreter under the eye of the Embassy at Constantinople, and the post-war period which brought his honourable career to a close, and to what he terms, one hopes mistakenly, the shelf, as Consul-General at Beyrut in 1920. Everywhere he kept his eyes open, and, as all who know him are aware, he exemplified in many posts the best characteristics of the British official in the foreign service of his country.

Six years were spent at Philippopolis, and Mr. Wratislaw tells again, with many personal touches, how Prince Ferdinand strove, with Stambuloff, to maintain himself in power against the sullen ill-will of Russia, how Stambuloff was finally sacrificed to a band of assassins, and how the complete conciliation of Russia was only in the end secured by means of the reception of Prince Boris, regardless of Roman thunders, into the Orthodox Church.

Then we have a brief spell at Constantinople, during which occurred the gruesome Armenian massacres of 1896. He proceeds thence to Basra, and, in 1903, as Consul-General, to Tabriz. The Persian chapters (x.-xii.) cannot fail to be of special interest to the Central Asian Society. They vividly record the principal events witnessed by the author, including the Russo-British understanding of 1907, the partition of Persia into the respective spheres of influence, the birth throes of the constitution extorted from the reluctant Shah, and the siege and ultimate reduction of Tabriz by the Shah's forces—a brief triumph to be immediately followed by the revolutionary movement on Teheran successfully undertaken by combined Nationalist forces closing in on the capital from north and south in 1909. The story is graphically told, with its extremes of comedy and tragedy, recalling again and again the classic pages of Hadji Baba. It illustrates the perennial feuds of

Kurd and Armenian, rendering so entirely futile the well-meant efforts of Britain and Russia to draw a definite frontier between the territories in this region of Turkey and Russia.

Only the briefest reference can here be made to the interesting closing chapters recording Mr. Wratislaw's experiences, first in Crete, and finally, during the war period, in Salonica. In Crete he acted as British representative on the Board of Delegates of the Great Powers (except Germany and Austria) which held the island in trust for the Suzerain Sultan, while its inhabitants were bent on expelling the Mussulman population and drawing ever closer the ties by which they felt themselves to be bound to Greece. At Salonica he came in close contact with M. Venizelos, to whom he had the satisfaction of announcing British recognition of the latter's Provisional Government, soon after, on the dismissal of Constantine, to develop into the government of allied Greece as a whole. The arrival of 200,000 British troops involved, of course, much additional labour to the Consular Staff, and the pages of Mr. Wratislaw's book afford clear evidence of the happy relations unbrokenly maintained between navy, army, and the civil authority. Sad details are given of the sufferings of our men in their unhealthy quarters at the Doiran front, over against the Bulgarians in their mountain fastnesses. There, at the cost of severe losses to our troops, the enemy was successfully held during the gallant Franco-Serbian attack further west, and Mr. Wratislaw shows how materially this British effort contributed to the recovery of Serbia, the knockout of Bulgaria, and so to the final disintegration and defeat of the enemy Powers. MAURICE DE BUNSEN.

THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY. INDIA. By Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I., M.A. Edited by John Buchan. Hodder and Stoughton. 15s. net.

As a "nation of to-day" India, or rather the heterogeneous peoples of that sub-continent, must be regarded as an embryo not yet ripe for birth. Sir Verney Lovett has given a clear and accurate account of the kaleidoscopic series of births, deaths, and re-incarnations of independent Kingdoms and Empires which form its history from undated ages down to the nineteenth century of our era. Throughout these struggles there appears only one attempt to establish a semblance of national unity; and even that was the imposition of an autocratic ruler, the Great Akbar; and so slightly did the principle appeal to the people themselves that all traces of it were quickly obliterated very soon after his death, and the relapse into chaos was dramatically speedy. Under the mild influence of early Aryan (Hindu) invaders these parturitions had been fairly peacefully and painlessly conducted, and the great cult of Hinduism, under a Brahminical supremacy practically embraced the whole country. The arrival of Islam soon

broke into fragments such unity of ideals as existed, and apart from Akbar's efforts to weld the fragments together there has never been a genuine attempt on the part of the great components (Hindu and Muslim) to achieve unity.

The British Administration indeed fostered a sense of equality among all classes and creeds, and attained to a measure of success such as Akbar had perhaps dreamed of and striven after. But that amount of success was altogether dependent on the maintenance of a supreme impartial power, and did not really effect a fusion of the conflicting ambitions of the two great religious creeds, which apparently can never dwell together in unity by themselves.

Macaulay's fatal educational policy and its subsequent extensions have only served to accentuate these differences. The more subtle brain of the Aryan Hindu, as represented by the Brahman oligarchy, has assimilated Western knowledge and political catchwords more profitably for its own purposes than has been the case with the less progressive Muslim minds of its rivals. Metcalfe's repeal of the Press Act resulted in an abuse of freedom, more largely taken advantage of by the Hindu. The Morley-Minto reforms were, again, yet further concessions to Hindu rather than to Muslim agitation. And the latest surrender of Montagu to the same pernicious pressure might almost lead one to the conclusion that the letter "M" (Murder, Mutiny, Massacre!) exercises a malignant influence on the course of Indian development.

Sir Verney Lovett's concluding words are worth quotation: "Without the presence in Indian self-government of a partner not only sympathetic, but strong enough to co-ordinate and harmonize the interests and ambitions of races and classes, the vision of prosperous and abiding unity will never be realized." The truth of this assertion needs no emphasis.

As regards the historical value of the book, there can be no question. The main vicissitudes through which India has passed are clearly set forth. The story of the Sikhs is one of great interest to any student of Indian problems—very much so at the present time—and it is a pity that it has been divided into two widely separated portions, with no cross-reference to guide the reader, from p. 33 to p. 103.

Among the reasons assigned for the mutiny of the Bengal army the following does not appear in this nor, it is believed, in any other book on the subject—namely, the appalling state of indebtedness of all ranks of that army to the regimental *shroffs*. If the stories of the outbreaks of the several regiments which mutinied are read, it will be found that practically invariably the first act of the mutineers was to burn the account books of their regimental *banniahs*. The whole credit of many regiments, their pay for months and even years in advance, had been pledged and anticipated, and there is no doubt that many, both

officers and men, who survived the catastrophe were thereby saved from financial ruin.

No allusion is made to the efforts of the seditionists in 1907 to engineer a repetition, or "jubilee celebration," of the Mutiny. In the few preceding years these malcontents had captured the Arya Samaj (which, by the way, does not appear to be mentioned at all), which, though in itself a quite harmless attempt at Hindu Reform, was found by them to be a well-organized instrument for their purpose. Their primary move was to have been an outbreak at Meerut, to be carried out by the cavalry regiment then in occupation of the very lines which the Light Cavalry at that station had occupied in 1857, where the first outbreak on the part of the army occurred in May that year. An infantry battalion in the same garrison had similarly been tampered with. It will suffice here to say that the plot failed because the principal native officers concerned, probably fearful of the risk involved to their so-nearly attained pensions, flinched at the last moment from carrying out the terrible task which had been imposed upon them by Lajpat Rai and others, his associates.

In chapter xix., describing the decade before the war, the reader's attention may well be called to the quotation given from a farewell speech by Sir J. Hewett on relinquishing the Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces, in which the progress of India under British rule is moderately and lucidly set forth (see pp. 168 *et seq.*).

The history is brought to a conclusion in part iv., which will naturally command most attention, for it deals with the period commencing with the outbreak of the Great War and ends with the year 1923. The apparently spontaneous and universal ebullition of loyalty to Britain which was displayed on the announcement of our entry into the great struggle is described with satisfaction. Doubtless these practically unanimous expressions of approval by the Indian Press, of all colours and politics, were regarded as genuine. But some of us know that at the backs of the minds of many of those who wrote thus, urging India's whole-hearted participation, there existed a very sinister motive. Attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian troops, as well as with that of the police, had by no means ceased at that time. And the conspirators behind this may well have thought, and undoubtedly did think, that here was an opportunity to test the value of the Indian soldier as an instrument to overthrow British rule and to prove his valour for the furtherance of their designs. Nobly as the Indian soldiers fulfilled the expectations of the officers who had trained and led them, the result by no means proved that they could achieve the same results without that guidance. But the agitators were not dismayed by the failure in attaining their object. For it was "India's effort in the War," as exemplified by the conduct of the fighting men, which furnished the excuse for further extravagant demands for inde-

pendence on the part of those who had done nothing beyond chatter during the terrible crisis of those four years. Truly the desired instrument has been used for an ignoble purpose. Lacking the stimulus and driving-power of its British Administration, India, under indigenous rule, could have done little towards the maintenance of our armies in the field. Bengal, the most forward of the Provinces in its demands for reward, furnished with difficulty one battalion for service abroad. The story of that battalion has never been published. On one occasion only was blood shed by its soldiers, but it was that of its own Bengali officers. And when at length some justification for its maintenance in the fighting army was sought for, its military efficiency could not be proved, and a medical examination showed that its physical efficiency was undermined by so horrible a disease as cannot be mentioned in print. In fact, the Bengali was proved useless as a defender of the Empire.

Time alone can prove the wisdom or folly of the concessions to clamour so hastily and inopportunely effected; they might well have been deferred till the country had settled down to more normal conditions. But the same hasty methods were being enacted at home, and there is little wonder that the evil example spread. Our statesmen allowed themselves to be influenced by the catchwords and pedantic phrases of a Yankee professor—"self-determination," which too often degenerates into an abuse, was the most pernicious of them—and the results are seen in Ireland, Egypt and India. We need not, however, despair, for in spite of their now being obscured by baser motives of alien origin, there still exist in the British race that genius for expansion and that high sense of duty towards civilization which have actuated the national conscience since the "spacious days of great Elizabeth" and furnished us with far stronger "mandates" than any which can be conferred by a "League of Nations."

The value of the book is enhanced by the articles on Economics and by the inclusion of five good maps. In the former sufficient data are given to enable the student to acquire a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the agricultural, commercial, financial and other possibilities of India. And the General Introduction by Mr. John Buchan will serve the most useful purpose of stimulating a study of history and the true purposes for which such a study should be undertaken.

R. G. E.

WONDERS OF THE HIMALAYA. By Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. London: John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.

In the hot weather of 1883 I found myself at Simla, and there met Major Douglas-Willan of the King's Dragoon Guards, who very kindly invited me to visit him at Meerut when I left Simla. The morning

after my arrival at Meerut I was taken by my host to the King's Dragoon Guards' swimming-bath, and there for the first time I met Lieutenant F. E. Younghusband. He was perched above the water on a small bar of wood suspended by ropes from the roof of the bath. We were introduced to each other.

The period covered by the book now under review commences a few months later—viz., in April, 1884—and at Rawal Pindi instead of Meerut. I did not divine in the well-knit figure which I saw in that swimming-bath the spirit which enabled its possessor to face perils the story of which I followed a few years later breathlessly in "The Heart of a Continent." Sir Francis repeats the story in the book under review, but if the reader wishes to share to the full my feelings as I first read it, let me advise him to turn to chapter viii. of "The Heart of a Continent."

In his earliest travels Sir Francis was associated with two men with whom I, too, during the course of their lives, have been brought a good deal in contact—viz., Colonel Mark Bell, R.E., V.C., and Sir Evan James. Under the former I served in 1886 in the Intelligence Division at Simla, and with the Commissioner in Sind an officer of a Baluch battalion could not but be familiar. In 1890 Colonel Mark Bell kindly sent me a copy of "The Great Central Asian Trade Route from Peking to Kashgaria," in which he describes his share of the journey from Peking to India, which he carried out in 1887 in collaboration with Lieutenant F. E. Younghusband. This article appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for February, 1890; and the theme is further elaborated in "China in Central Asia" in the April, 1890, number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

However, I will not allow my memory and the records of some forty years of travel and study to tempt me further from direct attention to the book the review of which has been entrusted to me. I will merely quote one passage from "China in Central Asia," which emphasizes in the clearest language the change which thirty-five years has wrought in the political relations of Europe and Asia. This passage, written in 1890, is this: "The prestige of the Empress of India alone in the East, as the inheritrix of the Mogul Empire, can compare with that of the Czar of Russia as the successor to the kingdom of Ghenghiz." I may well leave the individual to make his own mental comments on this paragraph, so pregnant in 1890, and fallen so short of its promise.

The two thrilling chapters of this book, "Wonders of the Himalaya," are in my opinion the fourth and the eighth, devoted the one to the perilous passage of the Mustagh Pass, and the other to the almost equally perilous search for the Saltoro Pass. And then, again, our thoughts are weaned away from those perils to the surprising picture of the guide Wali, who, fearless on the ice-slope and the rocks

trembles with terror when he has to cross a chasm on a rope bridge. In this book you are frequently brought face to face with quite unexpected scenes. At Shigar on the Indus we came upon a "crude kind of telegraph line" and a Hindu telegraph clerk, who entertained Lieutenant Younghusband to dinner, and played to him on "a stringed instrument, more or less resembling a violin." This carries me back to the days (in 1903) when I was the guest of the Amir of Kabul in his garden-bungalow at Spin Baldak, and was after dinner invited to come and hear an accomplished player of the rabāb. It was a most interesting and enjoyable experience.

The return of the traveller to his regiment, the King's Dragoon Guards, on November 4, 1887, has at once its halo of honour and its touch of humour. At Srinagar already a congratulatory telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, had met him. At Rawal Pindi he "was warmly greeted by the Colonel"; *but* "from my fellow subalterns I got just the kind of welcome subalterns would give to one of their number who had been away for nearly twenty months while they had to do his duty for him." I have a more or less clear recollection of Sir Alexander Burnes's account of his reception in London society on his return from his Central Asian tour in the years 1831-33. His seemed to be an unadulterated social triumph; whereas Sir Francis notes that he "came back to India (from London) feeling positively guilty at the thoughts of his many sins of omission. Geologists wanted to know if he had observed the rocks; botanists, if he had collected flowers; glaciologists, if he had observed the motions of the glaciers; anthropologists, if he had measured the people's skulls; ethnologists, if he had studied their languages; cartographers, if he had mapped the mountains. . . . So he returned to India full of good resolutions for the future, and deeply repentant of his omissions." We may regard all this as a step in the education of a man who was destined to become President of the Royal Geographical Society.

But it was in a camp on a spur just below Murree, while marching with his regiment, that he encounters a storm not to be forgotten. "Officers and men had to turn out in the howling wind and drenching rain to make the tents secure." This reminds me of a night I spent with the 1st Baluchis on a hillside outside Kandahar. A terrific storm of rain flooded out our village to a depth of several feet (shortly before or after Christmas), and drove the whole regiment to pitch tents hurriedly on a hillside contiguous. We had a very poor time of it that night.

Having had my own experience of the lack of encouragement accorded, or, I might more justly say, the obstruction offered, by British official authority to Britons bent on travel in little-known regions, I am moved to quote Sir Francis's résumé of a conversation between himself and Captain Grombtchevsky: "He explained to me that

it was very unusual with Russians to care for exploring, and anyone who did care for it was made a great deal of. For instance, the Czar himself had sent for him before each of his expeditions and made him explain all his plans. Unless some such encouragement were given, no Russian would think of exploring. I told him that with us it was exactly the other way round. Every obstruction was put in the way of exploration. . . . Not even the Viceroy had asked to see me before either of my journeys." Well! after all, despite obstruction, which maybe adds savour to success, we do achieve something, and Sir Francis can at least recall that telegram from Sir Frederick Roberts and the warm support of Sir Mortimer Durand.

In conclusion, I quote a passage (p. 173) which Englishmen or Britons (*not* Britishers) may note: "That I was able to do what I did was *mainly* due to the fact that I was an Englishman, that I stood for the British Empire, and I had at my disposal not only the authority but the good name which England during long centuries had established. . . . For that occasion and to those people I was the representative. I was unconsciously making manifest to those people the spirit of England. I could feel England expecting me to bear myself in a manner worthy of her. I knew, too, that all these men, and especially the Hunzamen, were eyeing me minutely, and through a thousand little ways were forming their opinion of England."

To-day, when all the Asiatic races whom we have trained and made are arrogating to themselves equality with the British, we need to remember all that we stand for. A. C. Yate.

East Persia: A Backwater of the Great War. By Brigadier-General W. E. R. Dickson, C.M.G., C.I.E. Edward Arnold and Co., London. 15s. net.

This book opens with a vivid description of the country in which General Dickson was employed while Inspector-General of Communications in East Persia, and the difficulties with which he had to contend. It relates the steps that were taken to surmount these difficulties, and contains an account of the author's personal experiences and relations with the people of the country. Finally, events subsequent to the Armistice are dealt with, and the concluding chapter discusses East Persia as a field for Indian trade. The whole forms an interesting volume which is a valuable contribution to current literature, not only as a record of important and difficult work admirably carried out, but because it relates to a locality which was little known and seldom visited before the Great War. The journey from Meshed to Indian limits, which until 1918 occupied from two to three weeks, has since been accomplished with perfect comfort, thanks to the work of General Dickson's force, in five or six days.

The author details the circumstances which, in his view, necessitated British intervention in East Persia in the first instance. His account of Anglo-Persian and Russo-Persian relations before the war is correct; but the bombardment of the Meshed Shrine by the Russians in May, 1912, mentioned on page 28, had no excuse, inasmuch as it was not carried out as a sequel to an anti-Russian outbreak. No such outbreak had occurred in Khurasan, and the measure seems to have been conceived with the definite object of causing a disturbance of a sufficiently grave nature to make it necessary for the Russian officials on the spot to take over the government of the Province. Although, as General Dickson observes, the Persians felt most deeply this insult to their shrine, the local people were not able to offer resistance; the scheme therefore failed.

General Dickson remarks upon the dangerous situation that would have been produced by the arrival in Afghanistan of a force hostile to the Allies. We had no idea at that time what success had attended the efforts of the Turko-German Mission to the Amir, and it was not until after the Armistice that this information came into our possession. It appears that His late Majesty agreed that if the Central Powers could cause a force of a certain strength to arrive at a certain spot within a certain time he would join forces with it and invade India. This was a very natural piece of oriental diplomacy, and no weakening of the Amir's friendship for us was indicated. He knew perfectly well that there was small likelihood of the force specified ever arriving at the placed named, and also that, if our enemies did manage to bring off this wonderful performance, he would in his own interests have no option but to join them.

The story of how the transportation problem was solved is intensely interesting to experts in such matters; and if the general reader finds this chapter a little technical, he will be amply compensated by a perusal of those in which the author relates his experiences with the people of the country. Being well acquainted with the Persian language, and having had previous contact with Persian manners and customs, General Dickson was able not only to appreciate the many amusing situations in which he found himself from time to time, but to relate them accordingly. In consequence, some of his anecdotes, notably that of the Deputy-Governor of Gunabad's afternoon tea-party, are unsurpassed even by those of the immortal "Haji Baba of Isfahan" itself.

We have always thought that too much was said about the expenditure in East Persia during the war, and have had much sympathy with those upon whom the blame fell—more especially with General Dickson himself. The latter states clearly and accurately the reasons for which it was necessary to have the troops well housed; and only those who know the country, the transport and supplies difficulties, the

cost of labour, etc., are in a position to criticize fairly. We see now that it might have been better to delay or suspend the building work at Meshed after the Armistice until a clear idea could be formed as to how long our troops would have to be kept in East Persia; but the position then was most obscure, and in any case General Dickson can scarcely be blamed for this error of judgment if such it was. That the buildings were necessary in other places as they stood, we have no doubt from personal experience and observation, and they were throughout of the simplest possible description.

It may be the case, as General Dickson suggests, that the Bolsheviks made no attempt to penetrate into north-eastern Persia after the occupation of Askabad through respect for our Indian troops who had a short time before so bravely opposed them in Trans-Caspia; but we have never been able to see what the Soviet Government could have gained by such an altogether unjustifiable proceeding. Their object in undertaking it could only have been to take revenge upon us, or to provide employment or nourishment for the large number of troops they had at the time under arms in this region; and neither of these would have been a sufficient inducement to act in contravention of the sentiments of regard and sympathy so recently expressed for Persia. The descent upon Enzeli was a different matter, and had a special object connected with Russian domestic affairs.

General Dickson deserves warm credit for the conduct of his troops while in East Persia. Whereas before their arrival the Persian inhabitants of Meshed (for example) had strongly protested against their coming, nothing but regret was expressed at their departure by all sections of the community. It is doubtful whether any force has ever occupied neutral territory in time of war with so little discomfort to the inhabitants, and with so few incidents which could disturb friendly relations. The telegram received by the General from Teheran, which conveyed the appreciation of the Persian Government for the assistance and co-operation that the local officials in East Persia had received from the troops, was well deserved.

We congratulate General Dickson on his admirable book, and the Government on having at its disposal an officer so well qualified as he for the peculiarly important work in which he was engaged, and the specially delicate circumstances in which much of it was carried out.

W. G. G.

EARLY ARCHITECTURE IN WESTERN ASIA. By Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1924.

Mr. Edward Bell has added another volume to his series of convenient studies on the origins of architecture, in which volumes on Egyptian and Hellenic art have already appeared. It deals, as the publisher's description says, with Babylonian (we prefer this to their

word "Chaldæan," which to an ancient historian has a special and restricted connotation), Hittite, Assyrian, and Persian architecture, and embodies the results of recent exploration in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. The interdependent relations of these several phases of art are traced, and their effect on the general architectural tradition indicated. The book is fully illustrated, containing 110 illustrations, maps, and plans.

Mr. Bell must be congratulated on having produced so very handy a study of a most interesting and important subject. It might seem presumption on the part of one who is not an architect to review a book by an architect on ancient architecture, but the study of ancient art and archæology is so closely bound up with that of architecture that an ancient historian and archæologist may perhaps be permitted to record his comment on a book of this kind. He is the more able to do so since he possesses a deeper knowledge than the architect can have of the history and ways of the peoples whose architecture is being described, and also of the country. Mr. Bell is probably not very well acquainted with the languages, ancient and modern, of Western Asia; or, at least, we could gather this from a crucial instance: he has allowed his printer to deform his transcription of Arabic words containing the letter ق by transliterating it as *q, followed by u!* This, to us of the Central Asian Society, and to all other Orientalists, is a terrible solecism, more terrible than Mr. Bell is, perhaps, aware of. To see Tell Muqayyar turned into "Muquayar," not once, but several times, makes one very unhappy, and it argues absence of first-hand knowledge of place and people. All the more, therefore, is Mr. Bell to be congratulated on having triumphed so signally over his presumed absence of personal experience of Dar ul-Islam (or, at any rate, of its characteristic language) as to give us so very acceptable a description of its ancient buildings as he has. For autopsy counts for much in these matters; it is difficult to get the spirit of things, ancient or modern, without it. "Nebi Junas," too, on p. 147, for Nebi Yunas, is misleading.

Mr. Bell tells us all that there is to be known of the development of architecture in Western Asia up to Achæmenid times within a small and handy compass, and with abundant and well-chosen illustrations. He is up to date, and has evidently taken very great pains to be so. When the process of disinterring the ancient East is going on day by day during the winter months every year as it is at present, and new discoveries are constantly being made that force us to revise our ideas every few months, even before the ink is dry on our pages, it is inevitable that even the most painstaking observer of the process may here and there be left behind by the march of discovery when his book appears. Thus, on the subject of Kish (el-Oheimir), on p. 10, we do not find a reference to the excavations of Mr. Mackay for the Weld-

Blundell expedition in 1923, though they are mentioned on p. 193. The excavations of the present year under Professor Langdon, Mr. Mackay, and Colonel Lane, could naturally not be included. Colonel Lane's recent speculations on the site of Opis probably appeared too late to be mentioned in the footnote on p. 10. On the other hand, Mr. Bell mentions Mr. C. J. Gadd's recent discovery of the true date of the fall of Nineveh—612, not 606 B.C. (p. 118). I am sorry, personally, that Mr. Bell quotes only the second (1913) reprint of my "Ancient History of the Near East" instead of the fifth (1920), as in that he would have found the account of Babylonian history considerably corrected, and in places re-written. He would then probably have avoided the old rendering Tukulti-Ninib for the name of a famous Assyrian king: it is now known to be Tukulti-Enurta, or Tukulti-Ninurta, the true reading of the god's name, *NIN-IB*, having now been discovered. Had Mr. Bell been sufficiently up to date as to know that the late Sumerian king's name, Ur-Engur, is now read Ur-Nammu (as that of Dungi is now read Shulgi), I should, indeed, have had reason to congratulate him on his close watch on Assyriological development! But that he could not be expected to have noted, and it is remarkable that he is so up to date as he is. Rawlinson's "Urukh of Hur" (on p. 45) is, of course, definitely known to be the same as Ur-Engur or Ur-Nammu of Ur: "Urukh" is merely the old reading of the name. In a second edition Mr. Bell should notice that the date of Hammurabi is now again put back a couple of centuries by several writers, almost to the date originally maintained by the late Professor King, in the twenty-second century B.C. The recent study of the Hittite cuneiform tablets from Boghaz Keui by Hrozny and Forrer will enable Mr. Bell to amplify considerably his account of early Hittite history, and he should note that, as Messerschmidt long ago showed, it is not altogether correct to speak of Sindjirli and Saktjegözü as examples of "Hittite" art proper: they are Aramæan, and at most only "Syro-Hittite." There is Hittite influence in their style—that is all. Mr. Bell can also rest assured that the warrior figure in relief on the gate of Boghaz Keui is not an "Amazon" or a woman at all. It is not at all "now generally supposed," as he says (p. 77, note), that the figure represents an Amazon. This was the suggestion of an enthusiastic lady who presumably thought she had discovered a Hittite suffragette, and she was unluckily backed up in this unfounded idea by Professor Sayce. There can be no doubt as to the sex of the figure, which is male, though the pronouncedly narrow, Minoan-like waist (an interesting connection, perhaps, here, by the way) possibly gives a feminine appearance to the hips and chest.

Mr. Bell notes the early appearance of the column in Babylonia which has been revealed by the recent excavations at Ur and el-Obeid, and his confirmation of the generally accepted view that the Ionic

capital is derived from Assyria is to be noted in view of the rather fantastic theory recently advanced by Professor Olmstead in his "History of Assyria," that the influence was the other way about—a view which argues defective appreciation of the chronology of Hellenic architecture on the part of the distinguished American professor. Mr. Bell's estimate of Assyrian art and views as to its origin are worthy of close attention. His accounts of Boghaz Keui and Babylon are accurate and detailed, and his chapter on Achæmenian Persian architecture and art is very good. We may, however, doubt if, on p. 234, he permits enough Egyptian influence at Persepolis. We must remember that Darius was a most conscientious and interested king of Egypt as well as Persia, that he actively interested himself in Egyptian buildings, as at el-Kharga, and that in his time the stele of Shaluf shows that an eclectic Perso-Egyptian artistic style was invented *ad hoc*, so that the cavetto cornices of Persepolis may well be derived directly from Egypt, as they were at Petra. Mr. Bell notes, on p. 217, as an instance of the Persian development of Assyrian art, that the absurd fifth leg of the Assyrian *lamassê*, or winged human-handed bulls (added so that the beast should look right whether from the front or from the side) has disappeared in Persia. This may also be due to Egyptian influence.

One notices a few misprints, such as "Narbonidus" on p. 23, "Tarmossos" (for Tamassos) on p. 184, and "Dieulefoy" on p. 206 and *passim*. M. Dieulafoy would not be likely to give the word "foy" the wrong gender in his name.

The book can be cordially recommended as a useful and capable discussion of the subject. H. R. HALL.

SERVANT OF SAHIBS. By Rassul Galwan, Aksakal of Leh. With an Introduction by Sir Francis Younghusband. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons. 9s. net.

This book ought to be particularly interesting to anyone who has travelled and camped in the East and has lived for months at a time in close touch with the servants. Such an one may sometimes have wondered how his followers regarded him and his strange ways, and this narrative is more or less an answer to these questions.

Rassul appealed in a special way to me, as much of my comfort and, indeed, on occasion my safety, during my travels in Chinese Turkistan and the Pamirs, depended on a Ladaki, faithful and devoted as he was.

Lord Dunmore and Mr. Church have published an account of their respective adventures in the Pamirs and Chinese Turkistan, and it is amusing to read Rassul's comments on the doings of the Lord Sahib and the Major Sahib and the "young Sahibs," taken from an entirely different point of view. But yet more interesting is his narrative of the intrepid attempt of the Littledale party to reach Lhasa. I remember how

stirred I was when I met them on the Black Sea on the eve of their great adventure, and their doings were brought again to my mind when I was at Khotan in 1915, Mrs. Littledale having been the first Englishwoman to enter that town.

Her strong personality comes out again and again in Rassul's book. He describes her doings in camp with pride, and narrates how she astonished the Tibetans by holding up her waterproof skirt and making her servant pour water into the impromptu basin. Tanny, her talented fox-terrier, is mentioned as getting angry if Rassul asked it to perform, the dog making him understand that, "You are a servant of ours," as the Ladaki puts it.

In spite of all the hardships, Rassul, like most Orientals, loved the adventure and excitement of the "open road." But the book is not concerned only with his travels with the various Sahibs whom he served. We get a picture of his childhood, happy though poverty-stricken, of his thirst for knowledge, of his mother who must have been hard to live with, and of his two marriages—the second one being a real love match. Rassul's frankness comes out strongly in his tale. He tells how he takes too much of the brandy of the "young Sahibs," and as a result leaves them without food and camp equipment for a night; how he breaks the "Major Sahib's" drinking-cup, and excuses himself with "lie matter"; how he quarrels with the other servants, or how he fears that the parting gifts of his Sahibs may not come up to his expectations. He is a type of the best kind of servant, and I can well understand that his various employers became attached to him.

He himself was specially devoted to the "poor Sahib" with whom he travelled during two years, and who taught him his quaint English, and had the happy thought of making him write his reminiscences. But it needed the reassurance of his mother, and two remarkable dreams before Rassul understood that this Sahib, however unconventional he might be in his dress, his habits, and his manner of travel, was a "big Sahib" in spite of appearances.

ELLA C. SYKES.

A SURVEY OF THE FAUNA OF IRAQ. Made by Members of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, 1915–19. Bombay Natural History Society, Bombay. Rs. 7.8.

When the War broke out the Bombay Natural History Society was engaged in carrying out a survey of the Mammalia of India, Burma, and Ceylon. The four trained European collectors all joined up, and the mammal survey had for a time to stop; but the Society quickly realized that other important work was close at hand; and when military operations were commenced in Iraq—or Mesopotamia as it was then called—the Society set to work to enlist members and

others who were ordered to these parts, to endeavour to collect information and specimens of the fauna of the country. The results of this work were published in the Society's journal, and the book now under reference is a compilation of these papers on the collections of mammals, birds, reptiles, crustacea and insects, etc., made by the members of the Expeditionary Force "D" and others from 1915 to 1919.

In 1915, Captain N. B. Kinnear—then curator of the Bombay Museum, and now assistant in the Bird Room of the British Museum (Natural History)—wrote a small pamphlet, published by the Bombay Natural History Society, entitled "Notes on the Mammals, Birds, and Reptiles of Mesopotamia," and this small work proved of the greatest assistance to the members of the Expeditionary Force, and others who happened to be interested in Natural History, by providing them with some record and guidance as to the little that was known of the fauna of this country, and what specimens it was desirable to look out for. As Mr. Kinnear said in this pamphlet, "There are not many opportunities for securing specimens in a modern campaign, but any specimens will be most gratefully received, and the officials of the Society will only be too pleased to assist in the identifying of specimens obtained or seen." As a result, the Society received a large number of specimens, all of which were duly acknowledged and named as far as possible, and when hostilities were over all the material was sent to England, where some ninety-three species new to science were discovered and are described in this book, in addition to a great deal of valuable information as to the habits and localities of the various species. When one thinks of the difficulties under which collecting was done—the trying heat, the flies, and the many other plagues of a tropical climate—one is filled with admiration at the enthusiasm shown by all who contributed.

As an instance of the enthusiasm which fired so many to help, it is recorded that Captain C. Pitman, who was in charge of the Regimental Scouts, trained his men to look out for specimens at the same time that they were looking out for the enemy, and in consequence a steady stream of animals, birds, etc., was continually reaching the museum in Bombay. Many of the specimens were collected very close to the enemy's lines, and some must have been skinned within range of his guns. Some specimens were actually obtained in the firing-line itself, Colonel Magrath having "caught and skinned a Lesser Shrew—an animal not 2 inches long—in the trenches in front of Kut, notwithstanding the flies and the Turkish shells."

Major Cheesman does not apparently believe in the stories of ancient Mesopotamian forests having existed, and there is no real forest land in the country. The building of the huge canals at least four thousand years ago points, he thinks, to the land being desert then

and not a region capable of sustaining natural forests. Patches of thick jungle occur locally in the large bends of the rivers and grow a tangle of dwarf tamarisk and Euphrates poplar, and in these jungles wild pig are found, although it has not been settled yet to which species they actually belong. In 1876 Sir Oliver St. John described lions "as being very numerous in the reedy swamps bordering the Tigris and the Euphrates," but no trace of them was discovered, and they have probably ceased to exist in Mesopotamia.

In regard to the birds of Mesopotamia it was found that one feature was the very small number of resident species in contrast to the long list of migrants and winter visitors, since Mesopotomia lies in one of the great migration centres of the Palæarctic birds. Wild fowl are exceedingly abundant in all rivers, swamps and lakes in the winter. Few arrive before mid-August or early September; most leave in March, although plenty may be seen in April and even May. The goliath heron—which is so curiously distributed—is evidently a resident bird, and Sir Percy Cox obtained several young ones from the Kurna marshes and sent them alive to Bombay, where they lived for some time in the Victoria Gardens. The large pin-tailed sand-grouse is *the* sand-grouse of Mesopotamia; it is widely distributed, resident, and in most places excessively abundant. Pitman found many nests towards the end of April and in May, but the birds were much worried by the presence of troops on what was probably their old breeding-grounds and by the incessant firing of field guns and howitzers. "There must have been thousands of pairs in a few square miles of country, and not a few of them were nesting between our lines and the Sinn position." An interesting plate is given, with photographs of chicks of the large pin-tailed sand-grouse in comparison with chicks of the spotted sand-grouse. Many other illustrations of nests and localities of birds are given in this book, and also a beautiful coloured plate of some new forms of lepidoptera from Mesopotamia and North-West Persia, illustrating an article on the "Butterflies of Mesopotamia," by Colonel H. D. Peile.

It is impossible in this short notice to give credit to all those who helped in the making of this survey, but particular mention should be made of the assistance given by Major-General Sir Percy Cox, Major R. E. Cheesman, Lieut.-Colonel Sir A. T. Wilson, and Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, I.C.S., who assisted the Society financially as well as in many other ways. Also of Colonel Wall, I.M.S., an authority on snakes, who as soon as he arrived in Basra covered the palm trees with posters advertising a reward for all snakes brought or sent to him. Dr. P. A. Buxton, Dr. C. B. Ticehurst, Captain C. M. Ingoldby, Lieut.-Colonel F. M. Bailey, and many others also who, by their labours and love for this branch of science, have contributed so largely in making this valuable record.

The papers appear to have been bound up in this book in sequence of the date when published in the Journal, and it might perhaps have been handier for reference if they had been bound so that the mammal, bird papers, etc., would have been together instead of being separated as at present, but this is a trifling criticism in the face of what constitutes a truly wonderful record of the manner in which a zoological collection was made and much valuable scientific information obtained by amateur soldier naturalists in an enemy's country during active warfare.

W. S. M.

MEMOIR ON MAPS ON CHINESE TURKISTAN AND KANSU, FROM THE SURVEYS MADE DURING SIR AUREL STEIN'S EXPLORATIONS, 1900-1, 1906-8, 1913-15. By Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. Dehra Dun: Trigo nometrical Survey Office. 1923.

Sir Aurel Stein made three journeys whilst exploring in Central Asia, and the results brought back by him have been described in a series of masterly works, such as "Ancient Khotan," "Ruins of Desert Cathay," and "Serindia"—works which contain not only a record of his marvellous archæological discoveries, but also descriptive accounts of large, and before him unexplored, areas of Central Asia. Though a mass of geographical information may be gleaned from these publications, yet the data, scattered as they necessarily are among other matters, may not be readily accessible to anyone in search of any particular piece of geographical information. The "Memoir," and the maps which it explains, will therefore be welcomed as a complementary work, wherein the results of Sir Aurel Stein's explorations are assembled from the specialized point of view of topography: undoubtedly the author's modest hope will be realized that his maps "will for some time to come serve as a main source of cartographical reference for an important portion of Central Asia which—by the physical conditions of its present, and by its great rôle in the past, as the meeting-place of the ancient civilizations of India, China, and the West—is attracting more and more interest, both from the geographer and the historical student."

In the publication of the "Memoir" and maps—indeed, in all his explorations—it is only right to say that Sir Aurel Stein had been powerfully assisted by the Survey of India. The topographical assistants he had—Rai Sahib Ram Singh and Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, who carried on the plane-tabling under his supervision—were, both of them, men lent by that Government Department; and on Sir Aurel Stein's return from his successive journeys, it was that Department also that compiled his maps, computed his triangulations, etc.; and now the Trigonometrical Survey at Dehra Dun has piloted the "Memoir" through the Press. It is a befitting tribute, therefore, that

Sir Aurel Stein should have dedicated the record of his labours to Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, late Surveyor-General of India.

The "Memoir" deals with the materials, and the compilation of an atlas of 47 sheets, on the scale of 1/500,000. It is divided into four chapters, two appendices, and two indices (one for local names and one for general reference).

Chapter I. explains the general character of the topographical work done during the three expeditions of 1900–1, 1906–8, and 1913–15, and the methods of survey adopted, which, generally, were on the same lines as those used by the Survey of India for "reconnaissance survey" work. In Chapter II. brief indications are given of the physical features of each of the surveyed regions, classified under seven sections—viz.: (1) The Tarim Basin and its mountain ramparts; (2) The Takla-makan Desert; (3) The Oases of the Tarim Basin; (4) The terminal depression of Lob and the Turfan Basin; (5) The Su-lo-ho Basin; (6) From the Central Nan-shan to the Etsin-gol Basin; and (7) the Pei-shan and the easternmost Tien-shan. The determining physical features of the ground of each of these seven sections are drawn with remarkable fidelity; and although Sir Aurel Stein disclaims for his indications as being a systematic treatment of the geography of the country surveyed by him, yet these are so clear and so characteristically true that they not only lend vividness to the maps, but are a sure source of inspiration to future geographers dealing with Central Asia. Chapter III. is devoted to technical points connected with the compilation of the maps and the representation of physical details, and with symbols and the spelling of local names; whilst Chapter IV. is given up to notes on each of the 47 map sheets. There should be 5,000 to 6,000 place-names on the maps: these are all arranged alphabetically in an index, and are followed by the number of the map sheet and section in which they occur, so that the position of any place can be readily determined. Major K. Mason, R.E., and Dr. J. de Graaff Hunter, both of the Indian Survey, are the writers of the appendices, in which are given a discussion of the merits of the points triangulated, and a list of latitudes, longitudes, and heights taken in the course of the three expeditions.

The country covered by the surveys is, in extent, enormous, being no less than the whole length and breadth of Chinese Turkistan, as comprised between the Tien-shan and the Kun-lun Ranges, and a part of westernmost Inner China as well; in other words, practically all territory enclosed between the 75th and the 102nd degrees of longitude and the 35th and the 44th degrees of latitude has been mapped out anew.

And what shall be said of the master-mind, of the driving force, that alone made such a stupendous task possible? The book, in which results are recorded, is certainly before us. But, in the comfort of our

civilized surroundings, how difficult it is for us to realize what these results have meant in terms of hardships undergone, of dangers incurred, and, above all, of diplomacy called into action! Sir Aurel Stein says little on such matters; and it is characteristic of his placid and self-reliant nature that he dismisses lightly, with a few words on "threatened Chinese obstruction," the unfriendly attitude adopted towards him in 1913 by the revolutionary authorities in Hsin-chiang—an attitude which might easily have wrecked his third expedition, and which I know—for I was then in charge of the Kashgar Consulate—nothing but his tact, joined with the firm support of Sir John Jordan, our late Minister in Peking, could have disarmed.

George Macartney.

NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Professor H. M. Léon for "The Life and Poems of Sheikh Haroun Abdullah," translated by himself.

Reviews.—The following books have been sent for review:

"Wonders of the Himalaya," by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. (London: John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

"A Consul in the East," by A. C. Wratislaw, C.B., C.M G., C.B.E. (London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons. 15s. net.)

"Early Architecture in Western Asia," by E. Bell, M.A., F.S.A. (London: G. Bell and Sons. 10s. net.)

"India," by Sir H. Verney Lovett. Nations of To-day Series. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 15s. net.)

"A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary," by A. A. McDonnell. (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 30s. net.)

"East Persia: A Backwater of the Great War," by Brigadier-General W. E. R. Dickson, C.M.G., C.I.E. (London: Edward Arnold and Co. 15s. net.)

"Memoir on Maps of Chinese Turkistan and Kashmir" (Survey of India, vol. xvii.), by Sir A. Stein, K.C.I.E. (Dehra Doon: Trigonometrical Survey Office.)

"The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, and Practice," by A. Berriedale Keith, D.Litt. (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 21s. net.)

"The Bombay City Police, 1872–1916," by C. M. Edwards, C.S.I., C.V.O. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford. 10s. 6d. net.)

"India: A Bird's-Eye View," by the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (London: Constable and Co. 18s. net.)

"Priyadarsika: A Sanskrit Drama," by Harsha, translated by A. K. Nariman, A. V. Williams Jackson, and C. J. Ogden. (New York: Columbia University Press. 9s. net.)

Journal.—Cases are made to hold eight numbers of the *Journal* by the bookbinding department, Mudie's Library, 30-34, New Oxford Street, W.C., price 4s. 7d.

Members are asked to send changes of address to the Secretary, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

Members only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal*.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1923

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance of Current Account, January 1, 1923	£30	12	9			
„ Deposit	50	0	0			
„ Petty Cash	2	4	0			
				82	16	9
675 subscriptions at £1	675	0	0			
9 „ in arrears	9	0	0			
23 „ in advance ...	23	0	0			
	707	0	0			
Less subscriptions overpaid and returned	8	0	0			
				699	0	0
Journal subscriptions	7	1	8			
Journal sales	9	6	1			
				16	7	9
Received from Dinner Club Account ...	4	3	8			
Sundries	1	9	4½			
				5	13	0½
Interest on War Stock	5	0	0			
„ Deposit	3	7	11			
				8	7	11
				£812	5	5½

In addition to the National Savings Certificates mentioned in the above account, the Society holds £100 5 per cent. War Loan. A letter from the Society's bankers stating that they hold the certificates has been produced to us.

We have examined the above statement with the books and vouchers, and certify it to be in accordance therewith.

E. BONHAM-CARTER.
W. M. THOMSON, MAJOR-GENERAL.
April 11, 1924. E. PENTON (*Hon. Treasurer*).

PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent and Water Rate	40	14	0			
Rates	27	15	3			
Salary	100	0	0			
				168	9	3
Journal: Printing	256	1	11			
Reporting	40	2	6			
Postage	19	12	5			
				315	16	10
Lectures: Rooms	38	6	6			
Lantern	19	6	0			
Slides	6	5	6			
Printing	20	7	3			
				84	5	3
Office Furnishing: Cupboard	2	8	6			
Typewriter	15	0	0			
Duplicator	4	0	0			
				21	8	6
Library				4	15	0
Office: Telephone	11	1	8			
Postage	34	18	1½			
Dinner Club Postage	3	13	1½			
Stationery	5	18	11			
Office Assistant	8	6	6			
Sundries	24	7	3½			
				88	5	7½
Expenses in connection with Annual Dinner				4	12	3
Bank charges				0	13	8
Purchase of National Savings Certificates ...				80	0	0
Balance at bank, December 31, 1923 ...	58	7	6			
Less cheque outstanding and since paid ...	20	14	0			
				37	13	6
Balance of petty cash				6	5	7
				£812	5	5½

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
BILLING AND SONS, LIMITED,
GUILDFORD AND ESHER

JOURNAL

OF THE

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XI.

1924

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PUBLISHED BY

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

74, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Miss Bell for a copy of "From Amurath to Amurath"; Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate for autograph copies of "The Life of Colonel John Haughton" and "The Afghan Boundary Commission," and for "The Autobiography of General Sir O'Moore Creagh, V.C., G.C.B.," and "The Knights of St. John in England," by Colonel King, C.M.G.; Captain Staveley for Marshman's "History of India"; and Sir Thomas Arnold for his book on the Caliphate, which will be reviewed in the next number of the *Journal.*

Received for Review:

- "The Home of an Eastern Clan: A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States," by Mrs. Leslie Milne. (Clarendon Press, 16s. net.)
- "Tales from Turkistan," by "Stor-Løb." (Messrs. Blackwood and Sons. 6s. net.)
- "Designation of Human Types," translated by Bimala Charan Law, M.A., B.L. (Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press. 10s. net.)
- "The Religion of the Rigveda," by H. D. Griswold, M.A., Ph.D. (Cornell), D.D. (Union). (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)
- India of To-day Series, Vol. V.: "Indian Emigration," by "Emigrant." (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 3s. net.)
- "History of the Nayaks of Madura," by Sathyanatha Aiyar, M.A., L.T. Madras University Historical Series, II. (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

Members are asked to notify the Secretary of changes of address.

The following members' *Journals* have been returned marked as "gone away": W. P. Barton, Esq., Colonel R. A. E. Benn, Lieut.-Colonel A. B. Carey, D. S. Hadow, Esq., E. G. Marklew, Esq., Mrs. Noble, A. Rose, Esq.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the *Journal.*

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE Twenty-third Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Thursday, June 12, 1924, the Right Hon. Sir Maurice de Bunsen presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will ask the Hon. Secretary, Sir Raleigh Egerton, to be kind enough to read his report for the year.

The HON. SECRETARY: I am glad to be able to report that the Society continues to progress as regards numbers, though on a reduced scale, I fear.

During the past year, that is since the last Anniversary Meeting, we have recruited 114 new members, as compared with 156 the previous year. We have lost 27 members by resignation, as compared with 13 last year, and 8 by death, as compared with 6 last year. In addition we must strike off the names of 21 more who have not paid their subscriptions for the past two years. (In this connection may I remind members of the great advantage and convenience which are ensured by the use of bankers' orders for payment of subscriptions and urge all to resort to that method.) Our nett gain in membership amounts to only 55, as compared with 137 in 1922-1923. Our present roll stands at 763.

The eight casualties by death include several distinguished names: Sir Mortimer Durand, who was Chairman of the Council from 1914-1917, and Colonel "Algy" Durand, who was one of its first members, Sir Evan James, Sir George Scott-Moncrieff, Brigadier-General Bailward, Mr. A. B. Taylor, Lady Raines, and Mrs. Carver. Some of these names have been household words not only in this Society but in the wider spheres of politics, administration, and exploration.

The yearly session began as usual in October, and since then we have had eleven lectures, all followed by interesting discussions, except in one case, when, as time for discussion was not available immediately after the lecture, a subsidiary meeting was held a few weeks later at 74, Grosvenor Street, at which a very representative number of members and others took part in a discussion on "The Influence of Communications on Policy on the North-West Frontier of India." We have yet two more lectures in prospect, that which you will hear to-day and another on June 26, when Mr. Woolley will enlighten us further on the excavations which are being carried out in Iraq.

As regards our *Journal*, we hope to increase its popularity and

usefulness by including reviews of articles and books which are published in French and other languages.

May I be allowed to invite members to offer original articles on countries in which we are interested and with which they themselves are acquainted, but about which they are unable to offer to give lectures. Such articles would be welcomed by the Journal Committee, who would always endeavour to find space for their publication. Perhaps some of the older members of the Society could lay their hands on old diaries, the contents of which have not been made public, and give us some interesting reminiscences of travel and exploration.

There have been useful additions to the Library, mostly through gifts, and we are gradually amassing a body of literature on all subjects in which the Society is interested, which will be found useful by students and even by desultory readers.

I will conclude by urging our members to join the officers of the Society in their recruiting campaign. Our present numbers are a credit to my predecessor, Colonel Yate, and to my colleague, Mr. Stephenson, who is as indefatigable as ever, but we shall welcome assistance from all members towards our goal of a membership of 1,000.

The CHAIRMAN: Although the rapid advances which we were in the habit of looking forward to from year to year in our membership have not been entirely kept up, for reasons which have been given, we have kept our head well above water. The Society, I think it may be said without boasting, holds a very high place in the estimation of those interested in Asia, as is proved by the demand for our *Journal*, which is increasingly read. It is now drawn up in such a way as to include reviews of books, and we hope in future to include reviews of some foreign books as well. The *Journal* is a matter of great concern and interest to the Society, and I think helps to keep our name before the world.

The Library, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Moon, Sir Edward Penton, and to other members who have given books to us, is doing well.

The Dinner Club has had some interesting meetings, and may be congratulated on quite a good session. Our thanks are due to the members of the Committee, Sir Edmund Barrow and Colonel Muspratt, and to the hon. officers, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Edward Penton, and Mr. Stephenson. I cannot let this occasion go by without congratulating Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the successful way in which he has repelled a most unjustifiable accusation; he has the sympathy and goodwill of the whole Society. (Applause.)

With regard to our special business to-day, which has to be got through before the lecture begins, it falls to me as Chairman to propose to you certain changes that have to be made in the usual course of

events. I propose to you for election for the following year: as Vice-Presidents, myself, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Mr. Moon; as Members of the Council, Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, Sir John Maffey, and Major-General Sir William Thomson. With regard to these changes, the new Members of Council, of course, are all very well known to us. Sir Neill Malcolm, as you know, has been commanding in the Straits Settlements since 1921, Sir John Maffey has been Chief Commissioner for the North-West Frontier, and Sir William Thomson we shall be very glad to have on the Council, if you elect him. He has been extremely active throughout the year, since he took the place of Sir Charles Monro in assisting the work of the Council; we are very glad to look forward to his being confirmed as a Member of the Council. Now I have also to mention changes that are about to take place. The most important of all is that, as my year of Chairmanship has come to an end, I have the privilege of proposing to you a new Chairman for the new session. As regards myself, I wish to take this opportunity of thanking all those with whom I have been associated in the Society—the Council and members—for their kind co-operation in all matters, which has made my year of Chairmanship for me a very happy one. I have felt it a great honour to be the Chairman of the Society for the past year, when so many interesting lectures have taken place, and so much opportunity has been afforded me of seeing in detail what the work of the Society is. So I beg to offer my hearty thanks to all, and very especially to Sir Raleigh Egerton, on whom the mantle of Colonel Yate has descended, and who, if he will allow me to say so, has carried out the work of his office with extreme diligence and efficiency; and also to Mr. Stephenson, who has been unflagging and unremitting in his labours. I should like also to mention Miss Kennedy.

So much for myself and the thanks I owe to all those who have co-operated with me. Now I have the great pleasure of suggesting as Chairman for the coming year the name of one of our really distinguished public men, who has kindly consented to take it—Viscount Peel. (Applause.) His name is, of course, well known to all of us. It would take a long time to enumerate all the posts of public trust that he has filled, culminating in the high position of Secretary of State for India, which has so very specially qualified him, if even nothing else did, for the post of Chairman of this Council. The Secretary of State for India has indeed to deal with the most complicated and intricate problems extending over the whole of Asia, and Viscount Peel has made a very special study of these questions. He is himself a traveller, and he has a most delightful gift of putting his thoughts into language, which I hope we shall often profit by. It is a matter of very great regret to all of us that Viscount Peel is detained in Paris at the present moment, so that he cannot be present to take

over from me as Chairman this afternoon, but I hope to be able to hand to him your approval of his accession to the Chairmanship, and as I know he has never filled any position without increasing its well-being and efficiency, so I feel certain that the same will happen to our Society, and that the year of his Chairmanship will prove to be one of great prosperity to us. Therefore, with all confidence, I suggest him as the Chairman. (Hear, hear.) As Hon. Treasurer we are still, I hope, to look forward to having Sir Edward Penton, who has the whole of our financial system at his fingers' ends. I do not know that it is very complicated, but at all events we may feel that it is thoroughly well handled. The financial condition depends, of course, very much on membership, and this has not greatly increased; but for all that, our financial position is by no means bad. We have a small investment, which we used not to have; and in fact I may say that our heads have been kept above water very successfully, thanks to the financial administration of Sir Edward Penton. It only remains for me formally to put before you the names I have already mentioned: the three Vice-Presidents, myself, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and Mr. Moon; the new Members of Council, Sir Neill Malcolm, Sir John Maffey, and Sir William Thomson; and the Hon. Officers—as Chairman, Viscount Peel, and as Hon. Treasurer, Sir Edward Penton. Will those who are in favour of those appointments signify their consent in the usual way?

The list of appointments as proposed was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I have also to bring before you certain amendments in the rules, not intelligible, perhaps, without some explanation. An addition is required to Rule 18: "(18*a*) The Hon. Librarian shall be responsible for the Library, and shall recommend to the Council such books as he considers the Society should acquire, and such as shall be reviewed in the Society's *Journal*." It is really a definition of the Librarian's duties, of which there was no definition before. That is all that it amounts to, and I feel sure that it will meet with your approval, as we wish so much to develop the *Journal* and the Library.

The other is only to put our rules in accordance with the fact. The rules only mention one Hon. Secretary, and there are two Hon. Secretaries. I think I may assume your agreement with these few verbal and necessary alterations.

The proposed additions and alterations to rules were unanimously agreed to.*

* To Rule 18. (18*a*). The Hon. Librarian shall be responsible for the Library, and shall recommend to the Council such books as he considers the Society should acquire, and such as shall be reviewed in the Society's *Journal*.

To Rule 11 (5). The Hon. Secretary (or Secretaries); (6) the Hon. Librarian.

To Rule 18*a*. The Hon. Treasurer, the Hon. Secretary (or Secretaries) and the Hon. Librarian shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, etc.

Sir Charles Yate: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will like to join with me in passing a very hearty and cordial vote of thanks to Sir Maurice de Bunsen for what he has done for us during the last year, while he has held the office of Chairman of our Council. You have heard the Report and seen how the Society has got certain investments in money. Its finances are in a sound position. Our Library is increasing, and thanks to Sir Maurice de Bunsen and all the work he has put in for us, our Society is in a most flourishing position. I hope it will continue to grow in membership as time goes on. The time for our lecture is almost due, and I will not detain you longer. Sir Maurice de Bunsen desires to retire at the end of his year of office. Whether one year is the best time for the Chairman of our Council, or three years, I will not enter into at present. Some societies like to have their chairman for three years, and I think myself when a man takes over the charge of a society like this, it is as a rule very beneficial when he is able to carry it on for about three years. However, our rule is that our Chairman is to be elected every year, and as Sir Maurice de Bunsen has told us, Lord Peel has kindly consented to take the chair for the coming year.

Lord Raglan seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very much. I have nothing more to say except that I have felt it to be a great honour to be Chairman, and that my interest in the Society and all its doings will be in no way diminished by my leaving the post of Chairman. I wish the Society all prosperity, and anything I can do in any way to contribute towards that shall be done. (Applause.)

TRANS-JORDAN

By H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E.

The Chairman in introducing the lecturer said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Mr. Philby is already well known to all of us; three years ago he gave an extremely interesting lecture on "The Highways of Central Arabia" to the Society; to-day he is speaking on "Trans-Jordan," a subject about which he probably knows more than any man in England. I have sometimes felt very sorry for Mr. Philby. Once, when Ibn Saud's son was visiting this country, it fell to me at a dinner at which he was present to propose his health. This I did in what, I am afraid, was a rather elaborate speech, and I could not help feeling very sorry for Mr. Philby, who had to translate it into classical Arabic, but he did so, and it gave great satisfaction to the visitor. Mr. Philby is one of the people competent to do that kind of thing. He is a great authority on all Arabian affairs, and he has been until now the principal British representative with the Amir Abdullah: we are extremely fortunate in having him here to-day to lecture to us.

Mr. Philby: You have done me a great honour in asking me to address you on this occasion of your Anniversary Meeting—a meeting that marks the completion of another stage in the progress of the Central Asian Society from its first small beginnings in the wilderness towards its destined goal. Under the conditions of the modern world imperial expansion is no longer fashionable as the avowed aim of diplomacy and war, and we talk more politely of mandates and spheres of influence. But this rather transparent modification of the meanings of words is as yet but a straw in the wind. Governments, with all the bureaucratic paraphernalia with which they are inevitably encumbered, lag exasperatingly behind the advance of public opinion, which is reflected partly in the Press, but more particularly in societies such as this, where men and women gather together for the purpose of exchanging information and views on matters of public concern. The day will surely come when such societies will be in a position to exercise a more direct influence on the conduct of affairs, and, when that day is come, the Central Asian Society will, I am sure, find itself leading British opinion to a proper understanding of the function of the British nation in the vast and rapidly changing continent of Asia, just as Moses found himself, after long study of the woes of the Children of Israel, inspired to lead them to their Promised Land. There was a time, not so long ago, when the position of Great Britain in the East was almost beyond challenge. The German Empire

challenged it to its own undoing, but I think we have to admit that, owing to mistakes of policy perpetrated since and during the consummation of our victory, our position in Asia is less satisfactory at the present time than it was at any time up to a decade ago. This is more particularly the case in the Near East, where Persia and Turkey, at any rate, are showing that they are capable of making a gallant effort to make good without the advice and guidance of ourselves and other European nations. Egypt, after a long quarrel with Great Britain, has secured the right to try and do the same. India is already at the parting of the ways. And the Arabian states are watching askance our not very successful efforts to reconcile irreconcilable elements and aims; while Iraq has within the last few days shattered certain illusions which some of us have cherished for some time in defiance of the facts.

But I must pass on from the general to the particular. I propose to talk to you to-day about Trans-Jordan, one of the least and youngest of the states that have been born of the travail of war in Asia, and, in order to do so, I propose to conduct you in the spirit as Moses was conducted in the flesh more than three thousand years ago to Mount Nebo to survey the Promised Land. I do not propose to talk about Palestine, and you may wonder why I drag in mention of the Promised Land in connection with Trans-Jordan. You will perhaps understand better if you turn to the description of what Moses saw and of what Moses understood by the Promised Land in the first three verses of the thirty-fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, which run as follows: "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan; and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar."

A few months ago I had the pleasure of paying a visit to the same spot. A good deal of the scene so described cannot, of course, be viewed by human eyes from Nebo—the sea, for instance—but the author does quite correctly give pride of place to the land of Gilead, which is indeed the outstanding and a remarkably beautiful feature of that landscape. And the land of Gilead, as doubtless you all know, is Trans-Jordan, or the northern half of it. Of Palestine one sees but little, and that little the forbidding barrier of the barren Judean hills, a corner of the Dead Sea, and the valley of Jericho—a city now more famous for its orange-trees than for its palms—and a mere glimpse of the heights about Nablus.

At any rate, it was the land of Gilead that stood out in that scene, and that fact was well brought out by the children of Reuben and the children of Gad, who, as the senior tribes of the Israelite community,

insisted on having a concession for that area, "when they saw the land of Jazer, and the land of Gilead, that, behold, the place was a place for cattle." So they came before Moses, saying: "Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon, even the country which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle: wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession, and bring us not over Jordan."

The years rolled on, and in due course the children of Israel lost their interest in cattle and developed a passion for electricity, but the same general considerations still held good as regards the comparative merits of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. And it was doubtless with due regard for the historical justice of his claim that His Majesty's Government allowed Mr. Rutenberg a concession for the sole right of the use of all water flowing into the Jordan for the purpose of developing electric power. Needless to say, the great bulk of such water entering the Jordan after its exit from the Lake of Galilee comes from the territories of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh—that is to say, from Trans-Jordan. The amount entering it from Palestine proper is negligible.

Unfortunately, however, the British Government appears to have lost sight of this important factor in its attempt to reconcile ancient and modern history, perhaps I should say ancient and modern promises. The promises of the Lord to Moses, made, I believe, in the year 1451 B.C. or thereabouts, were less difficult to ignore than the promises of His Majesty's Government to King Husain in A.D. 1916. It was, of course, somewhat inconvenient that Mr Balfour had specifically renewed the promises of the Lord in 1917, but the matter had to be adjusted as best it could, and a White Paper issued by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1922 contained an authoritative solution. The British Government had secured a mandate for the administration of Palestine from the League of Nations, but the League of Nations, not being quite up to date in its geography, adopted a definition of that country which Moses, and more particularly Reuben and Gad, could have approved without any qualms of conscience—one, that is, which included Trans-Jordan. But King Husain claimed the whole country in virtue of the promises of 1916, and the Zionists, pointing to the 1917 promises, claimed no less. A compromise was dictated by Mr. Churchill after a little juggling with certain troublesome geographical facts, and it was laid down that, while Palestine for the purposes of the Balfour Declaration meant only approximately half of Palestine as understood by the Lord, by Moses, and by the League of Nations, at the same time that half, though in geographical fact it lies well to the south of Syria, should be deemed for the purposes of all discussions with King Husain to lie to the west of that country.

So the problem was solved. Neither the Arabs nor the Jews are or can reasonably be expected to be convinced or satisfied. I doubt if the British Government itself is satisfied that such a solution is either final or even desirable. But it roughly represents the position as it has been throughout the past three years, whose history, in so far as it relates to Trans-Jordan, I propose to sketch briefly for your information. Before doing so, however, I hope I may be permitted in all seriousness to dispel the notion that I am in any sense hostile to the ideals of Zionism. In the first place, I genuinely respect and admire the spirit which inspires the Jews in their communities scattered over the face of the earth to return to the land of their ancestors with the object of building up therein a national home—I would rather say a national life. In the second place, I firmly believe that the advent of the Jews to the scenes of their fathers' exploits will be advantageous both to themselves and to their Arab neighbours, not only in Palestine but in Trans-Jordan—their record in Syria and Mesopotamia and in the Yaman justifies such a belief. And, finally, I would say this—Palestine having been freed from the domination of the Turk by the Allied forces, the right of immigration into it is open to all persons and classes without distinction, subject only to the capacity of the country to receive and absorb them. The Jews share that right with, but not to the exclusion of, all others. For the Jews particularly that right is guaranteed by international engagements. It is therefore for the Jews themselves to decide the extent to which they will avail themselves of that right. Apart from the question of the capacity of the country to receive them, which would indeed be unlimited if Palestine were given the wider interpretation to which I have referred by the inclusion of Trans-Jordan, the only condition governing their immigration is that they should in no way adversely affect the equal rights and interests of the population already resident in the country or of their fellow-immigrants. Those rights and interests include political rights and interests created by the invocation of the spirit of nationalism to which we and our Allies had recourse during the war. That is the trouble—owing, perhaps, to a lack of mutual confidence between the parties primarily concerned; and for that we must blame the ill-advised use of propaganda by the Zionists immediately after the Armistice, and also to a great extent our own failure to satisfy Arab aspirations founded on our promises. It is my firm belief, however, that this difficulty can be overcome if we were to encourage the Jews and Arabs to come to an agreement in their mutual interests; and I am convinced that the grant of full political rights to the population of Palestine in the larger sense of the word on the lines already adopted in Mesopotamia is an essential condition to the successful evolution of the ideals of Zionism.

The Arabs do not come to the conference table empty-handed. They offer to throw in Trans-Jordan with Palestine in return for the

acceptance by the Jews of the principle of a common national administration for the combined area. The Jews in their own ultimate interests would do well to accept that offer, and the mandatory power would have less difficulty in ensuring the observance of such a bargain by both parties than it has in propping up artificially a unilateral arrangement which cuts across the basic principle of the unity of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, and crowds twelve tribes into a space designed to accommodate only nine and a half. Our blindness to these salient facts of the situation gave rise to Trans-Jordan as a separate political unit in April, 1921. It was not a healthy child at birth; later on, for a short time, it seemed to show signs of growing vitality; but it was subsequently neglected, or, perhaps I should say, spoiled by its nurse, and at the present time its prospects of life give much cause for anxiety.

From the time of the Armistice until August, 1920, when Faisal lost the throne of Syria, the present districts of Trans-Jordan formed part of the Kingdom of Syria. Their history during this period was a subordinate one and calls for no remark. From August, 1920, to March, 1921, they underwent an interregnum, which was not without its amusing episodes. Each of the present three districts enjoyed or endured a period of semi-autonomy under the guidance of British officers. The name of Somerset will survive the vicissitudes of fortune in many a household for years to come; Peake Bey began in this period the labours in connection with the formation of a local gendarmerie which have brought him promotion to the dignity of Pasha, a well-deserved reputation, and, what is more satisfactory perhaps to himself, the gratitude of several hundreds of thousands of human beings, who before his day certainly never could sow without a doubt as to who would reap. But I shall leave this period with a mention only of two amusing incidents connected with the independent state of Moab, whose headquarters were at Karak. A certain Captain Kirkbride was in effect the last King of Moab, ruling his country with the aid of a council and with a commendable contempt for all superior authority. His first clash—as the story goes—was with the Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Palestine, who refused to recognize the stamps of the Government of Moab. King Kirkbride parried this blow by refusing to recognize the stamps of the Palestine Government, and the sequel to the dispute would doubtless have been entertaining if the Government of Moab had not solved the problem by ceasing to exist. His next exploit was in the field of concession-granting. A certain concession-hunter sought a concession for the right of exploiting the vast mineral resources of Moab; and it so happened that the Government of Moab, or, I should rather say, the members of the council of that state, were experiencing a period of financial stringency—a common experience in those days for most countries and most people. The

matter was easily arranged. The concession-hunter paid 500 gold sovereigns over to the Council of Moab in return for a document authenticated by the signatures of all the members of the council and countersigned by the King, who, being a British officer, was the only signatory who pocketed no share of the gold. Months afterwards, long after the Kingdom of Moab had ceased to exist, the concession-holder sought to operate his concession, but had to be informed that its validity had lapsed with the extinction of the Government which had granted it. His money, of course, was gone beyond recall. I will content myself with these specimens of the events of those glorious, almost prehistoric, days, and pass on to the modern history of Trans-Jordan.

The curtain rises at Cairo in the days of full-dress conferences. Mr. Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is foregathered in semi-regal state at the Semiramis Hotel, on the banks of the Nile, with so many advisers that even his fertile brain can think of nothing better to do with them than shut them up in little groups in different rooms to play at being sub-committees and to prepare schemes. Meanwhile, along the long derelict southern section of the Hijaz Railway, the Amir Abdullah is hastening northward with a motley force, sworn to drive the French out of Syria into the sea. He arrives first at Maan and then at Amman, and a nervous Palestine telegraphs the news of this development to Cairo, where a sub-committee immediately sits to digest the situation. It is unanimously agreed that Abdullah must be ejected. It is pointed out that, desirable as such a course is, it cannot be effected without troops, and that there are no troops available, and that, if there were troops, it would be out of the question to start another war just yet. Abdullah, therefore, for the moment holds the trump cards, and Mr. Churchill finally decides that the simplest course would be to pay him liberally to keep quiet.

These events occurred in March, 1921, and Abdullah became ruler of Trans-Jordan as from April 1, with a monthly salary of £5,000, payable by the British tax-payer. The arrangement was admittedly experimental, and limited to a period of six months in the first instance. The Palestine Government provided a staff of six or seven political officers to guide Abdullah in the right way by supervising the administration at Amman, his new capital, and at the provincial head-quarters. A cabinet was formed to conduct the administration. But, as was only to be expected, a scheme so hurriedly devised and put into operation did not work as smoothly as was desired, and four occurrences of some importance deserve to be recorded. In July General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner for Syria, was ambushed near a place called Kunaitra, in Syrian territory, by a party of brigands from Abdullah's northern district, and a French officer was killed. About the same time the Jewish colony of Manahimiya, on the Jordan,

was raided by a Trans-Jordan tribe and deprived of all its livestock—some 600 head of cattle and numerous sheep. A detachment of the Trans-Jordan Reserve Force, operating in the Kura district against the brigands who had been responsible for the attack on General Gouraud's party, was ambushed and badly cut up. And finally a Syrian outlaw, wanted by the French but safely resident at Amman, was allowed to proceed to Palestine territory with a safe conduct from the Chief British Representative, and was there arrested by the Palestine police and handed over to the French. It was lucky for Mr. Abrahamson, the Chief British Representative, that he was not at Amman when the news arrived. An infuriated crowd, seeking somebody to devour, lighted on Peake Bey sauntering innocently through the bazaar, and Peake Bey had to undergo a period of unpleasant incarceration, listening at intervals to rival suggestions as to the best method of disposing of him.

This last occurrence was in September, 1921, by which time it was fairly obvious that something was wrong. It was suggested that the best way to solve the problem would be to get rid of Abdullah, but the same obvious difficulties cropped up as before, and it was always possible that there was an alternative explanation of the trouble. Be that as it may, Mr. Churchill hit upon the happy idea of sending Lawrence out to survey the situation and suggest a remedy. His first step seems to have been to turn out not Abdullah but the whole of the British staff engaged on advising him except Peake. He then settled down to direct affairs himself, but, not wanting to spend the rest of his days in Trans-Jordan, suggested that I, being then out of work, might be appointed to relieve him. By the time I arrived, towards the end of November, 1921, he had got the situation entirely in hand. There was no longer any question of deposing Abdullah, who was all smiles; the principle of allowing Trans-Jordan to be an independent Arab state was triumphant; such British staff as was required in Trans-Jordan was to be independent of the Palestine Government, though under the general control of the High Commissioner; an ample supply of money was placed at my disposal; and, above all, Lawrence had either burned or otherwise disposed of all the office records, with the result that my style was not cramped by the ghosts of my predecessors. The important point was that the principle of the independence of Trans-Jordan and its divorce from the Palestine administration was admitted to afford the only hope of making a success of Trans-Jordan. After all, the only serious British interest in that country was, and still is, that it should not be a nuisance to its neighbours. Certain Zionist elements, official and unofficial, doubtless regretted the passing from them of the heritage of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, but for the time being their views remained unheeded, and for the time being Trans-Jordan enjoyed a period of progress.

The Karak district, which at this time was in a state of anarchic chaos, was in February, 1922, brought under effective control by Peake's reorganized gendarmerie, and, in July, the turbulent Kura district was reduced to submission with the assistance of the Royal Air Force Detachment, to whose services in general I would take this opportunity of paying a warm tribute of gratitude and admiration. It was recently stated in Parliament that the uninterrupted maintenance of the air route to Baghdad is one of the material benefits accruing to Great Britain from the presence of the Amir Abdullah in Trans-Jordan. From that opinion I dissent with all respect, but absolutely. It is, on the contrary, to the Royal Air Force that the Amir Abdullah owes his presence in Trans-Jordan to-day, and that force has shown itself quite capable of maintaining itself and the air route in Trans-Jordan by its own efforts, and, not only that, but of sparing much surplus energy for the task of maintaining the regime which we have set up in that country. To suggest anything else is not only not in accordance with facts, but deprives a very gallant and efficient force of the credit which is due to it for the work it has done under conditions the reverse of cheerful.

Be that as it may, matters developed so steadily according to programme—Lawrence's programme—that in April—that is to say, about four months after I had taken charge—Mr. Churchill had to remind me that His Majesty's Government would like to have a progress report, even if it was only to record that all was well.

By the end of July the whole country from north to south was well in hand; Peake's gendarmerie was up to strength, and beginning to get in the taxes with some regularity. Minor defects there doubtless were in the administration—it was not by any means the only administration in which minor defects were to be found—but even the shock of a sudden bolt from the blue in the shape of an attack by Ibn Saud's Wahhabi followers on a village twenty miles from Amman in August failed to interrupt the general progress. So well, indeed, was that progress maintained that Mr. Churchill deemed it time to give effect to a step which his policy had always envisaged, and Abdullah and his Prime Minister were invited to London to discuss the terms on which the independent status of Trans-Jordan might be recognized by His Majesty's Government.

Unfortunately, the mission arrived in London only a day or two before the political crisis which removed Mr. Churchill from office, and from that day to this things have gone ill with Trans-Jordan, which has slowly but surely declined. But what I would like to impress upon you is this: that the period whose history I have briefly sketched—that is to say, from the time when Lawrence rescued Trans-Jordan from the abyss to the time of Mr. Churchill's fall from office—was a period of definite progress in the direction desired by its

authors and, strangely enough, on lines entirely consistent with all our pledges, and that that fact at that time received the recognition of all the authorities concerned—namely, myself, the High Commissioner for Palestine, and His Majesty's Government—with such unanimity that the next step in the evolution of Trans-Jordan followed naturally.

So in October, 1922, Abdullah came to London to receive the prize of independence promised him in return for good work. The judgment of the outgoing Government was too securely entrenched behind facts to be revised by its successor, and Abdullah duly received the prize, which was formally presented to him on behalf of His Majesty's Government by Sir Herbert Samuel in May, 1923, at Amman. The formula of presentation recorded that His Majesty's Government, subject to the approval of the League of Nations, recognized the existence in Trans-Jordan of an independent administration under the Amir Abdullah, provided that such administration should be conducted on democratic and constitutional lines, and should, by an agreement to be negotiated thereafter, place His Majesty's Government in a position to discharge its international obligations in respect of the territory in question. In a word, the *de facto* position of 1922, which had proved so satisfactory, was given *de jure* recognition. Abdullah was placed in an impregnable position, and was promised a grant in aid of £150,000 to consolidate that position. He has only himself and perhaps a too-indulgent British Government to thank for the fact that his position to-day is less satisfactory, and, indeed, rather precarious. But it is necessary to understand that the Colonial Office, under Mr. Churchill's successor, who, I fear, took but little interest in so unimportant an issue as Trans-Jordan, was already beginning to envisage a change of policy, and Abdullah most obligingly dismantled all his defences against the threatened attack.

My position as Chief British Representative remained nominally as before, with no specific functions beyond that of tendering advice and offering criticism. The British grant in aid was, it is true, paid through me, and the fiction was retained that it was actually administered by the Trans-Jordan Government. Such a fiction was harmless so long as it remained a fiction; it became dangerous as soon as it began to transform itself into fact.

My advice to Abdullah and his Government was that, in their own ultimate interests, they should proceed without delay to convene a representative assembly as provided for in the declaration of independence. This advice was not only in accordance with the condition laid down by His Majesty's Government, but coincided with the known desires of the Trans-Jordan people. But Abdullah was rather enjoying his autocratic power, and had no desire to seek its curtailment; while his ministers and officials, who were mostly drawn from foreign elements—Syrian, Palestinian, and even Iraqian—feared that home

rule would result in their elimination from lucrative posts. The project of convening a representative assembly remained in abeyance, and the Amir's administration began to gather momentum in its downward course.

I remained as patient as I could in the circumstances, while Abdullah and his associates indulged in an orgy of maladministration. The treasury was robbed right and left, essential services were allowed to suffer by non-payment of the salaries of their personnel, Government lands were distributed among the Amir's favourite shaikhs without any corresponding advantage to the public exchequer; even private owners were expropriated for the benefit of those who coveted their holdings. Badawin shaikhs were allowed to remain, in fact, immune from the payment of due taxes, while the poorer agricultural classes—and some of them are very poor indeed—were forced to pay not only current taxation, but all uncollected arrears of taxation dating back to 1918. Taking as a basis for comparison the taxes payable by these people under the Turkish regime, I calculated that the equivalent of nine and a half years' normal taxation was wrung out of the peasantry by the Amir in the course of three years, in many cases in the course of only two.

It is clear that the Amir was developing a theory of independence not quite in accordance with my own views, but I was wedded to the principle of non-interference in the internal administration of an independent country for several reasons. In the first place, interference would merely have exasperated the Amir and his Government without doing any good to the people, unless, of course, I was in a position to use British military force—which I was not. In the second place, I did not think that the people were entitled to independence if they were unable to achieve it by their own efforts and at a little sacrifice of their personal comfort. And, finally, the collapse of Abdullah's administration seemed to be bound to lead to the reimposition of Palestine control, which I regarded as disastrous.

Anyway, right or wrong, I did not interfere between Abdullah and his people. Nevertheless, I watched for an opportunity of checking his stupid and reckless course on more general grounds, and the opportunity presented itself in June. It was reported to me that the ruins of a Byzantine basilica at Amman were being dismantled by the Amir's orders. I immediately went out to see the damage, and found that only a fragment of the ruin remained. I then expressed my opinion of his atrocity in writing to the Amir, called upon him to desist from further damage to the ruin, and warned him that his deliberate destruction of a monument which had withstood the ravages of time and human neglect for fifteen centuries would prove but the prelude to his own fall unless he based his administration on the surer foundations of justice and democracy. He immediately sent his secretary to

complain to the High Commissioner of my wanton interference with his independence, and levelled the rest of the ruin with the ground. That was my first quarrel with the Amir. The High Commissioner intervened in his favour, but it was not till some ten days later that I resumed ordinary relations with Abdullah, on receiving from him a letter of regret for what he had done, a condition on which I insisted. But he had damaged the foundation of his state as irreparably as he had wrecked the old basilica. The Palestine Government saw, and took skilful advantage of, the rift in the lute, and from that moment I had no doubt in my mind that Abdullah and I were inevitably doomed to part company. It was not quite so clear at that time whether I should leave Trans-Jordan first or he. But for the moment it is, perhaps, sufficient to record that the Palestine department of antiquities assumed practical supervision of the antiquities administration of Trans-Jordan, without the necessary funds to do so effectively, with the result that the destruction of antiquities, for which we have assumed a special mandatory responsibility, proceeds apace.

The first round of sparring thus resulted in the triumph of the proverbial *tertius gaudens*, and Abdullah, still disregarding my constantly repeated advice that a representative assembly should be set up, continued his reckless career of irresponsibility on the lines already indicated. He knew that I would not interfere again in a hurry, and he was quite right; for I knew that another breach between myself and the recognized administration would only open the door wider to an expectant Palestine.

As a matter of fact, the next time I intervened in the drama was actually to save Abdullah on his tottering throne. The Adwan rebellion, which had the sympathy of a great part of the country, groaning as it was under a reckless tyranny, threatened once and for all to eliminate Abdullah from the scene last September. Its success would have been as disastrous to Trans-Jordan independence as its failure has eventually proved to be, and, though I sometimes regret the course I pursued, I think I was right to save Abdullah. I could not countenance open rebellion, and, when the leader of the rebellion, Sultan ibn Adwan, sent me an ultimatum, threatening that, if I intervened in Abdullah's favour, he would report me to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, there was, of course, no alternative. I replied that if his forces had not disbanded by a certain hour he would be attacked with all the forces available. That night Abdullah did not sleep. He sat up booted and spurred, ready for instant flight—doubtless not forgetful of the time when he escaped in his night-shirt from a Wahhabi attack at Turaba in 1919. The following morning the rebels obligingly advanced on Amman along the only road fit for heavy motor vehicles; the armoured cars of the Royal Air Force carried out a brilliant little operation, and in half an hour had crushed the revolution.

Abdullah once more breathed, but it was typical of him that he not only made a vindictive use of the victory we had won for him, but failed to recognize the fact that, if he did not introduce long-needed reforms into the administration, he was only paving the way for ultimate disaster. He continued the oppression of the poor, who were now terrorized by the knowledge that they could not expect British sympathy in any stand for justice. Abdullah's inquisitors roamed through the land in search of money, and particularly of horses—for the Amir and his Arabian henchmen were above all lovers of horses—and many a man was thrown into jail on the charge of complicity in the Adwan rebellion for no other reason than that he possessed a mare or a horse which the Amir coveted and could not come by except by attachment. The lot of those who made the acquaintance of the inside of the prisons was far from enviable—the prison at Aqaba, for instance, where some of the ringleaders of the movement spent a month or two on their way to exile in the Hijaz, was in very truth a black hole—a square stone-walled dungeon with a ponderous timber door and no other aperture, whose floor was a thick layer of rotted vegetable matter, once probably straw, and whose only article of furniture was a heavy wooden stock laid on the floor and pierced with five holes, designed to secure the right legs of five victims. There they lay in gloom and misery, with just enough bread and water to keep them alive—a living or, I should rather say, a moribund protest against the British mandatory system !

By the end of October, that is to say, within the first seven months of the financial year, Abdullah had run through rather more than his Civil List provision for the whole year. He had spent £37,000, not counting money received from his father and from the disposal of property confiscated after the rebellion. The position was becoming steadily more and more impossible, and I had to inform the Trans-Jordan Government that, if it paid any further sums to Abdullah out of state funds, I should exercise my discretion to discontinue the payment of instalments of the grant in aid. They appealed to Cæsar, namely the High Commissioner, with the result which I expected. It was held quite reasonably that Abdullah could not live on nothing, so my ruling was vetoed, and Abdullah continued to live in regal style at the public expense. I estimate that his total personal expenditure during the last financial year amounted to close on £100,000, of which £60,000 was provided by the Exchequer, and the balance represented gifts from King Husain and borrowings or purchases on credit.

Things had reached such a pass that the British Treasury quite rightly decided on discontinuing the British grant in aid to Trans-Jordan, with effect from the following April. By January, when King Husain arrived in Trans-Jordan to visit his erring son, it was clear that the crash must come soon, unless King Husain himself could devise a

satisfactory solution of the dilemma. As a matter of fact, he did most decidedly stop the rot. He, in fact if not in name, assumed the direction of affairs in Trans-Jordan, and Abdullah took a back seat, while the people of the country poured in, deputation after deputation, representing all classes of opinion, to make quite clear to his father that they had had enough and more than enough of the son's regime. Abdullah was promoted by his father to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Arab army, and it was confidently believed that he was designated to command the forces at Madina to check Wahhabi encroachments in that direction. Ali, the eldest son of King Husain, was to succeed him as ruler of Trans-Jordan, and Ali duly arrived at Amman to the satisfaction of everybody. But whether he thought that Trans-Jordan alone was not a sufficiently important or attractive charge, or genuinely desired to avoid a rift in the family lute which his supersession of Abdullah might have occasioned, he declined to fall in with the suggested arrangement, and no other solution had been found by the time that the expulsion of the Caliph from Turkey placed the Caliphate within the grasp of King Husain, and he, having secured nomination from the Arabs of Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan, put away from himself all thought of the difficulties of Trans-Jordan, and hastily returned to Mecca to develop his new position.

Thus Abdullah and the people of Trans-Jordan were again left alone to work out their salvation. According to Abdullah's ideas, the resources of Trans-Jordan alone were not sufficient to maintain the state; on the other hand, the British Government declined to assist financially. I was always convinced, and still am, that the resources of Trans-Jordan alone are amply sufficient to maintain an efficient administration if the conditions on which the British recognition of its independence was made were fulfilled by the election of a representative assembly to control Abdullah. But Palestine was more concerned to bring Trans-Jordan back into its orbit, and, the Palestine view having, to all intents and purposes, prevailed before King Husain's visit, I had sent in my resignation early in January.

King Husain's presence in Trans-Jordan had, of course, temporarily stymied any progress in the direction contemplated by the Colonial Office, but his departure left the way clear once more. I left Trans-Jordan and the new regime entered on its course. The new financial year opened without any attempt having been made to balance a budget which showed an estimated deficit of £120,000, while His Majesty's Government had, as already stated, definitely decided not to continue its grant in aid. But the Palestine Government had won its point. The long struggle for the independence of Trans-Jordan was over; Lawrence's scheme had been defeated at last. Henceforth the British representative and his staff would be appointed, as before Lawrence's visit, from the cadre of the Palestine Government, and

would therefore look to that Government for continued employment and promotion. So far so good; but how was the financial difficulty to be got over? Palestine would have trouble with the Trans-Jordan administration unless it could keep the Amir quiet, so it was arranged that Palestine, which is itself getting a grant in aid of £1,000,000 from the British Government, should divert £60,000 as a grant in aid to Trans-Jordan, on the condition that it accepted a position of financial and political subordination. The British Treasury thinks it is not subsidizing Trans-Jordan, but does not realize that it is obviously subsidizing Palestine on an unnecessarily generous scale, as Palestine is using part of the money to keep Trans-Jordan, to which we promised independence, in subjection. Does our right hand know what our left hand is doing?

I have attempted to sketch in brief outline the history of Trans-Jordan during the past three years, and in doing so I have restricted myself to setting out in some sort of intelligible sequence facts within the knowledge of all who read the newspapers. This is not an occasion to talk politics, but I would like to draw your attention to the fact that throughout the history of this period there runs the motif of the clamour of the children of Reuben and Gad: "Ataroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon, even the country which the Lord smote before the congregation of Israel, is a land for cattle, and thy servants have cattle: wherefore, said they, if we have found grace in thy sight, let this land be given unto thy servants for a possession, and bring us not over Jordan." Surely, indeed, have they found favour in the eyes of His Majesty's Government, but, apart from the insight I have gained into some branches of high policy and the experience I have had of a country which is not without beauty and full of interest, I cannot help rather regretting that it should have taken me two and a half years to realize that the game was not worth the candle, and that, too, after a somewhat similar experience in another country. I severed my connection with Mesopotamia three years ago owing to a difference of opinion with the authorities of the time as to what the people of Iraq wanted, and within the last week the Iraq National Assembly has only repeated in the most unmistakable manner what I urged then. Can we hope that it will take as long as three years for Trans-Jordan to justify my resignation?

I am fully conscious that the history of Trans-Jordan, as I have given it you to-day, is a record of personal failure. I have failed, and can only say that circumstances proved to be altogether too strong for me when first Lawrence and then Mr. Churchill himself vanished from the scene. But my experience in Mesopotamia and Trans-Jordan has taught me one thing which will give me peace of mind, I hope, for the rest of my life. I have learned that Government service—if I may

quote a passage from the report of the recent committee on the taxation of betting—"is not inaptly described as 'a mug's game' . . . it is a foolish occupation or habit." Therefore I have decided to give it up, and I will not detain you further to-day except to show you a few slides illustrative of the country whose history I have just sketched. I owe them to the kindness of Sir A. Kennedy, and I owe you apologies for the fact that my own photographs are not available, as my luggage has not yet arrived from Palestine.

Lord RAGLAN: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I find I have a good deal in common with Mr. Philby. The first fact in my career that coincides with his is that I also spent two and a half years in Trans-Jordan, and also left at the end of it because I did not think the game was worth the candle.

A few weeks ago I asked in the House of Lords if they were aware that the Amir's government in Trans-Jordan was tyrannical, inefficient, and unpopular. I was told by Lord Arnold, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, that, although the situation was not quite satisfactory, there was nothing whatever to justify the language I had used. I had not had the benefit of hearing Mr. Philby then. If I had, my language would have been stronger than it was. I also suggested to the Government that the High Commissioner of Palestine had not done all that he might have done to improve the state of affairs in Trans-Jordan. That also is borne out by what Mr. Philby has told us. What is going to happen there in the future none of us can say, but I agree with Mr. Philby that it must be joined to Palestine. I think it will be so joined, though whether to an Arab or a Jewish Palestine remains to be seen; but the connection between Trans-Jordan and Palestine is too great for them to be separated. It is absurd to have a little place like that independent, with only three thousand or four thousand square miles of habitable territory and a population of about two hundred thousand. It is really absurd to have all these little states with their little populations, and without economic coherence or strategic frontiers. They will have to disappear. Mr. Philby said something about there being room for Jews in Trans-Jordan. There is a lot of room there, but the reason why is the same as why there is room in a great part of Syria and Palestine—because there has never been a Government which would give security to the cultivators. Constant attempts are made along the frontier. There comes a period when the range of cultivation extends itself owing to good government, and then there is a period of bad government and the range of cultivation goes back. That has been going on ever since the dawn of history. In the last fifty years of Turkish rule there was a slight increase. Since the war, under the government of Abdullah, there has been a decrease, and if the government of Abdullah goes on there will be a further decrease. Trans-Jordan should be joined to Palestine, for Palestine

alone can give a government that will keep back the Badawins and allow the country to be developed.

Sir Charles Yate: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say I have no personal acquaintance with Palestine or Trans-Jordan, and I am rather diffident at giving an opinion on the subject, but I cannot help thinking there should not be two Governments in such a small country, divided into two simply by a small river like the Jordan. The valley of the Jordan must be, I should think, under one Government. I cannot see how it can well thrive under two separate Governments. I should in that respect like to support what Lord Raglan has said, and I agree with him that one Government for the whole would be the better for the country.

Sir Arnold Wilson: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I did not expect to be called upon to speak to you upon a subject of which I really personally know nothing. I can only express my general concurrence with what Mr. Philby and Lord Raglan have said; I think, however, we ought to feel some sympathy with the position of His Majesty's Government in the matter: it appears from Mr. Philby's remarks that for the last three years their advisers on the spot have been permanently at loggerheads with each other. That is a very difficult position for any office which has to decide matters in the light of advice from men on the spot. I think we should all in this Society feel easier in our minds if the Class A mandated territories were restored to the Foreign Office, which is handling questions arising in the neighbouring states of Persia, Turkey, and Egypt. Had the matters discussed by Mr. Philby been dealt with by the Foreign Office, I cannot help thinking we should have seen other and less drastic solutions. As regards the questions of the air mail route, the position to-day is that that route is no longer required. There is a more reliable motor-car service running from Baghdad to Damascus, which carries the mail much more regularly, and passengers also. The air mail route can never be used for passengers, for, apart from everything else, it is £130 a trip from Baghdad to Cairo, against £30 from Baghdad to Beirut by the Nairn Transport Company. It cannot conveniently be used by the mails, because it is only fortnightly, and not very regular at that, and under no circumstances can it be commercially developed for goods or passengers. The Damascus route leads to the Mediterranean, and such affinities as Mesopotamia has with the Arab world are with Syria, and not with Trans-Jordan or Palestine. As far as politics are concerned, there seems to be no reason why the air mail should not be discontinued forthwith. It has been stated in some quarters that the air mail is helpful because it helps to train pilots, but the Air Force hold, I believe, very different views, particularly in the junior ranks. When I went across the route in 1922, I saw the wreckage of half a dozen machines lying about.

The CHAIRMAN thanked Mr. Philby for his remarkably interesting and able lecture, which had enabled his hearers to judge of a question almost unknown in its detail to most of them. There had been a remarkable unanimity amongst those speakers whose knowledge was greatest that the system devised by our Government was not a good one, and that first Colonel Lawrence and then Mr. Philby had been called upon to put into force a scheme which was from the outset unworkable. He asked if Mr. Philby would like to make any further remarks, as the result of what had been said by subsequent speakers, and asked him to accept the thanks of the audience for his lecture. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: I have nothing to say beyond this, that everybody seems to agree that these two countries are essentially one. I do not know whether I have myself adequately brought out, or whether the speakers who have followed me have brought out the essential condition that the policy adopted in the combined territories must be the right one. What we have done is to separate a naturally single territory into three parts—namely, Palestine, Syria, and Trans-Jordan. In two we have adopted a wrong system, in one we have allowed the right system to have a trial. We must change the policy in the other two and make them all one.

UR AND TEL EL-OBEID

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, London, S.W., on Thursday, June 26, 1924, when Mr. Woolley lectured on the recent excavations and archæological discoveries at Ur and Tel el-Obeid. In the absence of Lord Peel, Sir Maurice de Bunsen presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Our Chairman (Lord Peel) is not able to be present here to-day on account of duties in the House of Lords, and I am taking his place with your permission. The subject of our lecture to-day is one that has deeply interested this Society for a considerable time back, and readers of our *Journal* are aware that in the number for 1922 we had a very interesting lecture on the excavations at Ur by Dr. Hall, while in the following year we have the record of Mr. Woolley's admirable lecture, which will be in the memory of many of you. Mr. Woolley has been at work again since he addressed us last year, and it is of the results of his more recent work that he is going to speak to us to-day. We give him a very hearty welcome back amongst us, because our Society is interested not only in the modern and more recent history, for it knows very well that in order to understand present conditions we must dig back into the past, and learn what has happened in past centuries and half-forgotten eras. In this Mr. Woolley is going to help us; I will not detain you, but will ask him to begin.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I had the honour of talking to you last year about the results obtained in the first season's work of the joint expedition sent out to Mesopotamia by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. We have now had a second season, and the results have been no less satisfactory and in some ways more sensational than those of our first year. When we originally started work upon the site, the programme which we carried out was to trace as far as possible the outline of the Temenos or sacred enclosure of the City of Ur, a great walled rectangle within which lay the principal temples, probably the palace, and the ziggurat of the ancient town. We traced the greater part of that enclosure in outline, and towards the northern end unearthed a building which we were able to identify as the Temple of the Moon God and his consort. Further than that, in the extreme west angle there were quite plain the ruins of the ziggurat or stage tower—

one of those towers which were conspicuous in every ancient city of Babylonia, whose mounds still litter the great plain of the river valley, but whose character and original appearance were practically unknown to us, in spite of many conjectures and a certain amount of excavation. When we started this year the main item of our programme was to excavate this ziggurat. A little work had been done on it already by Dr. Hall, work which was extremely useful because he had dug down on part of one end right to the foundations of the building, and had shown us what amount of labour was required to complete the excavation of the whole. We felt that without a complete excavation we should not be in a position to say much about the building, and I must say that one was rather afraid of the prospect before one when one looked at the enormous mass of material, broken brick, brickdust, blown sand, and so on, that had to be cleared away before we could expose the ancient walls. I do not know exactly how much stuff we did move; something between seventy-five and one hundred thousand tons of rubbish. It was all, of course, originally moved in small baskets, and one of the problems that faced us at the outset was the place where we could dump the material so moved. Obviously it was unwise to put it down where one subsequently would have to excavate; equally obviously it was uneconomical to carry it further away from the work than was absolutely necessary. When thinking about this we noticed there was a large low-lying piece of ground close to the south-east face of the ziggurat and just north of the Temple of the Moon God and his consort, excavated by us last year. It was so low-lying that I jumped to the conclusion that there was nothing there worth digging up; though, undoubtedly, the site had been occupied by buildings, it looked as if watercourses and torrents had swept away anything that might be of interest, and I had practically made up my mind to put my dump heaps there when prudence got the better of me, and I said, "We will run trenches across and see what there is." We ran trenches across, and within a foot or two came upon walls, and presently found we were in the middle of the biggest building we had yet found on the site of Ur. It was so large that, as it did not form part of the regular programme of the season, we could not excavate it entirely; but as we wanted to make things look nice, and as we had with us Mr. Newton, whose experience on the architectural side of archæology is unrivalled, it seemed a pity not to take advantage of his presence. What we could not excavate of the building we traced out, with the result that we have nearly filled in the plan of one end of the Temenos or sacred enclosure. This plan shows the northern end, where we have been carrying on excavations. The Temenos wall bounds the excavated area, its line broken on the north-west and north-east sides by gaps where it had been badly destroyed; on the south-west side is the Nabonidus gate. At the bottom of the plan

is seen the north end of the temple which we excavated last year, 1922-23; in the west corner is the ziggurat, which in our previously published plan we were only able to show in outline and then quite incorrectly, whereas it is now correctly planned; and north-east of it is the great building which we discovered by accident. As I said, it lay very low, and the reason for that was that it was practically one great courtyard. This courtyard, which is 100 yards long, was entirely paved with brick, and was surrounded by chambers. On three sides there is only a single row of chambers, but on the north-east—this part was not excavated, but only traced—the building is clearly composed of three or four separate residences, communicating suites of chambers each having its own doorways. There can be little doubt, I think, that here we have the great courtyard attached to the Temple of the Moon and the dwelling-house of the priests attached to it. The levels are very different. This courtyard here is some 6 or 8 feet lower than that narrow courtyard which lies along the north-west of the E-nun-makh shrine; between the two there was a doorway with steps leading up to the higher level, though as a matter of fact we could not find those steps this year because a very solid brick drain built by Nebuchadnezzar ran over the steps. Nebuchadnezzar had reconstructed the building on a higher level. It is too early to say much about this building. We know that in its present form it dates back to about 1600 B.C., and was built by King Kuri-Galzu; but undoubtedly he built over earlier work—in fact, traces of such were visible in many places, though whether the earlier work was on the same lines or not we do not know. The courtyard of Kuri-Galzu was repaired and restored by various kings, but about 650 B.C. the place was obviously in a bad state, and Sin-balatsu-ikbi, who under the Assyrian king was Governor of Ur, went in for wholesale restorations, but still observing very faithfully in almost every detail the ground-plan and the general appearance of the older work. That building continued to exist until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, who, finding it in ruins, put down a new floor about 6 feet above the old, and rebuilt the old walls at a higher level. So we know something of the history of the building, but until we have excavated all the rooms, which at present are still full of earth, we shall not know anything very definite about its character. To show how very wrong I was in thinking practically nothing would be found below the surface of what seemed such low-lying ground, I must tell you that though the courtyard is actually 6 feet or 8 feet below the foundations of the very much older E-nun-makh Temple, yet this courtyard is itself a raised platform: we dug down against the outside of the wall and found our floor level—a paved street or court level—5 feet below the courtyard pavement. But what was most surprising to us and most interesting was the character of the wall

which on the ziggurat side bounded the paved court. Instead of the shallow square buttresses which are the common type in Mesopotamian buildings, we found here a decoration of half columns, each relieved by a T-shaped groove running down its centre; there were flat panels at intervals, but the greater part of the wall-face was composed of a series of curves representing attached columns. The thing was built in burnt brick below and mud brick above, mud-washed and whitewashed: it was an extraordinary thing when we first unearthed it to see the whitewash still in tolerably good condition, quite as good as one sees on many native houses at the present time, and to think that it had been put on about 650 B.C. It was an excellent advertisement of the quality of the whitewash used by the Assyrian Governor. In this photograph you will get the general effect as seen from the far side of the courtyard. Why I show you this view is that I want to point out that the columned wall is an essential feature of the ziggurat building itself. That great ziggurat behind rests on a terrace raised high above the surrounding plain, and above most of the buildings in its own neighbourhood. The platform courtyard was upheld by the back wall of the range of chambers bounding the courtyard, but to the spectator from the courtyard the apparent retaining wall of the ziggurat platform would be the columned wall, which alone was visible, and therefore seen from here the columned wall would be an essential part of the general scheme of the ziggurat. This is a point to which I shall refer later, because it is quite necessary to understand that in order to get any conception at all of what the ziggurat looked like when it was originally built. Turning back to the plan, I will just point out what the ground-plan of the ziggurat was like. It was a great rectangular structure about 80 yards long, standing some 50 to 60 feet high. The main rectangle lies, as you see, close up to the wall of the Temenos on the south-west side, and not very far from it on the north-west side. There were certainly buildings quite close here. Therefore, the ziggurat was only meant to be seen from the north-east side. The plan that you see is virtually that of the ground-floor, the lowest stage, but against the north-east are built the staircases which lead up to the summit, the central staircase coming right forward on to the terrace, and one staircase on each side plastered against the wall of the original building. In the angles between those staircases are solid square towers which were perhaps originally decorated with statues. *That* is the main façade, the north-east side. The tower was solid throughout. It went up three stages, and on the topmost stage was a temple. The fact is that the ziggurat is simply an artificial hill. People coming, as the Sumerians apparently did, from a hilly country, had always, like all mountain people, been accustomed to put up temples and sacred groves on a high hill, and when they came down to the flat valley of the Euphrates they built hills on which they could put

shrines. That is why they built ziggurats and why these are solid, and because they are solid they have been so largely preserved. This ziggurat was first constructed by Ur-Engur, of the Third Dynasty of Ur, about 2500 B.C., and we knew from foundation tablets and cylinders discovered in this building sixty years ago that some, at any rate, of Ur-Engur's work was still extant in the sixth century before Christ; then the upper part was repaired by King Nabonidus, the last King of Babylon, and the records of his work were left for Dr. Taylor to discover: we found some duplicates this year, but the main facts about the building were already known. One thing we wanted to find out was the original plan of the ziggurat built in the third millennium before Christ, and the character and extent of the work done on that building by Nabonidus in the sixth century. In that we have been successful. *Here* you see the ziggurat standing up against the sky. This wall is quite cleared, and you can see traces of the upper stages, most of which have been destroyed. Another view shows the front of the ziggurat as it appeared when finally excavated. Here you have the great central staircase leading up to the top of the building, with the side stairs converging on the same central landing, and in the corners are these solid square buttresses, which were probably decorated by statues. The whole of the work that is seen there, with the exception of the scanty ruins at the very top, was built by Ur-Engur about two thousand three hundred years before Christ. It has survived in that condition until the present time. It is extremely well built with fine burnt brick, very fine, some with stamps bearing the King's name. These formed the face of the building; the core was of mud brick, solid, and all right so long as protected from the weather; the face was adorned with shallow buttresses, and there were two main drains running down the side. Here is a reconstruction of the face you have just seen. Mr. Newton has been able to work this out with practical certainty in every detail except, perhaps, for the actual crenellations along the sky-line, which are probable, but of which we have no evidence. The staircase leading up the centre met the other stairs, and they joined together in a doorway which took you on to a landing or platform of the second stage. From there you walked along to the left behind the parapet, went down a flight of stairs and found yourself on the lowest stage of the building, from which a central staircase cut through the edges of the terraces led you up to a doorway in the south-east face of the temple. On the north-east face another flight of steps, continuing the central flight of the first stage, led you to a second doorway in this side of the temple. If, instead of turning to the left, you turned to the right on reaching the main stairhead, a small flight of stairs there took you up to the next stage, along which you could walk round the building. It is an extraordinarily impressive structure. You have to imagine in the first place that it was coloured,

and in the second place that, standing on its own terrace, it would only be seen to advantage with the columned wall in front of it—that is, if you saw it from the courtyard which we excavated, you would have rising from the ground the columned wall, pure white, then above that the whole of the structure, up to the top stage but one, was absolutely black, covered with a coating of bitumen, put on with a brush: the top stage was brilliant red, and the little temple which crowned the whole thing was built of bricks, glazed and coloured sky-blue. So that you had your horizontal bands of colour going up in a conventional and, I suppose, mystical order, and at the same time you had a very skilful architectural scheme of lines: at the base the vertical lines of your colonnade, above that the main lines of the staircase converging to a central point and standing in contrast to the less abrupt contour of the building. Everything points from the whole breadth of the ground level to a central point, and at that central point you have your vertical lines of the gateway leading up to the most brilliant part of the whole structure—namely, the outstanding blue shrine. It is an architectural unity of a very fine order.

The lowest stage with its three staircases is Ur-Engur's; what remains of the upper stages of the temple is all due to Nabonidus. The work of tracing this out was extremely difficult, and I do not think anybody but Mr. Newton could have done it. One small item was of rather dramatic interest. We were much puzzled by some work in the east corner, and could not make out to whom to assign one particular piece of wall and one particular piece of paving. On pulling up a bit of pavement carefully we found the bricks stamped with the name of Nabonidus, and therefore there was no doubt about who put the pavement down. Underneath it the wall ran down a considerable depth, and the bricks bore the name of Ur-Engur; but underneath the pavement level there was a great breach in the wall, where the whole masonry had been attacked, the bricks pulled out, and not put back. This was clearly the hole made by Nabonidus's workmen, when at the King's orders they were looking for the foundation tablet put in the corner of the building by Ur-Engur; they found it, and did not fill up the hole they had made. It was an admirable confirmation of the King's statement.

This work on the ziggurat, whatever it did produce, did not give much in the way of small objects, such as museums value, but was not wholly barren in small things. We found a fair number of inscribed gate stones with royal inscriptions, a few inscriptions of other sorts, and an outlying part of the site where there had been a graveyard of about 2000 B.C. The graves were almost completely destroyed by weather, but this graveyard produced a number of important objects—beads of all sorts in stone faience and gold, clay pots and vases, a few bronze objects, as well as very many cylinder seals with inscriptions

and figures engraved upon them, and a whole series of terra-cotta reliefs of very great interest. I illustrate only a few here, but I think in the exhibition which we hope to open in about ten days in the Museum I shall be exhibiting about fifty. They give types of deities sometimes familiar, often not. Here you have the familiar figure of the god holding the vase from which ran the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates; or the mother goddess holding a child; or a priestess, very much of the type of one found by us last year in the form of a gold figure on the top of a pin; or you have the seated Moon Goddess, a god and goddess seated together, or, again, a pair of standing deities. The whole of the types really want a great deal of working out, and they are, and will prove, of quite remarkable interest. I only put up this one slide to show you that in small objects Ur has not proved altogether disappointing. The work on the ziggurat took us the whole of the season with 200 men and sometimes more. It was extraordinarily dull work a great deal of it, especially the earlier part, when you were simply removing dirt, and I was exceedingly grateful to Mr. Gadd and Mr. FitzGerald that they took upon themselves this drudgery, and left me free to devote myself to the infinitely more exciting work at another place. We were carrying on two excavations at the same time. In 1919 Dr. Hall had made an excursion out into the desert, and hit upon a small isolated mound about five miles from the ruins of Ur, where he proceeded to excavate, and found objects of the most extraordinary interest and importance. He discovered a building there, of which part of the outline was traced by him, and against one wall face he came upon a hoard of objects, many of them in copper, some in stone and some in mosaic, of which the most important were reliefs and statues made of copper, in a very bad condition, but still of unique interest, and showing a very high style of art going back to a very remote period. Clearly a work like that begun by the British Museum had to be continued. This year I took a small force of men—about sixty—and set to work at Tel el-Obeid. The building, as subsequently unearthed, was what you see here, but all this is really only a platform, upon which the original building stood; it is, like the ziggurat, an artificial pedestal for a temple. It is a rectangle, built of burned brick, with a filling of mud brick, having on one side a projection of mud bricks only, up which ran a narrow flight of stone steps; at the back there was a drain, and on the main façade we find the remains of a broad flight of very fine stone steps made of great blocks of stone. Dr. Hall starting from the smaller flight of steps, which he found, had worked all round the building, and it was down in the angle between the south-east wall and the main stairway that he came upon the wonderful hoard of objects now in the British Museum.

We in many cases deepened Dr. Hall's work on the chance of find-

ing something more, but did not find anything except details of construction and such things as bits of pavement. We traced as well as could be the south-west projection, and found a most remarkable drain leading from it, built upon quite up-to-date principles; but when we came to work on the south-east face, between the south corner and the steps, we came on a hoard of copper and other objects, similar in character to those found by Dr. Hall, and not of less interest. As I said, this that we found was only a platform; originally there stood upon it a small building, occupying merely the south corner of the platform. The steps led to a doorway in the shrine, and the whole of the remainder was an open courtyard. The curious thing was that when we came to dig along the façade we found the objects tumbled together apparently in hopeless confusion, but as one worked on them more and more carefully, one realized that the position occupied by every object, its precise distance from the wall, the angle at which it lay, and the line of fall traceable in the rubbish above and below, all were of extreme importance; because by putting two and two together we were able on paper to reconstruct the building as it was when actually standing up. There was not a single brick left, but we knew with tolerable certainty what this temple was like. The staircase led to the door of the temple. That door was in a tower, which projected slightly over the ramp. Beyond the line of the main platform wall and in front of the doorway there was a pair of columns holding up a penthouse roof. The whole façade was extraordinarily ornate. The door was flanked by columns of mosaic, and the actual entry was flanked by copper statues of lions. Most of the objects from the actual doorway had fallen on the east side of the staircase. The building did not extend much east of the tower, so that most of the objects adorned the wall of the building on the west side of the steps, where they were found, and we can put them back practically in their places. You have to imagine the platform wall considerably higher than at the present time; it was built of bricks squared and shaped like a bun on top, and above the burnt brick the wall went up in mud brick, which may have been whitewashed. Along the top stood a row of copper statues of oxen; mixed up more or less with these oxen, but at a slightly lower level, there was a row of artificial flowers. A single slide will show how, as the excavations went on, this corner by the stairs was found to be simply full of fallen objects; one on the top of the other are the remains of four statues of oxen, made of sheets of copper hammered out over a wooden core. Two have been recovered, but the other two are hopeless. Here are columns of roofing beams of palmwood overlaid with sheets of copper made fast with copper rivets. That white patch is merely a layer of medical muslin bandages dipped in paraffin wax, but underneath those are the very good remains of mosaic columns: here is a copper relief of a bull

which has been moved from its position, backed up with wax and glue and so on, and is ready for transport; here is another similar one lying face downwards, showing still the copper holdfasts that made it secure in the wall; that has not been touched at all. Here is a copper bull enveloped in glued canvas being prepared for removal, and there is the loose head of a copper bull; a black oblong is the back part of a mosaic frieze. Practically the whole area was one litter of architectural remains. The bulls and lions I cannot show photographs of, because they are not in a condition yet to be photographed, but here is one of the mosaic columns which flanked the doorway of the temple. There were two of these columns, and we got them both out in tolerable condition; they stand about 7 feet 6 inches high. Here are some of the artificial flowers that formed the meadow amongst which stood our copper bulls. There was a row of them. The stem, pointed below, is made of clay, and the cup-shaped calyx is also clay; the petals are arranged in a cruciform fashion, four white, two red, and two black. Near the base of each stem is a hole running right through it, and just under the calyx is a nick made in the wet clay; the fact is that the flowers stood upright, held in position by wires, and waved about in the wind. Immediately above the row of copper bulls and flowers was a frieze running the whole length of the building, formed of copper bulls lying down, hammered out of thin sheets of copper, with heads cast separately and attached; the photograph shows one that has not been properly cleaned, and is not looking its best. I may say that the wooden core has entirely disappeared and been replaced by infiltered mud. The metal, originally copper, had decayed altogether. It was not only split and cracked into thousands of pieces, but had no copper left in it; it was pure oxide. We had to solidify and fasten together the fragments *in situ* before they could be moved, and case them in plaster or glued canvas or something; it was a work of extreme delicacy, and we could not do much out there to make them fit for illustration.

A Member: What is the actual size?

The Lecturer: They are 22 centimetres high and 60 long. We found a dozen of them altogether. Above this frieze of copper bulls was another frieze of quite different character. The borders were of copper above and below, the field of mosaic. In this case the animals, a procession of bulls, are fitted together from fragments of carved shell, most exquisitely carved and very fairly life-like, all the animals slightly different one from another. Naturally the joints show far more to-day than they ought to do: one has to remember that these are extremely ancient things, that they were lying under some 15 feet of mud brick, so that they have been pressed out of shape, and that there was absolutely nothing to hold them together; the wood had gone to nothing, and the bitumen by which they were attached to the wood

had gone to dust: one found these mosaic fragments lying in position, and one had to fix them together, lift them up in one piece, and form a new background to put them down to. The photograph shows a panel as found, before any restoration was attempted on it. Another piece of it was much more interesting, though unfortunately in this case the figures were not in shell but limestone, and the surface has therefore suffered much more. Here you have cows being milked by men who are squatting under their tails and milking into long vases. The cows are properly muzzled so that they shall not get a look in at the milk. In the centre is a cowshed, out of the door of which are coming two heifers; the building itself is clearly put up of reeds fastened together by rope binding. On the left of the byre are four men engaged in the domestic operation of straining and storing the clarified butter—presumably it is clarified butter, for that is what one naturally does store in the East. Here is a man dipping his hand into a great jar; here a companion is pouring the contents through a sieve held by another man into a receptacle on the ground; and here a man is holding in position a great store-jar which is to contain the substance. As an illustration of agricultural life in the remote past it is a unique thing. The relief is 22 centimetres high. From the same frieze, or a similar one, comes a curious mythological piece in strong contrast to the character of the central part I have shown you. This human-headed bull with a lion-headed eagle on his back has clearly some religious significance, but we do not know much about it. All these are in still greater contrast artistically with a very rude and primitive piece of carving, which cannot have come from the façade, but was found just below it. It is the upper part of a limestone wellhead. One point of interest about it is that we found a fragment of a stone vessel, on which was an inscription stating that a man had made and dedicated a wellhead to the goddess Nin-Khursag for the life of the King. One likes to think ours is the wellhead in question, and that we have what might be called a signed work of art from the earliest Sumerian times. When one talks of the earliest Sumerian times one naturally wants to know the grounds on which we claim such remote antiquity for objects which do not show anything very primitive in their artistic qualities. We found a small marble tablet which gave just the historical point we wanted. It said that "A-an-ni-pad-da, King of Ur, son of Mes-an-ni-pad-da, King of Ur, has built this place for Nin-Khursag." We know something of Nin-Khursag as a Goddess of Creation. A-an-ni-pad-da was entirely new, but his father's name was known from the Sumerian dynastic lists. These lists begin with enormous dynasties that are obviously mythological, but with the third dynasty after the Flood we come to something that looks a little bit more like the truth: the third dynasty after the Flood is the first dynasty of Ur, and the first king is Mes-an-ni-pad-da. He is

given a reign of eighty years, which sounds too much for a man who starts a dynasty, for he probably had to fight before he got the position, but if when he died he left a son, A-an-ni-pad-da—a name easily confused with that of his father—who did, in fact, become King of Ur, then we have only to insert his name in the king list, and the whole thing takes on a more historical air. There is no doubt the builder of our temple is the second king of the first dynasty of Ur, but the date of that dynasty is a problem on which experts differ. Professor Langdon, in the Cambridge *Ancient History*, brought out last autumn, put the first dynasty of Ur at 4216 B.C.; he has since seen reason to reduce that date to 4000 B.C., but does not think it can come later. Mr. Gadd on various grounds, chiefly epigraphical, is inclined to bring the date down to the second half of the fourth millennium. It is still, then, a matter of dispute precisely when King A-an-ni-pad-da came to the throne, but we can say that his little foundation tablet is the oldest dated historical monument in the world, and the record of a very much older king than we have hitherto been able to obtain from Babylonia. It carries us back, in any case, many hundreds—perhaps a thousand or more years. One is putting history back with a vengeance. That being so, and the temple being as ancient as it is, it is most fortunate that we have so many of these scattered ruins preserved for us, and extraordinarily interesting for us that we can in a measure put them together and reconstruct, as I hope to do, the actual appearance of the original building. There is no other building of anything approaching its age whose appearance we can expect at all to recover.

The temple which I have been describing did not stand alone. Close by is a large cemetery, of which we dug out a considerable part. This cemetery was, for the most part, contemporaneous with the temple: it produced graves of several types, chiefly with bodies in contracted positions, and large numbers of clay pots; there were also stone vessels, stone implements, occasionally copper pots, tools, beads, and odds and ends, and some of the skulls and bodies were extraordinarily well preserved. Many of them were undoubtedly contemporary with the first dynasty of Ur; some of them came considerably later. Here you get a view of a couple of graves, more or less of that period, between 3000 and 4000 B.C. The pots are arranged in order, and there is generally one small vase put close to the mouth of the deceased, very often held in his hand. The objects in these graves are very numerous and very important; here you see a few of them. Here is a copper dagger that must be contemporaneous with our temple or roughly so; here is a copper adze. When one comes to stone implements, one naturally thinks such must go back to an earlier period, but actually they occurred sometimes in the same graves as metal objects. Particularly interesting is a scraper, an

imitation in clay of the stone tool found beside it; even the stones had to be imported in Ur, and I suppose a poor person rather grudged putting so valuable a thing in the tomb of somebody he did not care very much about, and so made a clay substitute for the stone, or for a copper original. There is certainly excellent reason for attributing the earliest of the burials to the first dynasty, but we were not content with going back as far as A-an-ni-pad-da, and we got some things a great deal earlier. In this case the pottery is painted. When we started digging we found fragments of painted pottery all about the surface: when we dug down we failed to find it or graves containing it. There had been such graves, but when the people of the first dynasty of Ur made their graves they had forgotten the existence of the older graves and cared nothing about them. They came across the older burials and threw out the contents; and therefore the earlier pottery was broken and found above the later. Only one grave of this very early period was found intact, and for the most part we had to be content with broken pieces; this slide shows a few examples, mostly restored from fragments of pottery to which we can assign no date at all; we can only say that by about 4000 B.C. the people who produced this beautifully painted hand-made pottery had been forgotten and dishonoured.

I have kept you a very long time before sitting down, but I want to add one thing: I could not describe an extremely successful season such as we have had without saying how much of that success was due to the efficiency of my staff. Nobody knows as much as Mr. Newton about the architectural side of archæology. I need not say anything here about Mr. Gadd's knowledge on the cuneiform side; apart from that, he was ready to turn his hand to anything, and so, too, was Mr. FitzGerald, the volunteer of the party. I could not have had more able assistants or more uncomplaining, even when I gave them the dullest of dull jobs, and I feel that a very great part of the success was due to the spirit in which the work was done. Not only for the ability of the people who formed the staff, great as that ability was, but also for the loyal collaboration they were good enough to give me, I want very much to thank them before taking my seat. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The last time we had the advantage of hearing Mr. Woolley Sir Frederick Kenyon, the head of the British Museum, was here; I wish he had been able to be present to-day. I remember his telling us that the interest of all these great investigations is that we really try and find out something more than we already know about the origin of our race—where the earliest people of whom any records exist came from—and how by slow degrees facts are emerging which enable us to get nearer to our goal of finding out something about the very earliest ages of humanity. We have to-day Dr. Hall, who preceded Mr. Woolley in these investigations. He

has followed this matter in detail, and we shall be very glad indeed if Dr. Hall will kindly address us.

Dr. Hall: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am equally sorry with Sir Maurice that Sir Frederick Kenyon has not been able to come. Last year we had some very pertinent comments from him, not only on Mr. Woolley's actual excavations, but also on the general meaning of archæology, its use to the world, and why we should be interested in it and support the efforts of the archæologist and the historian to find out, as Sir Maurice has said, the beginnings of civilization, of mankind, and of the world. I am not going to detain you more than a few minutes. First of all, I wish again to congratulate my successor, Mr. Woolley, on the very great success of his work, both at Ur and Tel el-'Obeid. (Hear, hear.) He has shown you slides which have been of extreme interest to me, because I have not been able to go out to Mesopotamia since I was digging there in 1919, and it is very curious to see the work which one began oneself developing in the hands of someone else, and to see how buildings, which one perhaps saw the beginning of, or which one had not the slightest inkling were there, have come out of the sand, and are beginning to take shape under the hands of the excavator and his most accomplished architect, Mr. Newton. It is very interesting indeed to me to see what that ziggurat is like now. The lowest steps on one of those staircases which Mr. Woolley has described as plastered against the base of the ziggurat were found by me in 1919, in the course of that clearance of one of the faces of the ziggurat to which Mr. Woolley has alluded. There was a good deal of dispute as to whether it was a staircase or not, whether or not it had been previously found by Taylor, and how it led up to the side of the ziggurat. I do not think that any of us, until the excavations of this year, had any inkling that it was going to develop into a triple staircase, with that very fine effect of the central way up the middle, and the two side ways up the side of the ziggurat. Turning to Tel el-'Obeid, it seems to be my fate to be associated with the excavation of buildings which are placed upon a central platform with a ramp going up the middle of one of the faces and a colonnade on either side, because that is exactly the type of building I found at Deir el-baḥri in Egypt in 1903, when working with M. Naville for the Egypt Exploration Fund. This building of Tel el-'Obeid is planned apparently on very much the same lines as the temple of King Mentuhotep III. Not that I want you to imagine I am making any comparison other than the simple resemblance of the outward shape. The countries are widely apart from one another, and there is no relation between the two designs so far as one knows; but it is curious to see that in both countries people liked to design a building, an important holy building—whether funerary or one in which the gods were worshipped—with this fine central staircase or

ramp and with colonnades of figures of sacred animals on either side, and here probably with a tower at the top of the ramp, leading into the building beyond.

Something you should specially note in Mr. Woolley's description of his digging is the admirable way in which he has conserved and brought back these copper objects which he discovered at Tel el-'Obeid. He did not describe in detail—he had not the time—the way in which he, so to speak, embalmed these bulls in order to bring them home, and how they are gradually being exhumed out of their mummy wrappings of wax and glue in which they have been brought back; but I wish that in 1919, when I was there, I had been able to avail myself of the amount of wax and canvas and so on which he had at his disposal. But I worked under war conditions, which gave me plenty of motor-cars, but little else. Mr. Woolley is possibly right in thinking that the lions which had tumbled down into the part of the colonnade, if I may so call it, which I excavated, were originally placed on the top of the staircase leading up the centre of the building, and I hope he will be able later on with Mr. Newton to make us some kind of drawing of what he thinks this building actually looked like when it was in its prime, with its life-size lions, some of which you see in the British Museum, and those extraordinarily life-like figures of the bulls, of which Mr. Woolley has shown you photographs to-day.

I was very glad to hear Mr. Woolley speaking so highly of the help of his assistants. I wish I had had some assistants! He had, as he says, a most efficient staff. Mr. Newton is with us to-night, and, I believe, Mr. Gadd also: Mr. Gadd's knowledge of cuneiform writing must, as Mr. Woolley says, have been of the very greatest use, and when Mr. Gadd deciphered that tablet of A-annipadda and announced it as the oldest record of a Babylonian king that had ever been found, I am sure that Mr. Woolley and the whole of the camp must have felt that they had really obtained an important historical result, which amply justified the expenditure on the expedition by the two museums concerned, British and American. I do not think I have anything more to say except again to congratulate Mr. Woolley on his successful completion of this work which I began. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then closed the meeting; he commented on the wonderfully interesting character of the discoveries, and, as he thanked Mr. Woolley on behalf of the Society, said he much hoped to have the pleasure of hearing him another year, and assured him of a very hearty welcome. (Applause.)

ANNUAL DINNER

THE annual dinner of the Central Asian Society was held in the King Edward VII. Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on July 3, under the chairmanship of the President, the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Earl Winterton, M.P., proposed the toast of the Society, coupled with the name of Lord Curzon. He said he felt rather like a boy in the lower forms at school proposing the health of the sixth form, for though he had been in a mild sense a traveller in Asia, Africa, America, and elsewhere, he saw before him many very distinguished travellers whose experiences had been far wider than his own, and whose names were known throughout the world for their exploits in that direction. Further, he felt some hesitation in proposing the toast, for though he was for a short time Under-Secretary for India, he must confess to finding Africa a far more interesting continent than Asia. (Laughter and cheers.) He was one of those deplorable and undesirable individuals who owned a large area of land in Africa for the purpose of exploiting it, and to get what he could out of its wretched inhabitants. (Laughter.) He felt it would become increasingly the case that the eyes of the people of this country would be turned more toward Africa than Asia.

The Central Asian Society did a great deal of good, however, in endeavouring to keep awake the interest in Asia and in Asian problems. He was sorry that in this country the number of those who were interested in overseas problems was so very small compared with the area and importance of those problems. In London one could hear lectures and discussions by experts in relation to every part of the world and to the Empire in particular. But when they came to look at the people in this country who, after all, were their masters, the electorate, they found that the number of them interested in these problems was regrettably limited, and he was not sure as time went on that it got really larger. The longer he was in politics (and he had been in them twenty years), the more appalled he was at the tremendous ignorance of the huge mass in this country of the overseas problems in which they had an ultimately deciding voice.

He coupled with the toast the name of Lord Curzon with much pleasure, because their President had won great distinction in the many high offices he had held, and also because he had enjoyed his friendship for many years. Most of those present had probably read his recent delightful book of travels, and he thought few of them who had travelled had failed to read it with pleasure, and had not found in it at any rate some experiences similar to those which they themselves

had undergone in different parts of the world. In his political life Lord Curzon had set a very fine example to those of his own generation by setting himself the task at the earliest possible time of acquainting himself by personal observation on the spot with those problems of other lands with which as a politician and statesman he had later to deal. (Cheers.) His example was not followed to the extent that it might have been by his own generation, but it was satisfactory that the younger generation to which he (the speaker) belonged had done much more in respect to that example. It was a fact that in the Conservative Government in office last year, amongst the senior members Lord Curzon was almost the only one who had much first-hand knowledge of India and other parts of the Overseas Empire. But the great majority of the younger members of the Administration had travelled in different parts of the world, and especially in different parts of the Empire. He was sure that was all to the good. The older he got, the more convinced he was that travel was one of the greatest delights and benefits which life could confer. Personally, when the war came and he took such part as he could in it, he could not sufficiently congratulate himself on having been a traveller, especially in such countries as the Sudan and different parts of Africa, for this was a great advantage to anyone partaking in war service overseas.

He must confess that he took a rather gloomy view about the attitude of this country towards overseas problems. He was afraid that until the great mass of the voters could be induced to take an interest in these problems a great deal of work now being done would not bear fruition. As the guest of the Society, he would like to ask if there were any steps that could be taken to educate the public at large on these subjects, and particularly respecting the problems with which we had to deal, especially in Asia. If the Society could contribute to this end, it would confer a very great benefit upon the Empire. Unless something of the kind was done, he failed to see how we could get decisions in the political sense favourable to the continued existence of our great commitments in different parts of the world. There was danger of a growing divorcement between those whose business it was to administer abroad and those who were administering at home, unless they realized the real power of the voters and their representatives. It was to be remembered that some of those who were the representatives of this country in His Majesty's Government were quite recently amongst the least instructed and most ignorant of our public men on these problems. (Cheers.)

The Marquess Curzon, who was received with enthusiasm, while thanking Lord Winterton for his personal references, said he must enter an immediate and emphatic caveat on his declaration that Africa was not only of equal but of superior interest to Asia. That such a heresy should be preached by a sensible and competent man was to

him incredible. (Laughter.) What was Africa? A country of sands and deserts (laughter), plentifully peopled with black men; an arena, no doubt, of great historical antiquity in the north, and splendid British endeavour in the south and round the circumference. But it could not be compared with Asia—the great continent from which all religions, all ideas, all great achievements had sprung; the fountain-head of everything great that had come into the world from immemorial times; the birthplace of the most striking vicissitudes which had ever been witnessed by man; the scene of the greatest events in history; still the fertile source of inspiration and ideas. That a guest of the Central Asian Society should get up to propose the toast of the Society and to couple his (the President's) name with it and then to deride the subject of the toast, was an unbelievable atrocity. (Laughter.) The explanation made it no better, for from it they learned that it was based on sordid material interests. Asia had never brought the noble lord a rupee, and therefore he wiped out Asia and explained to them his attachment to the miserable continent of which he had truly said that the inhabitants were wretched. (Loud laughter.)

I, at any rate (continued Lord Curzon), will be no party to such a heresy. I am here to speak of Central Asia, which is to me and many of those in this room the scene of recollections that charm almost more than anything else in the world. What is Central Asia? It is a part of the world which for hundreds of years has appealed to the traveller, to the archæologist, to the man of affairs, to the writer, to anybody with an idea above the commonplace. Central Asia holds us by the magnificence of its surroundings and by the splendour of its surface. What is the exact appeal that it makes? It appeals in the first place to the spirit of enterprise and adventure. For centuries the ablest pioneers have selected Central Asia as the field of their exploration, whether they went for discovery or for trade. It has also appealed strongly to the interests of religion, as witness the devotion of the friars of the Middle Ages. The call was heard for purposes of trade by our own pioneers; at a later date it came to those in the service of Government. The adventure and enterprise of which Central Asia is the scene have been one of the moving agencies in the history of mankind.

Look at the long struggle for more than a century to unveil the mysterious land of Tibet, a work at last accomplished by Sir Francis Younghusband (cheers), whom I am glad to see here, in a mission under my auspices. Then, again, look at the appeal that Central Asia has always made to the sense of beauty that exists in all of us. There is the communion with nature that we achieve when we wander over those distant lands and view the great spaces, the mighty peaks, the solid glaciers, the rushing rivers, and all the other splendours of nature in its manifold forms. Nobody has realized that to the same extent

or expressed it so vividly as Sir Francis Younghusband in at least two of his books, one on the Himalayas recently published, and the other entitled "The Heart of a Continent." You will find in those works the communion with nature which travel in Central Asia has enabled him to acquire, in penetrating to the core and centre of things.

Then there is the appeal that Central Asia has always made, and continues to make, to the scientist, the naturalist, the ethnologist, and the antiquarian. I see before me Sir Aurel Stein. (Cheers.) Central Asia has made him deservedly famous in the history of travel and science. I am proud to have been the means of sending him out on the first of the great missions in which he has rendered so much service to Central Asia, and in which he has unfolded so many of its mysteries. Central Asia makes a further appeal, which will strike home to many of us even more closely—the appeal to the spirit of service and of duty. I am proud as an Englishman when I think of the services which have been rendered by our countrymen in these remote parts of the world, not only our officers serving on the actual frontiers of India, introducing peace and keeping order among the tribes, but also by those who have sustained the great name of England, very often in circumstances of isolation and remoteness, and made it respected among the people of even more distant regions. For instance, Sir Charles Bell, who recently spent some time at Lhasa, achieved successes which would have been incredible a few years ago, while similarly remarkable work spread over many years was done by Sir George Macartney at Kashgar. Such men, often having occasion to doubt whether they were upheld by the Government at home, have kept steadily on doing their work, and sustaining the honour and glory of our Empire. (Cheers.)

The fact is that Central Asia appeals to the sense of service and of duty more than any corresponding area on the globe. But when I talk of Central Asia I am not confining myself to the strict geographical limits of that term. If you look at the map you will see that geographically Central Asia comprises Russian Turkistan, Chinese Turkistan, the Pamirs, Tibet, and Mongolia; but when we talk of Central Asia I think we mean something of very much wider application than that. For instance, you might argue that Turkey and the Turkish dominions are in a sense a European and Western problem. Constantinople has long been a great question of the Near East; but as you go eastwards you find that the Turkish question is an Asian question, which overspreads the whole of Asia Minor and flows into Persia and Afghanistan, and has exercised a vital influence during the last ten or twenty years in India. Therefore you find that Turkey, although in the region of its former capital a European power, has been a great Central Asian power and force.

So also China, associated in the popular conception with Japan as

forming the Far East, is a great Central Asian power and force. When you go into Central Asia you find in vast stretches Chinese rule and Chinese subjects. Just as on the one side you find Turkey, so on the other you find China somehow or other forcing itself into Central Asia and becoming a part of the Central Asian problem. Thus to-night I am not talking of a relatively narrow geographical area, but I am talking about the real centre of the Asian Continent, embracing at least half the peoples who inhabit the whole of that immense area. I was looking to-day at the last issue of your excellent *Journal*, and I find that you emphatically recognize the wide implications of the term "Asia." You have articles in this issue about Tibet, Persia, the downfall of the Caliphate, and the Indian Frontier. You would make a very great mistake if in the *Journal* you confined yourselves to the geographical Central Asia, for your purpose is to deal with the political Central Asia, and I hope that the editor and the *Journal* will always bear that cardinal point in mind and will not restrict the wide area over which your activities have hitherto been spread. I think, if I may say so in passing, that your *Journal* is a splendid production. I never take up a number and read its papers without recognizing that they are written by experts, and that they contain information which could not be found anywhere else in the world. There is an atmosphere of seriousness about them which renders them invaluable contributions to human knowledge; and if this Society existed only for its *Journal*, if it never gave a dinner, it seems to me that its existence would be justified by this publication.

Here let me say a word about another journal which I wish to commend. It is the paper called *The Near East.* Just as I said it is difficult to define Central Asia, so is it difficult to define the Near East, and I am glad to find in the weekly journal which bears that name articles about all parts of the Asiatic problem which are to my mind of the greatest value, and I hope that the editor and proprietors will long continue to give them to the world. (Cheers.)

In dealing with the Central Asian problem, the first thought that occurs to me is that of the astounding changes that have come over Central Asia during the last quarter of a century. I take the changes of that time because it is convenient to begin with the dawn of the century, and because my own experience of responsibility in dealing with any of these problems synchronizes with the close of the nineteenth century. Just imagine the difference in the situation about the year 1900 and the present time. Turkey then had a sovereign, who was both Sultan and Caliph, who combined spiritual and temporal power, which had been hereditary from almost immemorial times in the possession of one branch or another of the Turkish family. Turkey, no doubt, was not a great Power, though she thought herself so, but her possession of Constantinople and her great position in Europe enabled

her to exercise a most potent influence throughout the whole of the Eastern world.

At that time Russia had a Tsar and an imperial system believed to be deeply rooted in the affections of the Russian people. She spread abroad an influence and a power largely based upon military force, which was certainly from the material point of view one of the most tremendous agencies that ever existed in the world, and was a source of constant anxiety to ourselves. You had, then, in the perimeter of the Russian Empire, large states in the Caucasus absorbed into her system, but still retaining some measure of individual life. You had small monarchies, filled by princes at Khiva and Bokhara under Russian influence, but still presenting some traces of their old resplendence and glory. Persia was held up between the rival arms of Russia and Great Britain, while Afghanistan at that time was ruled by a singularly powerful and capable sovereign.

Further East you had the Empire of China with an Emperor at Peking, still shrouded in the mystery of the Forbidden City and surrounded by the almost unbelievable conservatism of its people. At one moment you were shocked by the weakness of China, and at another moment appalled by its strength and by the influence which it exerted by reason of the vast populations under the rule of the Emperor. China at that time was so powerful that, even in her feebleness, you had men of imagination who thought and spoke of the Yellow Peril as calculated to confront and overwhelm the Western world.

That was the situation twenty-five years ago. What is the situation now? There have never been twenty-five years in the history of the world in which such a tremendous change has been produced in the state of affairs of a great continent. Take Turkey: the Sultan gone, the Caliph gone, a sort of sham republic set up which is merely a disguise for military despotism. Under this system she is making experiments of independence and hostility to the outside world by which she and she alone will be the sufferer. The old Turkey has gone, irremediably gone, and whereas twenty-five years ago anybody who touched the Caliph or the spiritual and temporal power of the Sultan would have been almost immediately swept out of existence, that change has been effected with scarcely a murmur in the Mohammedan world. Look at Russia: the Tsar, the Imperial family, and the whole system of Imperialism has gone with all its great state and with its huge military force. It has crumbled away into a multiple collection of furtive republics, more or less bound together under the ægis of the Soviet Government at Moscow. That is not only an immense change, but a deplorable disaster, because whether we approved of the Russian Empire or not, at any rate there was stability, cohesion, and strength, whereas now there are a number of jarring atoms called democracies, crushed under the heel of a relentless despotism, masquerading in the disguise of a republic.

Then take Persia, which exists for the moment, held together by the hand of a rather strong man, but with an absentee sovereign whom she does not seem particularly desirous to welcome back to the country, sinking deeper and deeper into the mire of destitution and feebleness. Khiva has gone, Bokhara has gone; Afghanistan, it is true, still exists as a kingdom, but with a dynasty liable, as you all know, to great personal vicissitudes. And what is now the former great Empire of China? It is neither an empire nor a republic; it is nothing more than a great splash on the map—an amorphous collection of human beings without government, without cohesion, without solidity, and with nothing except their huge numbers. China is split up into a series of small independent governorships under military dictators, who collect the taxes, amuse themselves, flout the central government, and do exactly what they will.

That is the condition to which Central Asia has been reduced in the last twenty-five years, and whereas a quarter of a century ago you would have said that that continent was the quarter of the globe where the most deeply embedded conservatism prevailed, where ancient monarchies were more firmly established than elsewhere, you will find to-day in the whole of the East only three kings—the Shah of Persia, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the King of Siam. There are, it is true, other kings dotted about here and there, but they are merely linnets singing in gilded cages. The whole of that vast organization which seemed to be so firmly founded has been swept into space.

What is all this due to? I think it has been due in the main to two causes. In the first place, it is due to the existence of the grotesque illusion that parliamentary institutions, which are essentially the outcome of Western thought and ideas, are suitable to Eastern peoples. (Hear, hear.) The decay of Asia began on the very day which saw the introduction of parliamentary institutions. It is not an exaggeration; it is a profound truth that I speak. Take the National Assembly at Angora—a body which affects to be not only a legislative assembly, but also to have executive powers, but which is being very properly put in its place by Kemal Pasha. The Persian Mejliss has had a history of lamentable vicissitudes. The Parliament of China only exists because it never meets (laughter), although you will see it gravely referred to in any work of reference as a part of the constitution of the country. The Legislative Assemblies with which we have recently endowed India cannot be said to have brought peace in their train. These Eastern nations have adopted experiments of Western origin, based on Western experience, and they have been, and will be, deplorable failures.

In the second place, the decay of Asia is due to an aggressive spirit of nationalism, which has received a great impetus from the war, partly racial in its origin, partly religious, and partly political, which has led these people to believe that they are not only as good as we,

but better. They have seen in their contact with Western civilization its weaknesses, its foibles, its troubles, its disasters, and there has arisen in them the idea, based partly on a mistaken reading of their own history and partly on ignorance of world conditions, that they are capable of resuming the position they held in antiquity, and to recover for themselves the supremacy which they once enjoyed.

These are, I believe, the two main explanations of the terrible and lamentable collapse of Central Asia in the last quarter of a century. But here I come to the application of my reflections. Is there any hope for the future of Central Asia? I cannot make a confident prediction any more than anyone else at this table. Prophesying in Asia has always been a dangerous thing. (Laughter.) According as the Hebrew prophets prophesied on a larger or a smaller scale, so they were known as major or minor prophets. Both made mistakes, and to-night I am not going to array myself in the robe of either a major or a minor prophet. I cannot say how things are going to work out in the future, except that I think that, for the time being at any rate, the process will be downwards, not upwards. But in this area of chaos and dissolution there is yet one great dominion still intact, with its frontiers still untouched, one great Empire still, I believe, capable of exhibiting those virtues and setting that example which may help, if not to stay, at any rate to arrest the decline of Central Asia. I allude to the Indian Empire of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Here you still have British rule, although shaken, supreme; still you have the frontiers of India untouched by external invasion; still you have Englishmen devoting to their great work in the East the strength and substance of their lives. The duty imposed on us from on high still lies on the British race. Let us not take our hands from the plough.

Lord Winterton spoke despondingly about the work of England abroad and about the ignorance of these matters at home. There may have been some truth in his remarks. At the same time I should be reluctant to proclaim myself a pessimist in these matters. I see that things in India are not what they were. I see feelings, ambitions, and aspirations rising amongst the people that it will be difficult to satisfy without some sacrifice of our position and our greatness. I see the services which have brought about such astounding progress in India to some extent disheartened and discouraged. But now, ladies and gentlemen, is the time to brace ourselves together before it is too late. Believe me, no Englishman can perform a greater service now to his country than to devote himself to the re-establishment in Asia of that influence which has built up our strength and our reputation in the world. Let there be no dealing with unclean things in our work in that continent. Let us preserve our frontiers, keep our armies sufficiently strong to maintain the peace; let us support our services; let us teach our people that it is still worth while to go out there to labour, to struggle, to fight to maintain the high traditions of the

British services in those parts of the world. In doing so you are not merely keeping the flag flying, and sustaining the honour and glory of England, but you are making a contribution to the stability of Asia, and to the restitution of a state of strength which seems almost for the time being to have disappeared.

I suppose I have not been making exactly an after-dinner speech except for the few remarks with which I began. But you must pardon me, because to me Central Asia and Asia generally mean much more than anything else in the world. I have devoted the greater part of my life to Asia, and it is a subject ever in my thoughts. I have written about little else than Asia, and you must forgive me if, even on a festive occasion, I have tried to convey to you the thoughts which are moving in my mind, and to get you to understand that Asia is not merely a continent where strong men make hazardous journeys under difficult conditions, but a focus of moral duty and responsibility. The work of the recovery of Asia rests upon us and upon our people, and we must attack it so that the blame for any failure may not be with us. It has given me the greater pleasure to have said so much about India as the pivot from which recovery can be made because of the presence of Sir George Lloyd (loud cheers), just back from Bombay. He is one of those young Englishmen who in every phase of public life have shown a keen interest in the external responsibilities of Great Britain, for which I have been pleading to-night. He is an intrepid traveller, a great authority on the East, and his heart is full of the ideas which I have been presenting. There came to him while still young the great opportunity to go out to Bombay, where, with the assistance, if I may say so, of his charming wife, Lady Lloyd (cheers), he enjoyed a popularity which has not been exceeded by any of his predecessors. In the sphere of administration he showed not only imagination but courage, and it is a great thing in the Government of India for the English administrator to have courage. He always stood for high ideals, and was prepared to sacrifice much for them. (Cheers.)

Sir George Lloyd, who was received with great applause, said: There can be no one in this room who will not sympathize with me upon having to speak immediately after the extraordinarily eloquent speech to which we have just listened. (Cheers.) Only in one respect can I withhold my support to what Lord Curzon said. My belief is that Lord Winterton was completely insincere in all he said as to Africa being of superior interest to Asia. (Laughter.) His own war exploits in Arabia are a telling refutation of what Lord Curzon termed his heresy. Lord Winterton has devoted keen attention to the problems of the Middle East and of India, and they have been the topic of many conversations I have had with him since my return to this country. There are no aspects of these problems in which he is not keenly interested, and it is only his provocative nature which led him to make the remarks Lord Curzon has criticized to-night.

We are very fortunate in having Lord Curzon in the chair, for no one who has been closely identified with Indian administration will doubt that in that long and illustrious chain of statesmen who have held the viceroyalty of India, Lord Curzon still stands pre-eminent among them all. It was not, indeed, until I went to live in India that I at all grasped the colossal ubiquity of Lord Curzon's interest and activity in that vast peninsula. I found it difficult even as Governor of a Presidency to visit all the places of historic and administrative importance in Western India, but practically wherever I went, Lord Curzon had been before me: there was scarcely an ancient monument he had not done something to rescue or to preserve, no great national feature he had not personally observed, no act of vandalism that he had not checked. When one realizes that his spirit of penetration was confined neither to Western India nor to India as a whole, but had run its intellectual riot over a large part of Central Asia beside, one is amazed that anything of that energy was left to carry on the great Imperial tasks that have fallen on his shoulders in the hazardous days that span the close of his great viceroyalty and the present day. (Cheers.)

Some of us members of the Central Asian Society, fired, I think, by his example, have spent the best part and the happiest years of our life in Eastern travel and study. I began my wanderings in Morocco at the age of fifteen, and, with the exception of five or six years in Parliament, have spent all my working life travelling and working in the Middle East. I watched that amazing decade of struggle against the efforts of Germany to throw herself and her power athwart our land and sea communications to India. The days of the Drang nach Osten and of the Mittel Europa and Mittel Asien policies of Germany saw their result in the outbreak of the world war and in the tragedy of the events that drew Turkey—one of our oldest friends and allies—into the war against us without cause of quarrel or difference of purpose.

Throughout the period of my observation, the real basis of all our concern and the mainspring of all our policies and actions, were they in the Balkan legations, in Stamboul, in Persia, Baghdad, or Aden, or the Gulf, was the security of India and its economic welfare, nor without that consideration would British troops have been fighting almost at one and the same time in Macedonia, Gallipoli, Palestine, Sinai, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and East Africa.

The results of the war have secured unimpaired the strategic security of India, but, as Lord Curzon has eloquently shown, have shattered the stability and upset the balance of all those Eastern nations that flank India on its north and north-western approaches; and it seems to me that the tranquillity of these adjacent countries, and the relations between them and ourselves, is to-day the most important question confronting our Eastern policy. (Cheers.)

In view of the changes taking place in India itself, it is of prime importance to us that India should not be an island in a sea of disturbed states round her, and it falls to our lot now as before to be the main factor in the pacification and resettlement of those adjacent territories. (Cheers.)

But the task is not easy: in Russia we have a Government who, up to the present time, have done all they could by virulent anti-British propaganda to stir up and foment discord between those we govern and ourselves. That this propaganda has not already had more serious effect is a great tribute, not only to the loyalty of Indians themselves, but to the loyalty and watchfulness of those great administrative Services for whom nowadays we seem content to do so little, and who have done and are doing so much for us.

In Turkey all has changed so rapidly that, as we have been reminded to-night, we can scarcely realize the immensity of the events or their bearing upon Eastern mentality. The old mainspring of Turkey's religious and secular life has recently been broken in the abolition by the Turks of their age-long Caliphate—and it would appear that the present Turkish leaders have decided to attempt to rebuild their country's fortunes upon a basis of secular nationalism. Of such stuff have most revolutions been made; but I am inclined to think that to that action there will be a reaction in due course, and that the river of popular thought and inclination will some day return to its old bed, leaving behind it, perhaps, some new and fertilizing silt where it has receded, but returning to the old allegiance. However this may be, one thing, at any rate, would seem to be clear—namely, that Turkey is not likely, unless all her past history has no meaning, long to be content with a purely Anatolian future. Her period of southward and Arabian penetration may or may not be terminated, but her amazing capacity for the absorption of other civilizations, from Byzantium to Chinese Turkistan and beyond, convinces me that the Turkish people, if for a few years they can keep the peace at home and repopulate their borders, will still attempt to play a large part in Asiatic and probably Central Asiatic affairs—this, too, in a manner which we would do well not to ignore in the early stages.

While, however, the present mood of Turkey's rulers remains unchanged, while her public debt remains repudiated, and while British traders are harassed in their most ordinary commercial dealings in Turkish territory, there is, perhaps, little to be done in that country. But I for one, who have a long and happy remembrance of the qualities of the Turkish people, do not believe that their exaggerated secularism or their ostracizing nationalism is more than a passing phase, and trust that when prudence and moderation return, England will, in accordance with a friendship that England, at any rate, never broke, be the first to assist Turkey in the formation of her

new future. (Cheers.) That such relations between England and Turkey are necessary as a first step in the pacification of the areas that surround and influence India is, I think, clear.

But if we are interested critics of other nations in the East, is it not about time that we paused to consider how far we are at the present moment showing prudence and statesmanship in our own policy in the East? I confess to having returned from India a good deal exercised, not so much in regard to the particular structure of this policy or that (for where there is goodwill and accord in a mutual purpose almost any structure will serve), but more in regard to the uncertain touch with which we seem often to be handling the delicate position in India to-day.

Lord Curzon has demolished the theories of so-called advances in the constitution of Asiatic countries which have been made. There can be no question that even in India the ideas of democracy are alien to the people, being based on the fallacious belief in the existence of a national united Indian feeling, which has not yet come to birth. But we have to maintain our policy of constitutional development and to steadily carry on. I am one of those who believe that the reforms in India can still be made workable, and in a sense successful, given three things: the *first* is that the authority and power of the Central Government is not allowed to be impaired; the *second,* that the maximum rate of progress in constitutional development is laid down rigidly, adhered to, and not made subject to sporadic and intermediate revisions; and the *third,* that the Indianization of the administrative services is made more slowly than, and always subsequent in each stage to, any added transfer of political power.

My anxiety to-day is lest the reforms should risk a breakdown for lack of the observation of these essential conditions. In the first place, I think there is some evidence that the power of the central authority, its sureness of touch, and its power of decision has, to some extent, already been impaired under the reforms. (Cheers.) That in itself is a bad feature, for I think that progress in provincial self-government risks being retarded if the central authority is weakened, while, *per contra,* if it is maintained, the possibilities of orderly advance in the provinces is increased. In the second place, we seem to be on the eve of considering further constitutional changes (by one process or another) before we are halfway through the first experimental decade. That is unsettling to the minds of all concerned; it prevents those who are trying to work these reforms from settling down to their task; it hampers the formation of those bodies of constitutional opposition in the Chambers on which the success of the whole democratic system depends, and it adds to the unrest, not only of the politicians, but of the services, who never know from one day to the other what new changes are in store for them; and, lastly, we are failing, I fear, and this is the gravest matter of all, to arrest the break-up of these services

through whose agency alone, in my view, have the reforms a real chance of success. (Cheers.)

In a word, therefore, I believe that most of the surface unrest in India is due to a belief in India that we do not know our own mind, and that our policy can be made alterable according as the gusts of newspaper or partisan demands indicate. As important in the East as the keeping of law and order is to make the public sure that you will keep it, and what is true in this domain is equally true in the domain of constitutional change. (Cheers.) Much of the distrust with which the politician of extreme views regards us in India today is, I believe, due to a lack of candour on our part towards their aspirations. They are not blind to the immense strategic and material importance which the position of India and its markets has for us; they believe, unnecessarily I think, that every step in the reforms must be a menace to our interests, and they are perhaps naturally reluctant to believe that, without constant agitation and pressure, we shall really honestly give effect to the policy to which we have pledged ourselves.

I believe it is essential to do all we can to dissipate this distrust, and I believe that much of it, at any rate, could be dissipated if we had the courage to speak more frankly on what does and does not conflict with British interests in India. (Cheers.) After all, there is nothing to be ashamed of in our desire and our duty to defend our own purely British interests in India, provided that we can do so without any detriment to the welfare of the peoples of India, and without standing in the way of the fair and reasonable aspirations of the various races and communities in India. I believe that if we were, in our relations with India, more frank in saying what can be done and what we will do to meet their aspirations, and equally frank in pointing out the limits of what can be done at any particular stage because of conflict with our legitimate interests in India, the next and most desirable process of thought in the minds of sane Indian politicians would be the perception that what is not in British interests in India may also not be in Indian interests, and that anything which risks the constitutional development of India under the sympathy and protection of Great Britain must, in the end, be more fatal to India than even to England. (Cheers.)

That a policy of courtesy, candour, courage, and consistency will bring better feeling and greater content may to some seem unduly optimistic, but five years—not very peaceful ones either—in India have convinced me so fully of the wealth of real loyalty and warm feeling that permeates the vast mass of the peoples of India, that I believe that it is the uncertainty of our policy that leads more than anything to the doubt and distrust of our intentions towards India's future. (Loud applause.)

AN AUTUMN TOUR IN DAYLAM

I

THE ancient province of Daylam first comes to notice in post-Muhammadan times as the home of the independent Ziyarid dynasty, patrons of learning and letters from the middle of the tenth to the middle of the eleventh centuries. It is still more famous as the homeland of the contemporary but greater Buyid kings, who extended their conquests over Western Persia and remained the *de facto* rulers of the Moslem Empire (the degenerate Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad being mere puppets in their hands) until they went down before the Seljuqs in 1055.

Daylam is properly the name of the mountainous country at the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea, and the name survives to-day in the village and upland district of Daylaman, south-south-east of Resht in Persia. The coastal plain was called Gil or Gilan, but the name Daylam came to denote the whole province. To-day the process has been reversed, and the name Gilan is applied to the whole administrative area.

Geographically the district falls into three distinct zones: first, the coastal plain, with the sea-shore backed by a wellnigh impenetrable jungle and ordinarily referred to by the natives as Gilan in the primary restricted sense; second, the forest-covered spurs running out from the massif of the Elburz range northwards to the sea, and called in the local idiom *kulhat*; and third, the bare mountains, snow-clad in winter, and referred to simply as "the mountains" or *yailaq*, "summer quarters."

The name of Kuchik Khan Jangali was in the early post-war period familiar to all newspaper readers. His family is said to have belonged to a curious sect called the *kalleh buzi*, or "goat skulls," from the object of their peculiar cult, which is still alleged to survive in Rudbar. Kuchik's father migrated from Rudbar to Baghdasht in Siyahkalehrud, a district of Eastern Gilan, and here the future revolutionary ruler was born. The boy was sent to Resht to read theology. In the early days of the constitutional revolution Kuchik joined the Resht army, under Sardar Muhi, in the fight against Muhammad Ali Shah. Later he remained in Tehran without fixed employment until the Great War, when he fell into the hands of the pro-German party, and was sent with funds to the Kasma jungle west of Resht to organize attacks on the Russians. The Russian revolution supervened, the armies drifted away, and in 1917 we find Kuchik con-

trolling Resht as the head of an organization called the Ittihad-i-Islam or Islamic Alliance, and in close agreement with German and Bolshevik agents. After a series of vicissitudes his band was broken up in March, 1919, by Persian Government troops, with British assistance. Kuchik himself remained at large in the protection of the impenetrable forest, and a succession of unjust governors of Resht soon drove his former followers back to the woods and to their outlaw chief, who thus again became a power to be reckoned with. This state of affairs continued till May, 1920, when the Bolsheviks from Baku landed at Enzeli, and were welcomed by Kuchik, who proclaimed himself Chief Commissar of the Persian Soviet Republic, with his capital at Resht.

On October 11, 1920, when we left Kazvin on our tour, the position was that Kuchik and some of his followers had quarrelled with the Bolsheviks and retired to the Kasma jungle, without, however, having come to any accommodation with the Persian Government. The Government troops had retaken Resht, but not Enzeli, which was still in enemy hands. A part of the British force based on Kazvin held the Kazvin-Enzeli road as far forward as Jubin, some thirty-five miles south of Resht.

II

Such was the country we proposed to tour. Our party consisted of the following: N——, whose first experience of Persian travel this was to be; myself, who flatter myself that I am an old hand; my servant Habib, a native of Zanjan, tireless and resourceful and a treasure on the road; Masim, an Indian trooper, to look after the horses; three *sowars*, or horsemen, hailing from the province of Khamseh, who happened to be in my employ. The chief of these *sowars* bore the pretentious title of Sharaf-al-Ashair, or Honour of the Tribes, but we christened him "Ole Bill," from a ludicrous resemblance to Bairnsfather's hero which we discovered the first day out; so Ole Bill he shall be to the reader. We hired four mules at nine krans each a day, with a muleteer, Qasim of Sulaimani, but Qasim never made himself an intimate member of the party, as muleteers sometimes do, nor did he make himself a nuisance, as muleteers also do at times: he was a neuter, and so will not appear much in the story.

Long experience of caravan travel has taught the Persian that it is useless to hope to make a long stage on the first day of a journey. The mules are sure to arrive late; some packing always remains to be done at the last minute; loading the animals takes an age until the packages have become familiar and the best distribution fixed; halters are forgotten, and a thousand other little delays will inevitably occur. He has therefore invented a process called *naql-i-makan*, or shifting of quarters—*i.e.*, he moves out a mile or two on the first day, only making a serious stage on the second. We compromised with this dilatory custom by sending out our caravan one afternoon to the village of

Ismailabad, some four miles out of Kazvin, motoring out ourselves the following morning, and mounting at once for a full stage.

At Ismailabad we were joined by two Persian travelling companions, Mirza Nusratullah Khan, the son of a wealthy landowner of the district, and Shaikh Abu Nasr, of Lahijan, a learned scholar, who held the appointment of examiner in Persian at the University of Calcutta, and was about to revisit his native town for the first time after an absence in India of twenty-seven years.

III

The weather for the last week had been magnificent, but a sharp shower as we mounted at Ismailabad warned us that Providence is not always kind. Indeed, by the time we reached Alulak, a village of some forty houses, eleven miles from Kazvin, the rain was falling in torrents. As we ascended the Kamasar Pass a violent gale came to batter us with hail and drive the cold rain through our clothes to the skin. My "waterproof" might have been a sponge, my saddle seemed a receptacle specially made for the collection of cold water, my feet and hands were numbed till I could ride no longer, and was obliged to tramp through the slush to keep up my circulation. The pony, too, would plant himself firmly on all fours, hindquarters to the wind, refusing to budge. Terrifying peals of thunder crashed around us, the sound being bandied from hill to hill, while lightning zigzagged below us through the valley. So cold was it that three muleteers, fresh from the warmer climate of Gilan, collapsed just after passing us, and were picked up by our servants, who took them to a coffee-shop and succeeded in restoring two; the third, however, perished.

As we approached the end of the Kamasar ridge there was a sudden rift in the clouds, and we looked down into the deep Shahrud valley, with line after line of immense mountain ridges towering over it on the far side. Then the most perfect rainbow I have ever seen came out, with the comforting assurance of a limit set to what the deluge might do. Below to our right lay the little village of Dastgird, among groves of walnut and mulberry, a little blue dome relieving the monotony of flat mud roofs.

Dastgird belonged to the father of our travelling companion, Mirza Nusratullah Khan, so we were not grudged the hospitality which every traveller in Persia claims as a right. The *kadkhuda*, or village headman, hurried out and we were soon installed in a cosy little upper room, our eyes streaming with tears from the smoke as we sat over a blazing fire of thorns, drying our saturated garments one by one. The *kadkhuda* and his relations set tea, bread, cheese, and shelled walnuts before us, and then stood respectfully with hands crossed till invited to sit down, when they helped to dry our clothes.

The weather had cleared a little when we mounted the next

morning. An hour and a half brought us to the river Shahrud, spanned by the one-arched brick bridge of Anbuh. The Shahrud is a broad river, varying in volume with the seasons and formed by the junction of streams from two valleys, Taliqan and Alamut. Alamut is, of course, the stronghold of the famous sect of the Assassins, the chief of an off-shoot of whom was known to the Crusaders in Palestine as the Old Man of the Mountain. The Shahrud runs through a narrow valley between the two immense ranges of Kamasar and Ammarlu, both part of the Elburz chain, and flows west to Menjil, where it joins the Kizil Uzun, or Red River. Their combined waters are then known as the Safid Rud, or White River, the ancient Amidus, whose alluvial deposits have formed the Gilan plain.

On leaving the bridge we passed along a rocky path through the lower gardens of Anbuh, and then commenced the formidable ascent of Safid Pushteh. Riding and walking alternately with a short change to a most precarious seat on the pack-saddle of a mule, we completed the steepest part of the ascent in a little over an hour to the gentler slope of Ispandchal. Thence the road runs up to the Layeh valley, through the little cultivated amphitheatre of Kangachal, up another slope, where there begin to appear blue-berried junipers (unaccustomed sight to eyes from the barren plateau), to the coffee-shop and small clear spring at Navakhan.

We halted here for an hour to lunch on rancid cheese and tea. Ten minutes' ride brought us to the cross roads, where a bridle path leading to Pir-i-Kuh takes off from the main path to Kalishum, the regular stage. A bitterly cold wind was coming over the hill, and three hours remained to sunset. A donkey driver came down the hill. "Content yourselves," said he, "with Kalishum; it is but one *farsakh* on and is a town where you will find every comfort. There lack three *farsakhs* to Pir-i-Kuh: the mountain is bleak and the wind bitterly cold. I myself left Pir-i-Kuh at dawn and am just arrived here. Attempt not to make Pir-i-Kuh to-night." Mirza Nusratullah, who was our cicerone, refused, however, to hear of it. He had sent word to Pir-i-Kuh and his relatives expected him. So on we went, rising ever higher till the mist that covered the mountain turned to drenching rain. For three hours we tramped—for it was again too cold to ride—over the bleakest of mountains, bare but for the round tufts of thorn so prized as fuel. The surface grew more and more slippery. Often we had to choose between diverging paths with nothing to guide us, till finally the one we had chosen seemed to come to an end. I was just looking round with that awful feeling of being lost when an *Imamzadeh*, one of those tombs of saints that are scattered with bewildering profusion all over Persia, loomed up through the mist. A small boy assured us we were on the right road, and the map showed the Imamzadeh Ibrahim on the direct road over the Turar mountain to Pir-i-Kuh. Thus doubly

reassured, we pushed on for another hour, when night overtook us. We caught up some muleteers who bade us be of good cheer—Pir-i-Kuh was not far away. How we negotiated the slippery descent in the pitch darkness I know not. We were beginning to despair when two villagers, sent by Ole Bill, who had gone on ahead to announce our arrival, met us just in time to conduct us round a series of precipices to the village, soaked to the skin, cold and miserable. We then repeated the clothes-drying process of the previous day.

The caravan only arrived an hour later. All agreed that the muleteer had defaulted, but each of the Persians, Mirza Nusratullah, Habib, and Ole Bill (on behalf of his men, who, being tribesmen and *sowars*, must be superior to everyone else) claimed for himself the credit for bringing the ship to port.

Pir-i-Kuh is situated in the district of Ammarlu, and our host, another Nusratullah Khan, is chief of the Qubbehquranlu section of the Ammarlu tribe, which is said to have been brought here from Khurasan by Nadir Shah, the other sections being Shamqanlu, Bahadurlu, Shahqulanlu, and Baishanlu. The tribe supplies seventy horsemen to the Government for military service. The language, our host said, was just Ammarlui, neither Persian nor Turkish nor Tati (village patois). I asked him a few common words, which were enough to show, from the smattering of Sulaimani Kurdish I had picked up the previous year, that Ammarlui was a dialect of Kurdish.

Our animals were so tired that we decided to make a short stage the following day to Umam in the *yailaq* district of Sumam, some seven or eight miles away. We mounted an hour before noon and made our way down the valley to the Chakarud river, which we reached in an hour. It was now only eighteen inches deep, but the river is liable to spate. There is a beautiful green meadow and a grove of mulberry and walnut trees round the village that gives this section of the river its name. It is a curious and frequently puzzling circumstance in Persia that rivers, except the largest, seldom have one name throughout their course, but are called " the water of so-and-so," from the name of the nearest village. The Chakarud flows westwards in a wide valley, dividing the two immense bare ranges of Turar, our friend of the previous day, to the south and Natishkuh to the north. Snow had fallen on them during the night, a full month earlier than usual, and occasional rifts in the clouds showed them to be sprinkled with white. Pushing up the further slope, we passed the hamlets of Lalehjar and Siyahqulaq, and reached Umam in less than three hours from the time of starting. Behind the ridge we came up lies the village of Buyeh, the reputed home of the famous Buyid dynasty already mentioned. At Lalehjar I saw the most curious haystack I have seen, up in a tree.

Umam is the first village with distinctly Gilani architecture, though

Pir-i-Kuh had one or two houses with sloping roofs. Here the houses are mostly in the form of a thick L, the ground-floor containing the wood store, stables, etc., while the upper story is built over rather less than half the lower story, the rest of its roof space forming an open verandah, generally railed in, or boarded up to two feet. Upper room and verandah are covered by a sloping roof, with the apex over the middle of the room. Walls are of stone and mud, or of bricks covered with mud, or of poles laid horizontally one above the other, with the interstices filled with mud. The roofs are curious, consisting of short lengths of plank laid tile-wise, and held in place by nails and stones. The houses of the *khans* or gentry are more pretentious, square, with windows looking out on all sides under projecting eaves. The village of Umam boasts a smithy, two butchers' shops, and a grocer.

Mirza Nusratullah welcomed us into his house, apologizing for the lack of comfort; the Bolsheviks had been through recently. Lunch consisted of boiled rice or *chilau*, surmounted by the burnt outer crust known as *tah-i-dig*, and a savoury *kebab* of small pieces of meat roasted on skewers.

Our march the following day was to be five and a half measured *farsakhs*, or about twenty-two miles, to Amlish, the home of Mirza Nusratullah. The road to the top of the Latakuh pass, also called Qulqumarz, is steep and exhausting, and the ascent was not rendered easier by the freshly fallen snow. But the morning was magnificent. South-eastwards the immense peaks of Jurdasht, Sumam, and Firuzkuh, their mantles of fresh snow glittering like diamonds, detached themselves from the bright blue of a cloudless sky. As we reached the summit of the pass we both exclaimed of one accord, "Thalassa! thalassa!" for there through a gap in the hills we could look down on the dark Gilan plain, and beyond the thin line of greenish-grey that was the Caspian.

Holly bushes begin to appear almost directly we commence the descent. The rushing burn of Chak Dasht and some rough ground to cross, and then at Sharam Dasht Dorah, about the third mile from the summit, we come to a few isolated beeches, sorry specimens, sorely buffeted for venturing to grow above their proper zone. Five miles further on the road forks to descend on each side of the spur, eastwards to Tabistan Mahall or Summertown, and westwards to Haludasht and Bulurdukkan. We follow the westerly branch, from this point trampled into a broad highway, though slippery with recent rain and the many springs that discharge on to it from the mountain side.

From Haludasht you get a delightful view on to the densely wooded spurs that run down from the great range towards the Gilan plain, stretching out in dark and light patches of forest or rice cultivation to the grey-blue sea. The Enzeli Murdab (literally "dead water"), far to the west, and other coast lagoons are clearly visible, and the

shape of the shore line, as it suddenly sweeps south from the mouth of the Safid Rud, is as clearly defined as on a map. Behind us ever looms the great height of Sumam, covered with snow. The sky is still cloudless except out to sea, where float a few flakes no larger than a man's hand.

A stoutish, frock-coated gentleman and two black bundles rode up on donkeys. "We are going to the *yailaq*," he explained to Nusratullah Khan, "by the doctor's order, for my daughter has been indisposed." "The truth is," explained our companion in my ear, "that Master Arfa-ul-mulk has been too intimate with the Bolsheviks, and now that by God's grace Persian Government authority is about to be restored, he finds it prudent to migrate to the hills when honest folk are descending from the hills to the plain." And as they rode away amid the folds of the second bundle of black I espied the blooming cheeks of a beautiful girl.

The descent from Haludasht to Bulurdukkan runs through forest, with countless varieties of fern growing round the springs. It is extremely steep, and bears the eloquent name of Sineh Giryehkunan, or the "Scarp of the Weepers." Bulurdukkan, or the Crystal Shop, is simply a rest-house built by Nusratullah Khan's father as a half-way halting place between Umam and Amlish. We dismounted here for tea and a short rest.

"Master Shaikh Abu Nasr," said I, as we sat on the verandah, "you tie your turban like a Sheriat-Mudar" (propagator of the sacred law).

"I have never," he replied, "acquired the art of tying a turban. In Calcutta I used to pay a man a yearly fee to tie it whenever required. It got soaked in the rain yesterday, and I could only find a cleric to re-tie it ; hence the style, for which I apologize."

"The fact is," remarked Nusratullah, looking at his ne'er-do-well young brother, who had joined us at Umam, and who at that moment was re-tying his turban on his knee—"the fact is that it is all the rascals of Persia that wear the turban, and it is they who have brought our country to its present pass."

The Bulurdukkan bridge of red brick collapsed in 1919, and the stream is spanned by a rough cantilever bridge beside it. A Gilak, whom I had not before noticed, came forward to lead my horse, and addressed me in a whisper :

"Sir, intercede for me with my master."

"What for?"

"I am culpable."

"But what is your fault?"

"Well, I am his servant, as my father was before me, but now I am culpable. For the sake of Allah intercede for me."

"But if I am to do that I must know what you have done wrong."

"He is my master. My guilt is the usual fault of a servant towards his master. I have no one but God and your lordship. Intercede for me."

"And your name?"

"Musa."

"All right, Musa, I will, at any rate, make inquiries."

"May God grant your lordship long life."

The bridge crossed, we enter a typical jungle road, but it might be one of the glades of Arcady. It runs for several miles along the side of the gorge at varying heights above the Shalman river, rushing over a boulder-strewn bed. Beech, ash, sycamore, wild fig, box, feathery acacia on every side, here and there a tuft of hops, moss-grown rocks, ferns galore. Sometimes the road is well marked and easy, sometimes we scramble up precipitous rockeries, while every few yards tributary cascades come leaping down the mountain side, splashing from ledge to ledge and across the road down to the river. There are hamlets every few miles. The precise area of forest appertaining to each, though undelimited, is well known, and any encroachment frequently leads to bloodshed.

It was nearly sunset when we reached the plain. A little lady with her skirts hardily tucked up to her thighs warned us not to cross the river at the usual place, so we pushed on in the deepening gloom, along an appalling path, deep in mud, slippery, steep, with branches and brambles sticking out across it to catch the unwary.

Finally, we forded the river at Kuhlistan, and a few minutes later we were enjoying the luxury of tables and chairs under the hospitable roof of Nusratullah Khan.

"Welcome," said he; "whatever there is, is an offering to your Excellencies. Yet I must apologize for the poor reception you are receiving. Since the rise of the Jangali power the whole countryside has been ruined, and I myself have been driven from pillar to post. Once I was taken prisoner and fined three thousand *tumans*; my grain and rice stores have been looted on several occasions. My tea gardens, which, please God, I will show you to-morrow, have remained untended, and the bushes are choked with weeds. My relations, who have been fugitives from the Bolsheviks, only returned three days ago. I therefore crave your pardon for my very inadequate reception."

I mentioned Musa, my suppliant of the morning.

"Musa," he replied, "is the very servant I was telling you about at Umam, who suddenly turned Bolshevik, guided a band of miscreants to attack this house where you now sit, and forced me to flee to Tehran. Yet I wish him no ill—his family has been in our employ for generations and has received every kindness."

"There is no limit," interposed Ole Bill philosophically, "to the rascality of mankind. Why, only this afternoon, as we were riding

through the forest, I met a notorious criminal from my native province of Khamseh. He had put on a black Saiyid's turban and is now living on charity, highly respected as a son of the Prophet. When I recognized him he implored me not to unmask him."

Hearing the facts, I withdrew any recommendation for Musa implied in my inquiry, but I heard later that Nusratullah Khan, out of respect for his guest, had taken no action whatever to punish his treacherous servant.

Amlish is a most attractive village, reminding one at every turn of England. It has about one hundred houses, lodging some two hundred families of the Sufi clan, that owns the district of Ranikuh, so it is above the average in prosperity. The houses scattered among the trees are of red brick, with overhanging wooden eaves, and roofed with the typical red tiling of Gilan. There are numerous greens where cattle browse, and chief among which is the *sabzimaidan*, a great meadow of common land, with the mosque under a great walnut-tree at the near end. There is a small bazaar with a score of shops: butchers; grocers, whose stock consists of bags of spices, half a dozen bottles of drugs, a packet or two of matches, and some eggs; two or three tailors working the ubiquitous Singer sewing-machine. Only such as have been condemned to spend years in the deserts of Mesopotamia or the arid tableland of the Persian plateau can imagine our delight at the sight of the emerald turf, and the fences, and even blackberry hedges and stiles.

We stayed the whole day to rest our animals, and from early morning we could hear the guns booming intermittently from the direction of Enzeli.

IV

Fording the Shalman river at Kalishtum we followed the jungle path, over the green carpet spread in the fretted shade of airy acacias, to Divshal, where the Munajjim Bashi, or Astronomer Royal of Persia, has a fine but neglected garden, and where we joined the main chaussée road that runs from Langarud to Lahijan. The road is raised well above the level of the ground and passes many villages, hidden for the most part, but marked by broad reservoirs and wide open spaces yellow with the aftermath of rice already harvested.

Our march this day was only twelve miles, and we reached Lahijan in four and a half hours. We had provided ourselves with a letter from Saiyid Ahmad Khan, a large landowner of the district, to his agent, and we were soon installed in a large house overlooking the *sabzimaidan*. The town was under martial law, and the Military Governor, Major Iqtidar-i-Nizam of the Gendarmerie, called on us, in accordance with Persian custom, in the afternoon. He was followed by the Chief of Police and other townsmen brought by politeness or curiosity. All day

we could hear the guns at Enzeli. Cossack headquarters at Resht replied to our telephone message that all was well.

Lahijan is said to have over fifteen hundred houses, with a population of twelve thousand. It is an attractive, old-world little place. Very picturesque are its red-brick houses, with roofs of red tile and overhanging eaves. The walls are green with delicate maidenhair and daffodils grow along their tops. The moss-grown caravansarais seem strangely quiet, the backwaters rather than the busy centres of human activity. Many of the lanes are cobbled or roughly paved. The bazaar is not covered like its counterpart of the plateau, but the shops on each side of the street have overhanging roofs, and the paved road slopes inwards to a trough down the middle. Everywhere there are trees, and even in the centre of the cobbled market square stands a great walnut.

They will tell you that the Akbariyeh mosque is the finest in Lahijan, but it has been done up like a cheap Russian church, except for the minaret, which is still in red brick and nice enough. More attractive by far is the Sharbafan, or hair-weaver's mosque, as you see it through an arched gateway, or the Friday mosque in mid-bazaar, pointing its blue-tiled minaret to heaven. You must see, too, the tomb of the four kings, with magnificently carved wooden doors (early seventeenth century), though the best were taken by some vandal years ago. But the real pride of every Lahijani is the *sabzimaidan*, an immense green to the east of the town, with the *istalkh*, or reservoir, above. By the water of an evening the Lahijani will sit smoking his *qalyan*, while flighty little ladies, I fear, are not above meeting their favourite swains on the bank beneath the trees. Around the town stretch green meadows, such as you only see in England, and, beyond, tea and orange gardens dotted with country villas. Begirdling them is the darker green of the wooded spurs, and towering over all, like a diamond suspended over a design in ruby and emerald, snow-clad, luminous Sumam.

Lahijan, formerly the seat of petty dynasties, had, in recent times, been important as a centre of the Gilan silk trade, and a number of Greek firms were established there. But the industry had been killed by the war, and given no chance to revive owing to the internal troubles that continue to this day. The business premises stand deserted and ruinous. Of more recent origin is tea-planting. A certain Kashif-as-Saltaneh introduced the first bushes from India some seventeen years ago by order of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. Lahijan tea has a pleasant flavour, something between those of China and Indian teas. It sells in the Kazvin bazaar at twice the price of the imported article, though whether it fetches this price on account of its quality or only as a curiosity I cannot pretend to determine.

Two nights in Lahijan and then we fell on the road again, as the Persians say. Two hours sufficed to bring us to Langarud, a

small town of 5,000 inhabitants, but of some importance as the port of Lahijan, and a commercial emporium for Eastern Gilan, for the Langarud river is navigable for small sailing craft. The town itself is perhaps a dull edition of Lahijan, but go down to the river and you see a different world—a two-arched bridge of red brick, another of one arch in cement, a coffee-shop, a bath, a mosque and a tomb of almost Chinese architecture, a rough timber viaduct, sailing vessels, called *karaji*, and light canoes, styled *nav*, moored to the bank.

After lunch, as the guests of the gendarmerie officer, we hired two *navs*, N—— and I taking the first and Habib and Ole Bill (who had to sing to keep up his courage on the unaccustomed element) the second. We paddled down the stream, through the jungle, where the alders grow right down to the river bank. Other *navs*, loaded down to the gunwale with reeds, pass laboriously up to Langarud; a *karaji* in full sail flaunts proudly past. An hour's paddling brings us out of the jungle to grassy flats. As we near the sea the river suddenly turns eastwards, and runs for two miles parallel to the sea, divided from it by a thin strip of land.

Chamkhaleh consists of a group of bungalows on the right bank, mostly belonging to the Russian Armenian firm of Liazonov, formerly the Persian Government's concessionaire for the Caspian fisheries. On the foreshore are oil tanks erected by Russian importers. Chamkhaleh is a *plage*, much frequented in summer by people from Rud-i-Sar and Langarud, where the air is notoriously bad and relaxing. At the mouth of the river were several Turkoman sailing ships, one wrecked during the recent storm. Turkoman sailors in their great round lamb-skin hats loitered about the shore, arguing in their guttural dialect of Turki with the unscrupulous Persian vendors of the shore.

Chamkhaleh belonging to his family, our friend Nusratullah Khan had come down specially from Amlish to entertain us in his caravan-sarai, and gave us a right royal welcome. Neither Habib nor Ole Bill had ever seen the sea before, and the following morning at sunrise I found the simple tribesman gazing meditatively out over the Caspian.

"Yes, indeed," said he, in reply to my question, "yes, I had seen the sea once before at Baghdad, but this sea is a far greater one than that."

We were only due at Rud-i-Sar that night, so paddled in the morning to the Chap marshes to shoot. We returned at noon in time for a delightful bathe in the sea before lunch and our short march through the now familiar jungle. An hour and a half's riding brought us to Shalman, where we had arranged for our animals, marching direct from Langarud, to meet us. A friendly crowd gathered during our brief halt, and a tall figure in white turban, the village school-master, begged that the distinguished strangers would inspect his school.

Rud-i-Sar, a small town of 5,000 inhabitants, was the headquarters of the gendarmerie column garrisoning Eastern Gilan, under the command of an old Kazvin friend, Major Mahmud Khan Pouladine. A fortnight before our visit Rud-i-Sar had been bombarded from the sea by the Bolshevik cruiser *Trotsky*, and one old woman had been killed.

The commandant sent a troop two miles out to meet us, and greeted us himself on the outskirts of the town. It consists of thatched cottages, with a few more substantial houses, but the few weeks of military rule had already made their mark: the streets were clean, traffic controlled, and signboards fixed to guide the stranger through the town. We stayed the night with the officers, among whom was Sultan Ahmad Khan, who has the distinction of being the only Persian officer entitled to wear the British Military Cross. He had previously been in the Persian Cossack Brigade, and accompanied the detachment of Russian Cossacks who, in 1916, made a remarkable march through the Pusht-i-Kuh to Ali Gharbi on the Tigris. The men were entertained at Ali Gharbi, and the three officers presented at Basrah to the Commander-in-Chief, who decorated each of them.

Our friends rode out with us a short way the next morning, a compliment known in Persian as *badraqeh*. We crossed a curious wooden bridge, with a thatched roof, and a short canter over park-like country brought us to the sea. The sand was firm, and we could have made good time but for the countless streams and rivers that debouch along the coast. All these rivers have this in common—that like the Langarud river at Chamkhaleh they turn sharply eastwards as they reach the beach, and run parallel to the sea for a short distance, roughly proportionate to the volume of the river, from a few yards to several hundreds.

We had been riding some three hours when a terrific rainstorm came on and soaked us to the skin in a few minutes. Just beyond Chabuksar the mountains slope right down to the coast, and the jungle extends to within five yards of high-water mark. At 2.15 p.m. we reached the Safarud, a largish river, which was already in spate from the few hours' rain. The ford was impassable, and the almost empty village of Akhund Mahalleh, the population being still up in the hills at Javadih, could offer us no better shelter than an ordinary coffee-shop, kept by an alert, friendly little *qahvehchi* with henna-dyed beard, named Kerbelai Husain. The coffee-shop consists of two unequal platforms of beaten earth running the whole width of the room, and divided by a passage, some three feet wide, on ground-level. The platforms are matted, a carpet decorates the top end of the larger, at the lower end is a pile of pillows and *lihafs* or quilts. A dado of matting runs round the walls, which are further enlivened with strings of dried onions. At the top of the passage, opposite the door, stands the *qahvehchi's* altar—a dresser-like erection ascending in narrowing

tiers. On the lowest is a heap of embers, warming two teapots and a *samovar*, on the others a broken clock, a lamp or two, a number of empty bottles, and broken lamp-glasses. Two or three wooden boxes containing a selection of opium pipes, some books (I picked up a volume of charm formulæ that apparently has a great vogue among the *habitués* of coffee-shops), a pair of scales, a cauldron, a suspended dish for melons, two or three chipped earthenware pitchers, kerosene oil tins for rice and spices, complete the furniture.

There was another guest already living in the shop, a decayed-looking individual in a suit of black and white check, an overcoat of rough local material, and a little felt hat of "townee" shape, sadly dented and cracked. He was dirty and unshaven, and in his glassy eye I detected the symptoms of the chronic opium-smoker. He was, he said, a trader in a small way at Resht; he had come to Akhund Mahalleh to collect debts, but had made little progress. I shall call him Mirza Ali.

We sat over the brazier and took off all our clothes in turn to dry them, for our caravan with all our changes of raiment had been held up by floods some miles back and did not arrive that night. Kerbelai Husain and Mirza Ali helped us to hold the garments over the fire, moralizing the while on the decay of Persia, the corruptness of its rulers, and its undeveloped wealth. The conversation was varied, for the encouragement of Mirza Ali, with anecdotes illustrating the awful fate of those who attempt to evade payment of their debts. We then all dined together, eating with our fingers off a tray containing two plates of boiled rice, some fried eggs, and a herb omelette. After dinner, sure enough, Mirza Ali selected an opium pipe from the box. "I am presuming," he said. "It is my misfortune. If God grants me a safe return, I propose to take medicine which, please God, will cure me."

Then the quilts were produced and we lay down side by side, myself, N——, and Mirza Ali. I slept the sleep of the just. N—— was kept awake by visitors, which he fondly imagined to be fleas, but proved, on closer examination next morning, to be something very different.

The river was fordable next day, and half an hour's ride brought us to the well-known sulphur springs of Ab-i-Garm in Tunakabun, bubbling up in a large pool of chalky-looking water, about as hot as one can bear it. We had scarcely mounted after our bathe when the rain came on again, and we repeated our experience of the previous day, though we managed to reach our intended destination, Shahsuvar, at 4 p.m., and received a hearty welcome from the gendarmerie officers stationed there.

The following day was beautifully fine, and our caravan, from which we had been separated for two days, arrived in good time. "Praise be to God," said Habib, "we have arrived without hurt, but your

Excellency was near suffering a double loss. For as we attempted to cross the torrent of Chabuksar one mule was carried away, and I, your servant, was nearly drowned in hauling him back to shore. But Allah had mercy and we have reached your presence in safety."

The river at Shahsuvar was rushing down to the sea in a tremendous torrent, and the whole of the local population seemed to have turned out with drag-nets for the salmon which swim up in especially large numbers on such occasions. A few hundred yards up-stream there are salmon traps which are let out on hire annually for a large sum.

A bathe in the sea, followed by a dip in one of the smaller fresh-water rivers flowing parallel to the sea, a delightful laze on the shore, and then, after lunch, a short ride to Khurramabad, three or four miles inland.

Khurramabad, or Smilingtown, is the chief town of the district of Tunakabun, which, with Kalaristaq and Kujur, forms an independent administrative area called Mahal-i-Salas, generally independent of the Governors of both Gilan and Mazandaran. Most of Tunakabun belongs to Sipah Salar, the hero of the constitutional revolution and veteran Persian statesman. The district is particularly rich—producing cotton, rice, tea, oranges, limes, and lemons in large quantities. There is excellent trout as well as salmon fishing. Akram-ul-Mulk, grandson of Sipah Salar, had come from Khurramabad to Shahsuvar to meet us, and entertained us that night in his orange garden.

Our march the next, a beautiful cloudless, day took us again along the sea through delightful park-like country, with soft, springy turf underfoot. Autumn crocuses peeped up everywhere, and luscious black-berries tempted us to risk the thorns as we rode by. To our left the green crisping sea broke with a gentle murmur on the shore, and the soft air, neither too warm nor too cool, invited us to laze and bathe and bathe and laze for ever. Down on the coast you get a matchless panorama of the western end of the Elburz, with Sumam, Pish Kuh, Dagh Kuh, Siyalan, Takht-i-Sulaiman, frowning down on the dark spurs that slope to the sea.

During this march I saw the only beautiful cemetery I have ever seen in Persia, for here they bury their dead in this open park, under the turf, and mark the grave with daffodils and lines of white stones.

At Abbasabad a lunch of *pilau* (savoury rice), omelette, and chicken awaited us. Disregarding all warnings that we could not reach Nur-i-Sar that night, we pushed on, but we soon found ourselves in difficulties in tracing the fords of many rivers that crossed our path. Our guide, a queer little man, with an iron-grey beard and a gentle smile, who kept up with us somehow on his saddleless nag, finally confessed that he was a perfect stranger (*balad niyam*), and that he had been forced to come by the headman of Abbasabad. His ineptitude and

habit of constantly stopping to expectorate worked Ole Bill up to a frenzy. "Come on," said he, "get done with thy spitting. Verily this journey thou hast produced nothing but spittle. God is witness that even if thou knowest not the way to Nur-i-Sar, thou knowest well enough the way to spit."

We reached the neighbourhood of Nur-i-Sar soon after sunset, but it took us forty minutes to find a way through the thicket to the house of Kadkhuda Iskandar, the village headman. He was not in, nor had our letter announcing our arrival reached him. However, Ole Bill, his felt cap rakishly set on one side of his head, started ordering the ladies about, and the principal room was quickly emptied and carpeted. Even after we were settled in Ole Bill continued his vociferations. "I know," replied he to my order to desist, "that this is not your Excellency's way, but if one doesn't shout at them one can get nothing done. It is we who have the task of settling you and ourselves and the animals in, and procuring food and fodder, so I have to shout at them to make them pliant and ready to do things."

Kadkhuda Iskandar's house was a typical example of forest village architecture. The floor, made of beaten earth, is raised a foot or two above ground-level. There are two rooms, but these do not occupy the whole platform space, being built three or four feet in, and so leaving a verandah on the front and two sides. The whole is surmounted by a steep thatched roof, often more than half the whole height of the house. The roof is further supported by a single, or occasionally a double row of roughly-hewn poles. Between the room walls and the poles, half-way up, a platform may run round part of the building, affording additional space for humble travellers or for stores. If there is a double colonnade, the lower part of the outer one may be used for temporary stabling. In some parts a small high platform is built a few yards away from the house to take the place of the flat roofs of the plateau for sleeping in the hot weather. The rice is also stored in an elevated granary with a heavily-thatched roof.

V

The following morning, after another hour and a half along the coast, we regretfully said good-bye to the sea, and turned inland at Sardabrud (cold water river) to follow the road up the Chalus valley due south. The road was made in the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Shah by an Austrian engineer, to facilitate that sporting monarch's hunting trips. The scenery through the forest zones closely resembled that through which we had come at the beginning of our journey, though the autumn tints, for it was now October 24, were beginning to vary the interminable green, and the road crossed and recrossed the river several times by picturesque bridges. You do not ascend 6,000 feet

without effort, and never have I found the vagueness of Persians on the subject of distance more exasperating.

We stopped the night at Marzanabad, after a march of eleven hours, which brought us clear of the forest zone. The following day we had to negotiate a most terrific ascent, known as Hazar Cham, or the Thousand Turns. For over two hours we struggled up the zigzag path of the almost perpendicular mountain of Kalarak, pausing at frequent intervals to recover our breath, an indulgence the horses required as much as ourselves. Looking down thousands of feet into the deep chasm we could see a little ribbon of white, which was the stream; the gorge was full of floating cloud, rising and sinking, sometimes hiding the whole view, sometimes unveiling the mountain peaks sharply silhouetted against a clear blue sky.

Numerous pedestrians descending to the Gilanat passed us, and as they went by they would greet us kindly with the approved formula, *Khuda quvvat bidihad*—"God give you strength." *Salamat bashid*—"May you be preserved," we would pant back, and press on upwards, encouraged in no small measure by the good wishes of these humble folk. They were mostly Gilanis, distinguished by their tight trousers, small felt hats, and leather shoes all of a piece, returning to the plains, or poor peasants from the rocky valleys of Taliqan and Alamut, going to the low country to earn a wage as labourers during the winter which would isolate their homes. Stoutly they would trudge, the women copper-faced, with red skirts and shirts and handkerchiefs, always ready, men and women alike, with their greeting, "Peace upon you." The richer Gilanis have, perhaps, their ponies and donkeys or a cow or two. Others carry all their worldly belongings in a sack on the end of a stick or balanced on the women's heads. Few families have not a fowl or two attached somewhere, sometimes in the woman's waist-belt. And now we begin to meet the Persian from the plateau, with his round-topped felt hat, roomy black trousers, *qaba*, or coat, descending to the knee, of butcher's blue, held to by a white woollen waist-band, *givehs*, or shoes, of woven cotton with rag soles. He slouches sulkily by, never by any chance offering the customary greeting, and mumbling an ungracious reply to your *salam* if you offer it first. At the top of the pass we met a gipsy family, wretched outcasts, resting their weary animals, the black tent and household effects thrown on the ground.

An hour's descent and we passed through a short tunnel in the mountain with a carving representing the prowess of Nasir-ud-Din Shah at the chase, and another fifty minutes brought us to our stage, Valiabad, a village of fifteen to twenty houses perched up on the mountain-side about three-quarters of a mile from the road. Here we were soon reminded that we had left the friendly atmosphere of Gilan behind, and that we were now on a main road where courtesy to

strangers is no longer the rule. Ole Bill, who went ahead as usual, was informed that the headman, Rahmatullah Khan Bulukbashi, was away; the guest-house was available, but the animals must be stabled in an open arch. On arrival, I soon established that Ole Bill's informant was the Bulukbashi himself (I cannot think why he had to lie), and that there was a suitable building for the animals close by. Bulukbashi objected in turn that—(1) the building was only suitable for cows, (2) it belonged to others, (3) the key was not available, (4) the building was full of things, and (5) it was too low for horses. I took him aside and finally, with some difficulty, persuaded him to have the stable opened. A few moments later he was standing on the roof roundly abusing the villagers (our most stubborn enemies being two women, of whom one was distinctly handsome) for their lack of hospitality. "Dogfathers, curses on your mothers. Ye ought to eat shame to show this poor hospitality to such distinguished strangers as these. Yea, ye should be glad to make room for fifty such honourable strangers, and will ye quarrel with me for eight years over opening a stable door?"

Having discharged his duty as host with this bad grace, he took himself off and came neither to talk nor to share our meal as ordinary courtesy would have dictated. Instead, he deputed a sour-visaged little man named Saifullah (who asked for a bottle of whisky, this drug having been prescribed by the doctor for his mother, who suffered from pains in the stomach) to cater for us and charge double the usual rates in the name of the absent Mr. Jorkins.

Our next day's march took us for four hours over a good road, through the mountains grown with shrubs, to the foot of the Kandavan pass, which took us three hours to cross, two up and one down. An uninteresting road, varied only by one waterfall, led past the typical plateau villages of Gachisar and Shah Pul, picturesque with their poplars already turned a particularly bright buttercup yellow, walnuts of a darker hue, and the tender green of the newly-sprouting winter sowing of wheat and barley, to Nisa. Here we hired a small house, and halted the next day to go out stalking with a picturesque *shikarchi*, who showed himself as nimble as a goat in spite of his fifty years, and who usually manages to bag something with his old muzzle-loader. We were not fortunate, but got within 100 yards of a small herd of ibex towards sundown. However, our inexperience caused us to miss the psychological moment, and we saw them no more.

From the map, we decided that the following day we would leave the main road to Tehran at Shahristanak, and cut over the mountains to a place marked as Imamzadeh Daud, leaving only half a day's march to the capital the following day.

Two hours after mounting the next morning we turned east from the main Shahristanak stream (celebrated for its excellent trout fishing).

We were caught hereabouts in a terrific hailstorm following a tremendous clap of thunder. At noon we passed Shahristanak, a large but ruinous village amid extensive cultivation and poplar and walnut groves, and turned south along a precipitous path over the hill. Then the hail came on again, accompanied by a freezing wind that chilled us to the marrow and cut short our breath as we faced it. We reached the top at 2 p.m., and just as, three weeks earlier, we had cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" we now cried, "The plain! the plain!" as we caught sight of the level *dasht* stretching south to Kuh-i-Jaru, or Broom Hill, and east to the Khamseh mountains. There, at least, we should have no rain or cold or hail or perpendicular hills to make life miserable.

At Imamzadeh Daud, which we reached at five, we found that we had been misinformed and that there was no accommodation. We were obliged to establish ourselves under an archway in the courtyard of the shrine. The guardian was a friendly old man and brought us fuel and two carpets. "Your Excellencies," he said, "will of course remove your shoes before treading on the rugs, for, after all, they are from the sanctuary. The saint who lies buried here is Daud, son of Imad, son of Jafar, son of Nuh, son of Aqil, son of Hadi, son of Zain-ul-Abidin, grand-nephew of the Prophet, may the blessing of God be on him and his family."

With fires and plenty of bedding we passed an unexpectedly comfortable night. We mounted at seven to follow an excellent road up the mountain-side. Three-quarters of an hour later we commenced the final descent, reaching the coffee-shop and poplar-groves of Yunjehzar at nine. From here a stream, with many small waterfalls, flows for about three miles through a picturesque gorge green with willows. Then all verdure disappears and the stream is lost in the shingle. At half-past ten we could see Tehran across the stony plain.

By one o'clock we were lunching in the city with our friend M——. "You presumably do not know," said he, when he had penetrated the disguise of our bristling beards, "that the Bolsheviks re-took Resht on October 22, four days after your departure from Lahijan. The Persian army has for the time being ceased to exist as a fighting force, and it is the British troops who are barring the road of the Red Army to the capital."

AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS IN ALLUVIAL IRAQ

ALLUVIAL Iraq comprises roughly the stretch of territory that at one time constituted the kingdom of Babylonia essentially dependent on a highly complex system of perennial irrigation, in direct contrast to the rolling, rain-fed downs to the north which once formed the ancient kingdom of Assyria.

Many of the problems which the present-day agricultural scientist has now to face in Iraq have their origin in what took place in remote ages, from Babylonian down to Abbaside times.

First and foremost amongst these problems must be placed that of accumulated salt deposits, resulting from perennial irrigation, carried on for centuries and suddenly stopped after the destruction of the essential river barrages by invading Mongol hordes.

The inquiring observer of the relics of these ancient canal systems of Iraq cannot fail to be struck by the fact that whereas ample evidence exists of the canals which brought the irrigating water from the Tigris and Euphrates, there would appear to be no evidence whatever of any system for the disposal of surplus drainage water, without which any modern system of perennial irrigation is generally considered bound to fail.

One is compelled to ask, therefore, which is the more probable: Did the irrigators of ancient times make provision against the accumulation of alkaline deposits, or did they adapt their system of agriculture to deal with a fairly high percentage of alkali in the soil?

The writer inclines to the latter theory, based on the following observations:

We now know that—owing probably to the fact that both Tigris and Euphrates, before emerging on to the alluvial plain of lower Iraq, pass through tracts of country very rich in gypsum—the dreaded black alkali (due to sodium carbonate) occurs little, if at all, in the soil, any salinity present being mainly due to chloride and sulphate of soda.

Like the rivers in the lower parts of their courses, the main perennial canals of ancient times, such as the Nahr Melcha, Nahr Īsa, Nahrwān, and Dujailah gradually came to flow along a "causeway of their own making,"* as a result of continued deposition of silt; this resulted in the creation on either side of these canals of well-defined flanking bands of soil saturated by seepage from the irrigation water flowing along them; by continual seepage and evaporation over long periods of time these flanking belts of soil became so saturated with

* Evelyn Howell, C.I.E., C.S.I., *Quarterly Review*, January, 1922.

"alkali" that even at the present day and in the height of summer one encounters the extraordinary phenomenon of these broad belts of alkaline soil kept moist, and even wet, by hygroscopic moisture extracted from the atmosphere at a time when the surrounding condition is that of a parched and dust-laden desert.

Present-day agricultural practice in the country, if not actually based on Babylonian tradition, has probably changed very little since the days when perennial irrigation flourished and before the river barrages were destroyed; this present-day agricultural practice has a sovereign remedy against alkali in soils not originally too hopelessly saline in the guise of organic manure. Tradition says: "Es smād yiktil es sabkhar" (Organic manure kills alkali); and several instances have been observed by the writer in which this tradition has been acted on with success. The mode of action of this remedy would appear to be largely, if not entirely, physical; by loosening the texture of the surface soil, organic manure prevents caking and cracking of the surface, and that rapid desiccation, which concentrates dissolved salts in the upper layers of the soil, so characteristic of irrigated soils not so treated; the organic manure thus acts by diffusing and preventing concentration of alkaline and other salts, which are not among those most toxic to plant life, and can thus be borne by a crop with comparative ease if not allowed to become too concentrated.

Another present-day practice that possibly throws light on those of the ancients is that of growing winter crops only on certain lands which show distinct signs of alkali during the summer; it is found that early winter rains will wash down excessive salts sufficiently to allow of the germination of such seeds as wheat and barley, and that these salts can be kept down sufficiently, by further winter rains and a final irrigation or two before evaporation becomes intense, to allow a useful crop to mature. Such lands are, however, rarely cultivated through the summer, as by that time the relentless sun has sucked all moisture back to the surface, and left any dissolved salts again deposited on the soil.

Inasmuch as freedom from alkali concentration under present conditions depends very largely on thorough surface cultivation and a plentiful manuring with organic matter, a heavy handicap to the agriculturist exists in the fact that it is by no means uncommon for soil to contain up to 16 per cent. of lime; one can imagine, therefore, the rapid oxidation and dissipation of organic matter that goes on in a soil containing such an amount of lime, cultivated through a six months' summer from April to October, with a daily maximum temperature rarely under 100° F. and often nearer 110° F. Lucerne and berseem (*Trifolium alexandrinum*) luckily flourish under these conditions, however, and the ploughing in of these crops before a sowing of an important summer crop such as cotton, offers a promising remedy.

Under Babylonian and other pre-Mongol conditions, when the whole country between the southern marshes and the Median Wall was under perennial irrigation for periods of hundreds of years at a time, it is obvious that the permanent water-table throughout the country was, at any rate, within 15 or 20 feet of the surface, if not closer, and that the phenomenon now showing itself in the Punjab of seepage water from the soil up-country gradually finding its way back to the river channel lower down and reinforcing periods of low-water supply was then operative in the courses of the Tigris and Euphrates. It is probably to this factor of the whole soil water and its dissolved salts being kept circulating by seepage and return to the rivers at lower levels that we must look for an explanation of the apparent ability of the cultivators of ancient times to carry on for lengthy periods a system of irrigation and agriculture that entailed no system of drains as we know them to-day.

The destruction by Mongol invaders of the barrages supplying these ancient canal systems of alluvial Iraq must have caused the whole country to wilt and shrivel like a plucked leaf. The canals ran dry, and in the absence of a continuing supply of seepage water from the beds of the main canals the water-table over the whole country must have fallen rapidly to about present-day levels, which may—as midway between Baghdad and Baquba—be as low as 200 feet below the soil surface in the summer. At the same time evaporation at the soil surface brought up, and concentrated on the surface, quantities of alkaline and other salts.

The problem confronting the modern re-cultivator of these soils is that of the means to get rid of these salts concentrated on the surface without having to wait till the rise of the water-table over the whole country again provides a medium for their subterranean diffusion and gradual removal *via* the river valleys or other natural and artificial depressions.

In drainage, it may be taken as an axiom that "drains fill from beneath"*: while the permanent water-table is anything from 60 to 200 feet below the surface of the soil, therefore it is useless to dig drains 10, 15, or even 20 feet deep, for—having dozens of feet of porous earth beneath them—they will never flow sufficiently to provide a medium for the removal of alkaline drainage water to any distance: diggers of trenches in that country in the unhappy days of war will testify to the effect of one winter's rains in silting up a ditch: this means a yearly silt clearance of any drain dug, and, unless that drain has flowed pretty freely, the yearly silt clearance means a deposition of silt rather more alkaline than usual along the banks of the drain; in other words, the would-be drainer has got no "forrarder."

* *Cf.* G. S. Henderson, "Practical Salt Land Reclamation." 1920. Indian Agricultural Department.

On the other hand, irrigation water applied to these soils in summer will sink a certain distance, but will not nearly attain connection with the permanent water-table far below; unless the surface soil is kept well and deeply cultivated and pretty well supplied with organic matter, it will soon cake and crack and allow the sun to pull back to the surface any salts that may have been carried down by the irrigation water.

And the moral of all this is what? As the writer sees it, in opening up alluvial Iraq to cultivation once more, while provision should be made for drains against waterlogging that may be required in the future when a general scheme of irrigation has raised the permanent water-table throughout the country high enough to enable it to be tapped by drains not exceeding about 15 feet in depth, nevertheless, until that time has arrived, it is little worse than useless to dig drains that cannot flow, as they cannot "fill from beneath."

Until the permanent water-table has risen sufficiently to enable it to act as a diffusing medium down to which percolating irrigation water can carry dissolved salts beyond possibility of retraction by the sun in any dangerous strength, then these soils, even though not dangerously alkaline at present, want very careful cultivation in summer: extensive cultivation of these soils with inadequate labour, using a large quantity of water to make up for lack of cultivation and manure, can, in the writer's opinion, lead only to disaster: he looks upon them as soils only cultivable with profit in summer by intensive cultivation, very careful irrigation, and a continual and copious supply of organic manure.

C. R. Wimshurst.

An apology must be offered for the somewhat scanty material published in this copy of the "Journal." After being sent to print a most interesting and complete note on the routes followed by the various invaders of India from the west and the north-west has unfortunately had to be withdrawn, but it is hoped that it may be published in an even more complete form at a future date. Its great value lies in that it seems to clear up some widely held misapprehensions regarding these routes.—R. G. E.

REVIEWS

FOREIGN BOOKS

STURM ÜBER ASIEN. By H. Filchner. Berlin: Neufeldt u. Henuis.

Herr Filchner has given us a book which not only demands, but deserves consideration from several points of view. Primarily it is a succinct and consecutive description, written in the form of a series of adventures of one Zerempil, of the political history of Mongolia and Tibet, with respect to Russia, Great Britain, and China, between 1899 and 1923. Zerempil, the hero, is a Buriat, a disciple of Aguan Dorji (Dorjieff), and like him a servant of Russia, devoted to Russian interests.

Incidentally the book gives us a clue to an episode in Russian intelligence reconnaissance in Central Asia. A large valley exists in the middle Kuen-Lun, which the present writer had the fortune to traverse, in 1918, with a patrol. The valley appeared to be unexplored hitherto, but inquiries showed that in the late nineties a certain Bogdanovitch had entered its mouth and mapped a portion. Herr Filchner now tells us that Bogdanovitch was Zerempil's very appropriate *nom de guerre.* Zerempil's presence in this valley of Chup can hardly have been other than clandestine and anti-British in its orientation.

This makes us deplore the neglect and decay of the corresponding British organization that was of so much value in the past.

The main theme, then, from the point of view of world politics, that runs through the book is Russia's century-long struggle for a stronger foothold on what the author graphically calls the northern "glacis of the fortress of India." We trace this on from the Russian intrigues and Dorji's gun-runnings that led up to the Tibet Expedition. Here we have Zerempil with his master, and a picture of the campaign and the political moves seen through Lamaistic spectacles.

We see the repercussion of the Treaty of Portsmouth on the upshot of that remote conflict. Then we learn much of the influence of Urga, followed by the long struggle for freedom from the Chinese yoke, on the part of the followers of both the Hutukhtu and of Tobdan Lama.

In the person of Teramoto we encounter a Japanese influence at work in the home of Japanese faith. One chapter gives us a vivid and exciting picture of the siege of Sanpiling monastery and the bloody massacres that followed on General Chao's successes. A hint is given of the ill-feeling between secular and religious leaders in Tibet itself, then the story is brought right up to date by a description of the results

of the Chinese Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the exploits of that adventurous descendant of the Teutonic knights of the Baltic shore, Von Ungern Sternberg, followed by Kozloff and a picture of the "Red" Mongolia of 1923. So much for wars and policies. Zerempil's adventures tell us more than of Russian progress against England. They tell us of the religious, or rather, to Western Christian (and Moslem) minds, the superstitious, link that binds not only Mongolia to Tibet, but also Japan, China, Siam, Cambodia, Burma, Nepal, and the Kalmuks and Buriats of Red Russia. Perhaps it even influences the probably Shamanistic brain of our friend Trotski, and his recently Judaized Khazar colleagues.

Filchner omits, however, to answer the riddle of the transformation of the essentially simple monotheistic faith, so much akin to Protestant Christianity, to primitive Islam, and to the teaching of the Gurus of the characteristically Nordic Gautama and Asoka, into the demonism, the elemental superstitions, the priestcraft, the artificial rituals, the Feng-Shwei, and the sorcery which to-day grips the Mongoloid world from the Yellow Sea to Finnmark and outlives Tsongkapa. The author does not explicitly allude to the racial point of view of the theme he deals with. His pages, however, support those who see a race consciousness or racial instinct underlying every great upheaval of peoples and the race wars that go to make world history.

His atmosphere breathes the other world, the Laputa, that the Mongoloid peoples live in, the peoples that can never cross the gulf which separates them from the occidental, whether of Western Europe or of the Islamic countries.

The book should most certainly be read and digested by every student of that inner Asia of the Mongoloids that is not really Asia at all, that is if Scythia of the Scandinavians and Goths is Asia, as Kingley's "As-Gard," the Guard or Garth, of Asia would lead us to think.

Excellent maps are provided, which do not, however, open clear of the text. The illustrations are not worthy of the book. The printing is very good, and the type is large and Roman. L. V. S. B.

"Ce Que J'ai Vu en Orient." Mesopotamie—Palestine—Syrie—Égypte—Turquie. Notes de Voyage, 1923-1924. By R. Laurent-Vibert. Paris, 1924.

Mr. Laurent-Vibert is a Frenchman who served at one time with the French detachment included in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force during Lord Allenby's operations in Palestine and Syria. In his book Mr. Laurent-Vibert writes in a strain which cannot but be particularly pleasing to his British Allies, when it is remembered how often since the war Frenchmen who served in the Eastern Mediterranean were at

loggerheads with their British comrades. At the same time it should not be thought that one is trying to absolve all British officers from similar feelings towards their French colleagues. Such feelings have resulted in books being written in English and French showing unseemly animosity between various individuals of the two allied Powers. It is, therefore, all the more refreshing to read these pages containing opinions based upon a loyal understanding of British as well as French interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The author would appear to be gifted with the faculty of grasping rock-bottom essentials of many of the various complex problems of international politics which abound to-day in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Turkey. The book is not a profound study of these questions, but gives the author's personal opinions on the situation as it has developed in the Middle East since the Great War, and his purely personal ideas for a solution of the problem of establishing a practical working peace in these countries.

In the short preface Mr. Laurent-Vibert states that his travels in the spring of 1923 and that of 1924 in the Levant should be regarded only as fleeting visits to the countries in question, and that "A aucun degré, ce petit livre ne peut s'appeler une enquête. Ce n'est qu'un tour d'horizon, d'un horizon obscurci de rancunes, de haines, de confusion, de désordre, de déraison, à peine traversé çà et là de quelques rayons de sagesse et d'espérance."

He goes on to say that he does not pretend to be impartial in his views, but that he looks upon these questions as a Frenchman, and from the point of view of French interests. In spite of this avowal one cannot help admitting—as an Englishman with some knowledge of these complex questions—the fairness with which the author looks upon British interests in these same countries. The book is naturally written for the information of the French public, particularly for such persons as are interested in the Levant, where French moral, religious, and artistic influences have been predominant for centuries past; but one cannot too strongly recommend the inhabitants of these Islands who are interested in Middle East politics to study these pages. In certain passages the author takes French statesmen and politicians to task for their ignorance of French history as concerned with these countries, and supposes that it is this ignorance which has been the cause of what he considers to be the various political errors committed by French statesmen in dealing with the questions of the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the first chapter Mr. Laurent-Vibert deals with the situation as it is to-day in Egypt, and is of the opinion that although apparently giving emancipated government to the Egyptians, Great Britain is consolidating more than ever her hold on the Suez Canal and on the Sudan. He points out that French interests in Egypt would

better be served by supporting the British policy there than by intriguing against it, a point of view which is not very often realized by his countrymen.

The second chapter deals with Zionism, while the third is devoted more particularly to French interests in Jerusalem. The author thinks, like most of his countrymen, that the mandate for Palestine should have been entrusted to France, whose claims, moral and spiritual, had been uncontested by almost all the other great Powers up to 1914. Only Russia had endeavoured to increase her influence in the Holy City at the expense of France. He considers that British interests, as regards immunity from attack of the Suez Canal and security of the air route to the East, could be amply safeguarded, while, at the same time, France could be permitted to have the predominant influence amongst the many religious bodies who have always considered her as the protector of Christianity, and to whom Jerusalem is the birthplace of their Faith.

In the next chapter the author deals with the French mandate of Syria, and endeavours to show that both French and Arab interests would be better served were the mandatory system as promulgated by the League of Nations to be abolished, and the normal Protectorate administration adopted in the letter as it already is in the spirit. A fact that he notes is the lack of interest with which all Syrians regard the question of recruiting for a National Army, and he very rightly insists that it would be folly to evacuate Syria at the termination of the mandatory period without first having established a native army capable of defending the frontiers of the newly-formed State against its more powerful and aggressive neighbours. Another point the author wishes to impress on his readers is the necessity for the closest Anglo-French co-operation in these countries if real peace is to be restored. Most Frenchmen are of opinion that it is impossible for British and French interests in the Middle East not to clash, whereas Mr. Laurent-Vibert is of an entirely different opinion, believing, not only that they do not clash, but that they are capable of being developed side by side.

Chapter V. is devoted to his experiences on the new overland desert motor route between the Mediterranean and Baghdad, which he is pleased to call "The French Route to India." The chapter on Irak contains a loyal acknowledgment of the freedom allowed by British administration to French schools, orphanages, etc., established in that country. It also gives the author's views on what he considers the French diplomatic defeat by which, in spite of the conditions laid down in the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Mosul area was excluded from the French mandatory zone of Syria and included in the British mandatory territory of Irak.

The author then goes on to deal with purely French politics as regards Turkey, and pronounces a further condemnation of the policy which led Mr. Franklin-Bouillon to sign the Angora Accord of 1921, with all its subsequent difficulties for the French in Syria and Turkey.

Mr. Laurent-Vibert closes his book by drawing up a series of suggestions as to how the Allies, and France in particular, might bring some measure of stability and prosperity to these countries, at present suffering from the galaxy of different administrations which have replaced the simple methods of government practised by the Turk in pre-war days. Although the chapters have been written for the benefit of the author's fellow-countrymen, one cannot too strongly recommend their most interesting pages to the study of all those Englishmen concerned, or interested, in the political development of the Middle East. Whether such readers will agree with Mr. Laurent Vibert's opinions and suggestions or not, they will at least find therein much matter for earnest thought.

ENGLISH BOOKS

THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND. A Short History by Colonel E. J. King, C.M.G., F.S.A., with a Foreword by Major-General the Earl of Scarbrough, G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., F.S.A., Sub-Prior of the Order. St. John's Gate, London, 1924. Fleetway Press.

The account of the revival of the English *Langue* or "Tongue" (see p. 34 note of the book under review) of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in January, 1831, under the authority of the Capitular Commission which assembled in Paris from time to time from 1814 to 1827, has been clearly told in Bedford and Holbeche's History of the Order, published in 1902. It was in February, 1834, that the Rev. Sir Robert Peat, D.D., took the oath *de fideli administratione* in the Court of King's Bench, before the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Thomas Denman, as Prior of the Tongue of England of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Since then ninety years have gone by, during which the Grand Priory of England, by means of its admirable first aid, ambulance, and hospitaller work in peace and in war, has established itself as one of the great institutions of the British nation throughout the British Empire. Thirty-six years have gone by since Her Majesty Queen Victoria, recognizing the great work that the Grand Priory of England was doing, granted to it a charter, in which she herself was declared to be the Sovereign Head and Patron, and the Prince of Wales the Grand Prior of the Order in England. To Her Majesty, in due course, have succeeded as Sovereign Heads and Patrons King Edward VII. and King George V., and very appropriately this year advantage has been taken of the great Wembley Exhibition,

in which every part of the British Empire is represented, and to which contingents from every part of that Empire in thousands have repaired, to mark the position which the Grand Priory of England holds as an imperial institution. His Majesty King George V. consented to hold in Buckingham Palace on St. John the Baptist's Day (June 24) of 1924 an investiture of the most recently elected members of the Order. This ceremony took place in the Throne Room of the Palace before a very numerous assemblage, mainly composed of members of the Order and of a limited number of their friends. The number of new members "invested" on that occasion was, as near as possible, 150, commencing with H.R.H. the Duke of York, and concluding with two "Donats" bearing names suggestive of the Celestial Empire.

A year of such significance in the history of the Grand Priory of England, being the first occasion on which, during a lapse of more than 800 years, the King of England had so honoured the Order, has been appropriately marked by the publication of this "Short History," to which Colonel King has devoted himself heart and soul, and in which the Sub-Prior of the Order has taken the warmest interest.

The romance of the history of the Knights of St. John possesses such a fascination that it still continues to attract the pens of writers of all or most of the great European nations. Since Whitworth Porter, there has been no *great* English writer on the subject, but the old, old story has been told again and again. Canon Mifsud indeed brought out at Malta in 1914 a book replete with more or less new information, and now Colonel King has given to the British Empire a volume which well merits to be its *vade-mecum* for years to come in all that concerns the grand old history of the Order and the grand work which its British Tongue does to-day. It is indeed a remarkable fact that the Holy City and Holy Land, for the possession of which every Christian nation fought with the Saracen in the crusading era, should, at the close of the Great War, have passed into the hands of that British Power which still cherishes the memory of the one Christian monarch who soundly whipped the Saracen—viz., Richard Cœur de Lion. For more than forty years now the Grand Priory of England has maintained an Ophthalmic Hospital at Jerusalem on a site granted in 1882 by the Sultan's firman. Of the great work done there Colonel King's twelfth chapter tells. Not unnaturally, now that Great Britain holds the mandate for Palestine, the Grand Priory of England entertains the hope that the original headquarters of the Order in Jerusalem may be placed in its charge. That site is now commonly styled "Mūristān." I have noticed that Dr. J. C. Mardrus, in his French translation of the "Arabian Nights," several times uses the word and transliterates it "māristān."*

* The curious spelling of this word in the Johnson-Richardson Persian-Arabic Dictionary (published in 1829) led me to consult Professor E. G. Browne

Among the new features which Colonel King introduces into his book is the picture of "The Execution of the Grand Prior of England, Sir John Langstrother, on the 6th May, 1471, after the battle of Tewkesbury." This design is taken from a contemporary MS. in the University Library at Ghent. We may be thankful that that library did not share the fate of that of Louvain. Sir John Langstrother was a Knight with a splendid record, and it is to be deplored that he allowed himself to be drawn into the intestine disputes of his native land. Knights Hospitallers were bound by their vows to stand aloof from all such disputes and wars. Had he lived, he might well, Colonel King says, have become Grand Master of the Order. The fact that three of the seven Tongues of the Order were French resulted in making most of the Grand Masters French.

Colonel King has been thoroughly well guided in his selection of his illustrations. He has told the early history of the Order, especially in its relation to the English Tongue, very clearly and well, and his account of the activities of the Grand Priory of England since its resuscitation is at once comprehensive and thorough. It is a book that every centre of the St. John Ambulance Association and every corps of the brigade should have in its library, and every member of the Grand Priory of England would do well to read it and make it known to others.

A. C. YATE.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL SIR O'MOORE CREAGH, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. With an Introduction by Major-General Sir Charles E. Callwell, K.C.B. Hutchinson and Co. 1924.

It is not often that one has the felicity of reviewing the "autobiography" of one's own *quondam* commanding officer. Having that felicity, one might even be suspected of recalling to mind that famous passage in Job (xxxi. 35): "Oh, that one would hear me! behold, my desire is, that the Almighty would answer me, and that mine adversary had written a book." I have no such thought, allow me to say. I am myself somewhat addicted to writing books, and I am just going to do to others as I would be done by. I have never forgotten how, when I wrote and published a memoir of that fine and gallant soldier, John Haughton of the 36th Sikhs (including a remarkable episode in the life of his father, John Colpoys Haughton, at Kabul in 1841), a vulgar news-rag of that Bolshevist city Glasgow scoffed at me and scoffed at the Haughtons. I had my compensation when E. F. Knight, the

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of Cambridge. He writes: "Máristán and múristán are simply corruptions of the Persian 'bimáristán,' meaning generally a sick-house, and more especially a lunatic asylum or mad-house. I know no authority for the extraordinary spelling which you say Johnson-Richardson gives." That dictionary gives: "مرسطان (*murstán*), an asylum for idiots."—A. C. Y.

author of "Where Three Empires Meet," reviewed my book, "John Haughton, a Hero of Tirah," most favourably in the *Morning Post*, and when Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman wrote and most kindly expressed to me his approval of the book. I consider that the memory of John Haughton is an example to all soldiers. When he sacrificed his life for his fellow-soldiers most gallantly with his Adjutant, Turing, he merited the V.C. just as much as O'Moore Creagh, who won it as a recognition of the gallantry, initiative, and capacity for command which he displayed at Kam Dakka. Creagh concludes his account of that affair in these words: "I got a bullet through my hat, one in the heel of my boot, my water-bottle was smashed, my binoculars were hit while I was looking through them, and my horse was shot through the back. But I was unhurt."

However, I am rushing *in medias res* at the outset. I must hark back. O'Moore Creagh's first chapter is a really interesting picture of life in County Clare during his boyhood and before. Knowing, as we mostly do, the part that the Irish Brigade played in French (and, I think, also Spanish) warfare, we are not surprised to be told that when Count Lally surrendered to Sir Eyre Coote at Pondicherri in 1760, "no less than five Creaghs were among the prisoners." I can well remember how, during the long talks which Colonel Creagh and I used to have after mess over a cheroot and a whisky and soda, he told me that he himself had been on the point of taking service in the Austrian cavalry, and that not a few members of his family had so served, on one of whom the title of count had been conferred. We all know the name of "Loudon" as a great Austrian general of the time of Frederick the Great. The Prince de Ligne, in his well-known Memoirs, vigorously contests Loudon's Scottish extraction; but his biographers and Scotch genealogists all state categorically that he was a scion of the Campbells of Loudoun in Ayrshire. For centuries Scotland and Ireland furnished our continental foes with material wherewith to fight "le perfide Albion." We have survived it with the ultimate issue which we witness to-day. Sir O'Moore Creagh might have been another "von Loudon," for whose biography we are indebted to Colonel Malleson among others.

Thoroughly interested as I am in the autobiography which Sir O'Moore has himself left us, I cannot in this review, which must be brief, follow him through each phase of his long military career of forty-eight years' duration. Not unnaturally I am drawn most keenly to the period of his command of the regiment which I afterwards (1902 to 1905) commanded, the 129th Duke of Connaught's Own Baluchis. As I look at the picture of the native officers of that regiment which faces p. 182, I see so many faces that I knew so well, and of whom I have a most kindly, I might almost say, affectionate recollection. I was eighteen years in the regiment, resigning my com-

mand in 1905; and in August, 1919, I met for the last time at Hampton Court four of those native officers, all having risen to the rank of subedar-major in Baluch battalions or other corps. The four were Zaman Khan, Sardar Khan, Ajaib Ali Shah, and Mir Kambir Khan, the last a relative of the Rind (Baluch) chief, whom (Mir Kambir Khan to wit) in 1903 I introduced with a direct commission into the 129th Baluchis, and of whose capability and gallant conduct in East Africa and Palestine during the Great War I later received evidence from several sources. I spent two hours with these four fine native officers at Hampton Court, and I parted from them with heartfelt regret, feeling that it was the last that I should see of the 129th Baluchis. One of them, Subedar-Major Sardar Khan, ere I left, went into his tent and brought out a little brass dish, marked "A Souvenir from Damascus, 1918," and gave it to me. It lies on my writing-table. While men of that stamp officer our native army, we will keep in their proper place and rate at their proper value mutinous malcontents and agitators of whatever caste and race.

It was a great surprise in 1909 to the army when Sir O'Moore Creagh was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. At that time he was, and had been for two years, Secretary to the Military Department of the India Office. He was therefore well known to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley. When it was brought to the notice of Lord Morley that General Sir O'Moore Creagh was senior to the two candidates put forward from India for the post of Commander-in-Chief in that Dominion, General Sir Edmund Barrow and General Sir Beauchamp Duff, he promptly nominated Creagh, and we need not now spend either time or space in commenting on what has long been *un fait accompli*. Sir O'Moore held that post from the autumn of 1909 to the spring of 1914, and was therefore holding it at the time when, in 1911, King George V. and Queen Mary visited India and celebrated at Delhi their accession to the throne.

While I was second-in-command to Colonel Creagh in the 129th Baluchis, I spent many an hour listening to his vivid and amusing stories of his experiences of life. One story that I noted carefully at the time and which I have never forgotten is that which he tells on pp. 163 to 165 of his book. I remember how he told me that that telegram from Army Headquarters arrived late at night, when his General had retired and was asleep, and how he (Creagh) sat up all night and prepared his scheme for marching to the relief of Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and he further described his keen disappointment at the General's deciding not to adopt and act on his scheme. I myself was always very interested in Sir John Watson, who had been in the 1st Baluchis before he became one of the *beaux sabreurs* of the Mutiny days, and won his V.C. These talks took place in the Baluch mess-house at Hydrabad, Sind, and, funnily enough, just the other day I met the ex-colonel of a

British regiment which was about that time quartered at Karachi and Hydrabad. He said to me: "I have just been reading Sir O'Moore Creagh's autobiography, and I am most disappointed at finding that he never says a word of how he broke his leg when he was going home from mess one night. I and others were with him. The Public Works Department had decided to give the mess-house an avenue, and had dug deep pits for the young trees. It was pitch dark, and Creagh walked straight into one of these pits. We took him to his bungalow with a broken leg." And now let us say of the gallant scion of a fine old soldier family of the County of Clare, in which (the county, not the family), as the author says on p. 7, "whisky was the universal panacea for all the ills of life":

"Requiescat in pace."

A. C. Yate.

Amurath to Amurath. By Gertrude Lowthian Bell. Second Edition. Macmillan and Co. 21s. net.

The publication of a second edition of "Amurath to Amurath" is an event which will be welcomed by all those—and they are far from few in number—who latterly have sought vainly in many places to obtain a copy of the first edition of Miss Gertrude Bell's most admirable book. The interest in the affairs of the Turkish Empire which was aroused by the constitutional crisis brought on by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1908 was well served by this graphic story of a remarkable journey from Aleppo to Konia via the Euphrates, Baghdad, the Upper Tigris, Mosul and Cæsarea. Since that time the Great War and the events which have followed it have aroused a far deeper and wider spread interest in Mesopotamia and the homelands of the Turk. Where such interest exists the republication of "Amurath to Amurath" should go far to satisfy the desire for a book both accurate in its facts and stimulating in its fancy.

The second edition of the book appears to be almost identical with the first, and it is with a keen sense of disappointment that it is discovered that Miss Bell has added no new chapters or appendices. Could we have been privileged to share her reflections on the history which has since been made on the lands through which she accomplished this remarkable journey, we should have enjoyed a stirring epilogue to a most fascinating story.

The primary object of Miss Bell's journey was archæological, and the book contains a grand record, made with pen and camera, of the history and beauty of the wonderful ruins which lay in her path, or to which she found her way, often over little known country and with great difficulty. It is, however, when Miss Bell has finished her plan of fortress, palace or mosque, and at the close of the day, sitting in a

coffee-shop or khan in the village near by, asks those about her of their thoughts on liberty, constitutions, cabbages and kings, or when her graphic pen paints so vividly the picture of one of the many types she meets on the road, that the average reader really reads and enjoys every line upon the page. Archæology and architecture have their charm, but it is the story of the lives and thoughts of their contemporaries in other lands which has the greater appeal to the interests of the mass of men. It would be possible to quote many penetrating and far-seeing passages from "Amurath to Amurath" which now in the time of their fulfilment appear almost prophetic, but to those who are acquainted with Miss Bell's more recent work, the words spoken to her by her cicerone, Fattuh, will probably seem the most remarkable. Approaching the end of her journey, the author bewails the absence of old friends whom political upheaval has scattered abroad. "Your Excellency will meet them in other cities," said Fattuh, "and they will be free men." Is it too much to hope that Miss Bell may soon be persuaded to write the story of the inspiring part which she has played in making these men free, and of how she came to meet them in other cities when yet another Amurath had succeeded?

THE HOME OF AN EASTERN CLAN. By Mrs. Leslie Milne. Clarendon Press. 16s.

The sub-title, "A Study of the Palaungs of the Shan States," is a more accurate description of this exceedingly interesting book, which does far more than describe the home of the clan; it describes the clan itself and the lives of its members, especially the lives of the ladies, most charmingly in very great detail.

Mrs. Milne in her introduction expresses a fear that the general reader may find her account too detailed, even wearisome; this does not seem likely, for it is written in a very readable style, and the descriptions of the daily life of the Palaung from birth to grave are so vivid and sympathetic that it is impossible not to be interested.

For those who are interested in anthropology, ethnology, and folklore the book provides a rare treat, while its value to any European who may have dealings with the people, especially those connected with the difficult but delightful task of governing them, cannot be over-estimated.

Mrs. Milne certainly deserves the success which she has won, for she took infinite pains to win the confidence of the people and fit herself for her task. She made great efforts to master the language. This was no simple matter, there being then but little known of the language, of which there are several dialects, and the account the lady gives of how she overcame all the difficulties is well worth reading and also extremely amusing.

In order to obtain the word for "to jump" she gave a demonstration, jumping over a stick in her verandah; the spectators consulted, and then gave her a word, which later on she found meant "to be mad."

The Palaung tribe is divided into many clans, some of which are widely scattered both in Burma and adjacent parts of China; but Mrs. Milne has confined herself for the most part to describing the people of the Tawngpeng state in the northern Shan states, who mostly belong to the Katur or Samlong clan. But there are references to the other clans, and in the appendix are given the marriage customs of many of them.

Having given a brief account of the history of the ancestors of the Palaungs, showing that they are of the Mon-Khmer race, Mrs. Milne, starting with the Palaung as a baby, gives us a vivid and absorbingly interesting account of his or her life. We get a chapter on the Palaung in each stage, as "Little Children," "Boys and Girls," "Young Men and Maidens," then on "Marriage," which naturally brings us to "The House, Home Life, and Village Life." Then a chapter deals with agriculture as practised in the Palaung country, of which a general description has been given in the introduction. The chief food crop is rice, which is grown in clearings on the hill-sides, the jungle being cleared and burnt, thus cleansing and fertilizing the soil. This is the ancient custom, and there are many ceremonies connected therewith—the spirits of the land must be propitiated, the fire must be lit by flint and steel, and an effigy of a man is made out of the last sheaf, which must be cut by the oldest man living in the house of the owner of the field, a strange parallel to the corn baby of our own land. The most paying crop, however, is tea, though, being of recent introduction, there are few rites connected with the cultivation. Trials by Ordeal have a chapter to themselves. I note with regret that they have been abolished by the Government. This is a mistake. Where we find the people believe sufficiently in God to be willing to leave to Him the settlement of their disputes, it is foolish and wrong to interfere, especially where, as in the case of the Palaungs, the various ordeals were harmless to the parties concerned. The introduction of Western legal methods has always been found, sooner or later, detrimental to the honesty of these simple children of nature. The chapter on Religion is particularly interesting, as Mrs. Milne has most sympathetically and skilfully explained the effect the introduction of Buddhism has had on the Animistic belief, which was the original creed of the Palaungs. As in the similar cases of the Manipuris and Malays (though there the new religions were Hinduism and Muhammadanism), the old faith has not really been supplanted in the heart of the people, and the spirits are feared and worshipped just as they are throughout Burma. There is much of interest regarding the Palaungs' beliefs as

to the fate of the spirits of the dead, and the sad fate of the wraith of a bad man, which, on account of his ill deeds, cannot obtain rebirth, and must either become a wandering ghost or enter some tree or stone, is graphically described. Cosmogony, Dreams, Proverbs and Riddles, and Folk-tales are the titles of chapters, each of which is worthy of a special review if only space allowed. Perhaps the most delightful chapters are those on Young Men and Maidens and Marriage, in which Mrs. Milne describes the Palaung methods of courtship and marriage. The young folk certainly have a good time; mamma and papa go to bed at ten, while the eldest daughter sits by the fire and entertains any and all young men who choose to come and talk with her. If there are several girls of an age to be courted, lovers of the younger ones must by a suitable present prevail on the eldest to leave the field clear for them. Marriage is generally preceded by an elopement, even when the parents are willing to allow the match, and the proceedings are lengthy and ceremonious. Though I have mentioned these two chapters as of special charm, that on the initiation of the boys and girls comes very near them, and the ceremonious education of the little folk in the arts of polite courtship and conversation and the elaborate language of plants and leaves which every boy and girl must use, is most curious and amusing. Fancy Tommy, aged ten or so, greeting Betty of nine with the query, "What hast thou eaten?" and being answered, "I have eaten mustard leaves," whereby he understands that she has wished to talk to him, or, should she not like him, with, "I have eaten mushrooms" or "I have eaten cucumber." But the last remark is so rude that Betty would never use it; but Tommy might if Betty had been outrageously flirtatious with some other little lad.

If I have exceeded the allowed space, I, like Adam, can plead, the woman tempted me by the excellence of her book and I did write.

J. S.

El Raisuni, the Sultan of the Mountains. By Rosita Forbes. Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. Demy 8vo. 21s.

It is given to few to penetrate the mind of the Moslem. Much sympathy and patience are required, together with knowledge of their religion and literature, and also wide experience. It is owing to the possession of these qualities that Rosita Forbes has produced a brilliant study of El Raisuni, whom she visited last year for the purpose of writing the story of his life. This interesting personage has been the leading figure in Morocco during the last generation, and her book will be carefully read by all who are interested in that interesting country, including the French and Spanish officials, while it will make a deep appeal to the student of Moslem character, who will realize that she

has grasped the point of view of her hero, and has laid bare the inmost workings of his mind with consummate skill.

El Raisuni is saint, warrior, crafty statesman, cruel tyrant, dreamer, and student. Like many another who has risen to power among Moslems, he started his career as a brigand, and a chapter is devoted to a vivid account of his long imprisonment, which brings out the wonderful endurance inspired by *kismet*. He was finally released, and soon became known in Europe and America for his capture of the American citizen Perdiccaris, of *Kaid* Maclean and of Mr. Harris, *The Times* correspondent. His account of the reasons that impelled him to seize these men, the manner in which he treated them, and the extraordinary success with which he used these pawns, would alone make the book of value.

El Raisuni played a large part in the creation of the Spanish zone in Morocco. He realized that, unless he helped the Spanish, he would have to deal with the far more efficient French, and he foolishly thought that he could control the Spanish. As was inevitable, they found him impracticable, and some of the most interesting chapters deal with his campaigns against them. The weapons of civilization were too strong, and he only just managed to stave off unconditional surrender by inducing the Riffs to rebel.

El Raisuni is a man of many moods. His dominant purpose has been to maintain his own position, and to be regarded by his people as a saint and the champion of Islam, and the reader cannot fail to be struck by the fact that within sight of Gibraltar the twentieth century is exchanged for the Middle Ages.

The photographs are good and appropriate, but the lack of a map constitutes a defect. Probably that is the fault of the publisher, for the daring explorer of Kufra would certainly have asked for a map with which to illustrate her theme. P. M. SYKES.

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A

1910. Sir Abdul Qaiyum, Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, K.C.I.E., Assistant Political Officer, Khaiber, Peshawar, N.-W.F. India.
1921. Acland, Captain P. Dyke, attd. Aviation Dept., Vickers Ltd., Vickers' House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1922. Acworth, Captain J. P., 28th Cavalry F.F., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1921. Ahmed Bey Hassanein, F.R.G.S., Egyptian Legation, Washington, D.C.
1916. Ainscough, Thomas M., O.B.E., H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Post Box 683, 11, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1923. Alban, E. H. C., c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank, Baghdad; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1919. Alexander, Y. Patrick, F.R.G.S., 2, Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Allen, W. E. D., Commonwood House, Chipperfield, Herts.
1920. Allenby, Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. the Viscount, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Cairo, Egypt.
1921. Altham, Lieut.-General Sir E. A., K.C.B., C.M.G., Prior's Barton, Winchester.
1921. Antonius, George, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1922. Armitage-Smith, Sidney A., C.B., 29, York Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
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1924. Arnold, The Right Hon. Lord, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonial Office, S.W. 1.
1920. Austin, Lieut. A. P. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.

B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F., 34, Bruton Street, W. 1.
1910. Bailey, Major F. M., C.I.E., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
1924. Bailey, W. H., M.D., Featherstone Hall, Southall, Middlesex.
20 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1923. Balfe, Miss, Ladies' Athenæum Club, 32, Dover Street, W. 1.

1920. Balfour, Lt.-Col. F. C. C., C.I.E., M.C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Ballard, Mrs. C. R., Hadham Mill, Much Hadham, Herts.
1922. Bampton, Major J. H. H., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
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1920. Barstow, Captain A. E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
40 1921. Bartlett, P. E., Indo-European Telegraph Department, Persian Section, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
1923. Barton, Honourable Mr. W. P., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Resident, Mysore, India.
1920. Base, Edward H., 5, Station Road, Lowestoft.
1919. Bateman, H. G., F.R.G.S., Osaka, Japan.
1922. Bax-Ironside, Sir Henry, K.C.M.G., C.B., 23, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.
1923. Bayley, Lieut.-Colonel E. C., C.I.E., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Beale, Captain C. T., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.; Imperial Ottoman Bank, Hamadan, Persia.
1921. Beattie, Dr. J. Hamilton, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Beatty, Colonel Commandant G. A. H., 1st Cavalry Brigade, Risalpur, N.-W. F. P., India.

1910. Beauclerk, Lord Osborne de Vere, Brooks's Club, 4, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Beckley, Major P. A., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Belgrave, C. Dalrymple, Iringa, Tanganyika Territory, East Africa.
1920. Bell, B. H., Law Courts, Khartoum, Sudan.
1922. Bell, H. T. Montague, Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1; "Near East," 167, Strand, W.C. 2.
1921. Bell, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Bell, Miss Gertrude, C.B.E., c/o Secretariat of the High Commissioner, Baghdad, Iraq.
1923. Bell, Major A. H., D.S.O., O.B.E., R.E., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., Residency, Jeypore, Rajputana, India.
*†Bennett, Sir T. J., K.C.I.E., Harwarton House, Speldhurst, Kent.
1921. Bennett, Captain S. G., M.C., 8, St. Albans Crescent, Bournemouth.
60 1922. Bennett, John G., 1, Sloane Avenue, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Bentinck, Major A. W. D., Coldstream Guards, 53, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
1923. Berry, Major E. S., O.B.E., Divisional Adviser, Baqubah, Iraq.
1923. Beveridge, Mrs., 53, Campden House Road, W. 8.
1922. Biggane, P., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1
1910. Bigg-Wither, Lt.-Col. F., I.A., c/o Messrs. N. Scott and Co., Post Box 103, Rangoon.
1921. Bingham, Captain D'Arcy, 109th Infantry, I.A., c/o Lloyd's Bank (King's Branch), Bombay.
1921. Bingley, Lieut.-General Sir A. H, K.C.I.E., C.B., The Old Cottage, Cranleigh, Surrey.
1921. Birch, Lt.-Col. J. M., D.S.O., 20, Bina Gardens, S.W. 5.
1922. Birdwood, General Sir W. R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., A.D.C.Gen., G.H.Q. Northern Army, Rawalpindi, India.
1920. Blacker, Major L. V. S., O.B.E., Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides, Junior Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1922. Blackett, Captain A. T., Palestine Gendarmerie, Ludd, Palestine.
1921. Blackwood, J. H., 37, Paternoster Row, E.C. 4.
1923. Blomfield, Captain H. M., Dept. of Overseas Trade, 35, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1922. Bois, Captain H. E., Iraq Levies, E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1919. Bone, H. Peters, 5, Hamilton Mansions, King's Gardens, Hove, Sussex.
1921. *Bonham-Carter, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., 5, Hyde Park Square, W. 2.

1923. Booker, Captain William, Royal Fusiliers, 1st Yemen Infantry, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.

1922. Borrie, Dr. David, O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

Bosanquet, Sir O. V., K.C.I.E., 1, Vicarage Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.

80 1921 Bourdillon, B. H., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

1922. Bourke, D. R. S., I.F.S., Instructor, Forest College, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.

1922. Bower, Sir Graham, K.C.M.G., Studwell Lodge, Droxford, Hants.

1921. Bowman, H. E., C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem.

1921. Braham, Major G. N., M.C. (Mesopotamian Civil Administration), Baghdad.

1922. Bramley, Colonel P. B., C.I.E., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Brasher, C. G., 23, Victoria Square, Clifton, Bristol.

1920. Bray, Major F. E., M.C., 21, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.

1920. Bray, Major N. N. E., O.B.E., M.C., Political Dept., Govt. of India, c/o Political Secretary, India Office, S.W. 1.

1921. Bridcut, Lieut.-Col. S. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St, James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Bridges, Lieut.-Colonel E. J. (late 14th Hussars), Greatbridge House, Romsey, Hants.

1921. Bright, Captain L. L., Junior Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1; Equatorial Batt., Egyptian Army, c/o Postmaster, Khartoum.

1922. Brock, Wing-Commander H. Le M., Royal Air Force, Staff College, Andover, Hants.

1923. Brockman, Brig.-General W. H. Drake, C.M.G., Newington, Littleton, near Winchester.

1920. Bros, Major H. Alwyn (R. of O.) Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

1922. Brown, Mrs. Wynyard, Cooper's Hill Farm, Eversley, Surrey.

1920. Browne, Claude M., 10, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.

1921. Browne, Lt.-Col. H. H. Gordon, D.S.O., 17, Bardwell Road, Oxford.

†Bruce, Brig.-Gen. C. D., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

1920. Brunskill, Major G. S., M.C., 18, Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W. 2.

100 1922. Brunskill, Captain B. A. S., M.C., 39th Larwhal Rifles, Lansdowne, India.

1920 Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., Kt., 16, Victoria Street, S.W.

†Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth, Herts.

1921. Buchanan, Mrs., 32, Elsworthy Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.

1923. Buist, Captain T. P., R.A.M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1921. Bunbury, Captain N. L. St. P., 106th Hazara Pioneers, Fort Sandeman, Baluchistan, India.

1919. *BUNSEN, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, Bart., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 43, Ennismore Gardens, S.W. 7. Chairman of C.
1919. Burdwan, The Hon. Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., T.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of, The Palace, Bardwan, Bengal, India.
1921. Burn, Major A. H., O.B.E., 59th Scind Rifles, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Burn-Murdoch, Major I., O.B.E., Umbala, U.P., India.
1914. Bury, Colonel C. Howard, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1920. Busk, H. Gould, F.G.S., Old Vicarage House, Milford, Hants.
1922. Buss, Squadron Leader K. C., R.A.F., Air Headquarters, British Forces in Iraq, Baghdad.
1921. Butler, F. H. C., South End, St. Cross, Winchester.
1920. Buxton, Leland W. W., 45, Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11.
1921. Buxton, Dr. P. Alfred, c/o Govt. Hospital, Apia, Western Samoa.

C

1922. Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, R.N. (ret.), Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Glos.
1922. Calder, N., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Cameron, Major G. S., M.C., Dy. Director of Agriculture, Lower Baghdad, Mesopotamia.
1922. Campbell, Captain W. F. C., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
120 †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., Hotel National, Montreux.
1920. Carey, Lieut.-Col. A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., c/o Director of Public Works, Baghdad; 52, The Close, Norwich.
1919. *CARNOCK, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3. Vice-President.
1922. Carnock, The Lady, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Carroll, Colonel F. Fitzgerald, D.S.O., A.M.S., Dy. Director of Medical Services, Northern Command, York.
1923. Carson, T. Simpson, Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W.
1924. Carter, Lieut.-Colonel J. H. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Carver, Captain F. E., O.B.E., c/o Messrs. Carver Bros., Alexandria, Egypt.
1921. Castells, Captain E., 6th Gurkha Rifles, Highcliffe, Miskin Road, Dartford.
1920. Chakravati, Professor Nilmani, M.A., 18, Sitaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta.
1921. Chamier, Captain A., O.B E., c/o Eastern Rubber Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1921. Champain, Brig.-Gen. H. B., C.B., Oak Lodge, Ham Common, Surrey.
1922. Channer, Captain G. O. de R., 7th Gurkha Rifles, c/o National Bank of India, Bombay.

1921. Chapman, Captain A. J. B., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 72, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Chardin, F. W., 20, Empress Avenue, Woodford Green, Essex.
1920. Charge, H. L., Mayfair, Upper Terrace Road, Bournemouth.
1922. Charlesworth, Martin, Jesus College, Cambridge.
1921. Chelmsford, The Rt. Hon. Viscount, G.M.S.I, G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.B.E., etc., 116, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Chesney, G. M., 69, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Childs, W. J., The Quadrangle, Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
140 1903. *Chirol, Sir Valentine, Kt., 34, Carlyle Square, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Chitty, Captain C., 24, East Heath Road, Hampstead, N.W.
1918. Christie, Miss A., 7, Stewart's House, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Christie, Miss E. R., F.R.G.S., Cowden Castle, Dollar, N.B.
1923. Christie, Captain L. D., Durie, Leven, Fifeshire.
1921. Churchill, The Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer, 2, Sussex Square, W. 2.
1920. Clayton, Brig.-Gen. Sir Gilbert F., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G.. Government House, Jerusalem; United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Clayton, Captain J. N., R.G.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1923. Clegg, S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1919. Coales, Oliver R., H.B.M. Consul-General, Shanghai, China; R. Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920 Cobbe, Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. S., V.C., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1; 3, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
1923. Coghill, Captain Sir Patrick, Bart., R.F.A., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cole, Major J. J. B., F.R.G.S., Rifle Brigade, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Collas, Major F. J., O.B.E., M.C., R.F.A. (ret.), St. Heliers, Jersey.
1918. Collis, Mrs., 17, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W. 6.
1921. Colvin, Ian, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1921. Colvin, George, 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1921. Colvin, Mrs., 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.
1920. Connal-Rowan, Major J. F. Meiklewood, Gargunnock, Stirlingshire; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cooke, Captain R. S., Dalnottarhill, Old Kilpatrick, N.B.
160 1922. Cooper, Captain E. S. Storey, M.C., c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1922. Cooper, Mrs. Bruce, Overcourt, Bisley, Glos.
1923. Cooper, W. H., 18, Finchley Way, Finchley.
1923. Corbyn, E. N., Governor of Khartoum Province, Khartoum, Sudan; United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1923. Cornwall, Lieut.-Colonel, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., R.A., c/o British Embassy, Constantinople.

1920. Cornwallis, Col. Kinahan, C.B.E., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., Adviser to the Ministry of Interior, Baghdad; Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Coryndon, Sir Robert Thorne, K.C.M.G., Government House, Nairobi, Kenya Colony, Africa.
1920. Costello, Colonel E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 4, Rose Crescent, Cambridge.
1919. Cowell, Mrs. M., 14, Billiter Street, E.C.
1908. Cox, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Percy Z., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Whitehall Court, S.W.
1923. Crane, Charles R., Century Club, New York, U.S.A.
1920. Craufurd, Lt.-Commander C., R.N., c/o National Bank of India, Aden.
1921. Cree, Thomas D., O.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 65, Cornhill, E.C.
1914. Crewdson, Major W. T. O., R.F.A., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W. 1.
1923. Croft, William Dawson, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Cronyn, Sub-Lieutenant St. John, R.N., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1907. Cuningham, Sir William J., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Cunliffe-Owen, Lieut.-Colonel F., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1907. *Curzon of Kedleston, The Most Hon. the Marquis, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, near Basingstoke, Hants; 1, Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1. Hon. President.
1923. Cust, Captain L. G. A., R.A., The Governate, Jerusalem.

D

180 1921. Daly, Captain T. Denis, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1908. Daukes, Major C. T., C.I.E., Political Department, Government of India, Loralai, Baluchistan, India.
1923. Davidson, Miss Flora M., C.E.Z. Mission, Peshawar City, India.
1923. Davidson, N. G., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Davies, J. Fisher, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Davies, Miss E. B., 29, Francis Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1906. Davis, W. S., Coglan House, Longhope, Glos.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1920. Deedes, Sir Wyndham H., Bart., C.M.G., D.S.O., 8, Victoria Park, Dover.
1922. Devonshire, The Duke of, K.G., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
1922. Dew, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1919. Digby, Bassett, F.R.G.S., The Old Tannery House, Rickmansworth, Herts.

1922. Ditchburn, Major A. H., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1906. Dobbs, Sir H. R. C., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1903. *Donoughmore, The Earl of, 5, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1910. Douglas, Lieut.-Colonel H. A., The Vicarage, Langton Green, near Tunbridge Wells.
1920. Douglas, Major-Gen. J A., C.M.G., C.I.E., Ashmore Lodge, Cold Ash, near Newbury, Berks.
1922. Dowson, V. H. W., Department of Agriculture, Baghdad.
1921. Drower, Mrs. E. M., Credit Lyonnais Bank, 14, Cockspur Street, S.W. 1.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
200 1921. Duggan, C. E., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Karachi, India.
1921. Duncan, J. A. L., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1920. Dunsterville, Col. K. S., C.B., Artillery House, Knaresborough Place, S.W. 5.
1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., The Cronk, Port St. Mary, Isle of Man.
1907. *Durand, The Right Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Penmayne House, Rock, Wadebridge, Cornwall.
1923. Durnford, Lieut.-Commander John, R.N., Hartley Wespall House, Basingstoke, Hants.
1920. Dyer, Brig.-General R. E. H., C.B., Elmsleigh, Bassett, Hants.

E

1922. Eadie, Major J. I., D.S.O., 97th Infantry, I.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1921. Edmonds, Major C. J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.; c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1920. EGERTON, Lieut.-Gen. Sir R. G., K.C.B., K.C.I.E., 43, Cheyne Court, S.W. 3. Hon. Secretary.
1923. Ellis, Captain C. H., O.B.E., British High Commission, Constantinople.
†Elphinstone, Lord, Carlton Club, 94, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Elsmie, Major-General A. M. S., 27, Woodville Gardens, Ealing, W. 5.
1922. Emmerson, Captain C. A., R.A.M.C., 59, Oakley Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1920. Empson, C., The White House, Fulford, York.
1911. Etherton, Lieut.-Colonel P., Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S. W.

F

1923. Faber, George, 1-3, Mortimer Street, W. 1.
1920. Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.

1922. Farrell, W. Jerome, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1921. Farrer, Hon. C. C., 100, Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, W. 8.

220 1919. FitzHugh, Capt. J. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross.

1921. Flaxman, H. T. M., O.B.E., Assistant Divisional Adviser, Mosul, Mesopotamia.

1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1920. Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Campbellpur, Punjab, India.

1920. Fowle, Major T. C., I.A., H.B.M. Consul, Seistan and Kain, East Persia.

1921. Fraser, Captain D. de M. S., Political Dept. Govt. of India, The Residency, Indore.

1920. Fraser, E., 14, Chester Street, S.W. 1.

1920. Fraser, M. F. A., F.R.G.S., Beaufort, Knaphill, Nr. Woking.

1922. Fraser, Major W. A. K., D.S.O., M.C., British Legation, Kabul, Afghanistan.

1916. Fraser, Sir Stuart M., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.

1921. Fraser, W. M., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E. C.

1923. Fraser, Donald S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1921. Fremantle, Lieut.-Colonel F. E., T.D., O.B.E., M.P., Bedwell Park, Hatfield.

1923. French, Bt.-Major B. R., D.S.O., 1st Yemen Infantry, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W 1.

1922. French, J. C., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1923. French, Lieut.-Colonel W., Caledonian Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Frew, Rev. Dr. Robert, D.D., National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.

1921. Frost, Lieut.-Colonel F. D., C.B.E., M.C., I.A., 46, Napier Road, Allahabad, U.P., India.

1920. Fuller, Captain N. B., M.B.E., Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1923. Furse, Major R. D., D.S.O., 18, Hanover Terrace, W. 11.

G

240 1908. Gabriel, Lieut.-Colonel Vivian, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.V.O., T.D., Marlborough Club, 52, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1923. Gaisford St. Lawrence, Captain C., Scots Greys, Risalpur, N.-W.F.P., India.

1919. Garbett, C. C., C.M.G., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

1913. Garrard, Major S. H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly; Welton Place, Daventry, Northants.

1919. Gaulter, Mrs., 152, Earl's Court Road, S.W. 5.
1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1921. Geary, Mrs., c/o National, Provincial and Union Bank of England, Ltd., 67, Bishop's Road, W. 2.
1920. Geden, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
1922. Gilkes, Captain G., R.F.A.
1922. Gillman, Major-General Sir Webb, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., R.F.A., Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.
1922. Goldie, Major Henry, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Alexandria.
1919. Goold-Adams, Col. Sir H. E. F., K.B.E., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Gorbold, Captain Roland, F.R.G.S., 168, Hollis Avenue, Braintree, Mass., U.S.A.
1920. Gordon, Lieut.-Col. P. J., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Gore, Major F. L., 113th Infantry, I.A., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1923. Gough, Major The Viscount, M.C., 9, Upper Belgrave Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Gourlay, W. R., C.I.E., 23, Old Court Mansions, W. 8.
1922. Govan, Mrs. D. M., 6⁰, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.C., 13th Hussars, Cavalry Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Graham, Colonel R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
260 1923. Graham, Captain Alan Crosland, Clwyd Hall, Ruthin, N. Wales; Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W.
1923. Graham, Lieut.-Colonel, R. J. D., C.I.E., I.M.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Grant, Sir A. Hamilton, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Brooks's Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Gray, Lawrence, c/o Irrigation Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Greatwood, H. E., 123rd Outram Rifles, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groome and Co., Bombay.
1923. Greenhouse, Major F. S., Pikes' Hill Avenue, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1920. Gregson, Lieut.-Col. E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Rake, Liss, Hants.
1920. Grey, Lieut.-Col. W. George, Solars, Chiddingfold, Surrey.
1923. Gribbon, Colonel W. H., C.B., C.M.G., 2nd Battalion King's Own Royal Regt., Rangoon.
1920. Grieve, Captain A. McLeod, 3rd Black Watch, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.
1920. Griffin, Captain A. C., O.B.E., R.E., Deputy Director of Railways, Iraq Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1921. Grove White, Major M. FitzG., D.S.O., O.B.E, R.E., R.E. Office, Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow.
1923. Groves, J. P. K., East Hoathley Rectory, Halland, Sussex.
1921. Gumbley, Douglas W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

H

1920. Hadow, Major H. R., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Hadow, D. S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. W., K.C.I.E., C.B., 37, Trinity College, Dublin.
1920. Hall, Captain A. H., O.B.E., Annfield, Rothesay, Scotland.
1922. Hall, H. R., D.Litt., F.S.A., British Museum, Bloomsbury, W.C.
1922. Hallinan, Captain T. J., R.A.M.C., 77, Southside, Clapham Common, S.W.
280 1923. Hamdi Bey Baban, Baghdad, Iraq.
1923. Hamilton, Captain John Claude, R.N., c/o Admiralty, S.W. 1.
1923. Hamilton, J. A. de C., M.C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Harapvasad, Mahamohopadhyaya, Shastri, C.I.E., F.A.S.B., 44, Nilket Road, Dacca.
1920. HARDINGE, The Rt. Hon. Sir A., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Coldharbour, West Hoathley, Sussex. M. of C.
1918. Harford, Frederic Dundas, C.V.O., 49, Egerton Gardens, S.W. 3.
1921. Harker, O. Allan, Indian Police, 18, Portsea Place, W. 2.
1921. Harris, F. J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Harris, Captain L. J., O.B.E., c/o Director of Works, Jerusalem.
1922. Harrison, Captain Cyril, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Haughton, Lieut.-Colonel H. L., 36th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Hauser, Captain S. B., "Gleniffer," Weston-super-Mare, Somerset.
1923. Hawker, Brig.-General C. J., C.M.G., C.B.E., 8, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Hay, Captain W. R., Assistant Commissioner, Bannu, N.-W.F.P., India.
1922. Haycraft, Sir Thomas Wagstaffe, Chief Justice, Jerusalem, Palestine.
1920. Headley, R. H., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1923. Headley, The Lord, M.I.C.E.I., Ivy Lodge, St. Margaret's, Twickenham.
1923. Heath, Miss I. V., Bailey's Hotel, Gloucester Road, S.W. 7.
1922. Henderson, Lady, D.B.E., 17, West Eaton Place, S.W.
1920. Hendley, Major-Gen. H., C.S.I., Hon. Surgeon to H.M. the King, Caxton, near Cambridge.
300 1922. Henry, Colonel Sir W. D., C.I.E., V.D., 60, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1923. Henty, Miss, 62, Inverness Terrace, W. 2.
1921. Hiles, Major M., O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1919. Hill, Lt. H. Brian, F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton and Co., Calcutta, India.
1923. Hill, Sir Claude H. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Hilleary, Mrs., 2, Tregunter Road, S.W. 10.
1923. Hindmarsh, Captain J. H. L., 119th Infantry, I.A., Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S.W.
1923. Hitchcock, F. C., East Surrey Regt., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1922. Hogarth, D. G., C.M.G., D.Litt., 20, St. Giles, Oxford.
*†Holdich, Colonel Sir Thomas H., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B., Parklands, Merrow, Surrey.
1924. Holland, Colonel L., D.S.O., Seaforth and Cameron Brigade, Inverness.
1922. Holt, Captain V., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Holt, Major A. L., M.B.E., M.C., R.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Holt, Mrs. A. L., New Victorian Club, 30A, Sackville Street, W. 1.
1923. Hooper, H. G. V., c/o Messrs. Hill Bros. Co., Basrah, Iraq.
1919. Hope, Miss T. M., Crix, Hatfield Peverel, Witham, Essex.
1921. Horridge, J., Haverholme, Bramhall, Cheshire.
1921. Hotson, J. E. B., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Post Box, 93, Bombay.
1920. Houstoun, G. L., The Farm, Kyrenia, Cyprus.
1908. Howell, E. B., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1; Foreign Office, Delhi-Simla, India.
320 1923. Howell, A. B. B., M.B.E., Sudan Political Service, Khartoum, Sudan.
1921. Hughes, J. A., M.C., 67, Castletown Road, W. 14.
1923. Hume, Mrs. E. A., 9, St. Leonard's Terrace, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1922. Humphrys, Major Francis H., C.I.E., H.B.M. Minister, Kabul, Afghanistan.
1921. Hunt, Captain J. M., 87th Punjabis, I.A., The Red Cottage, Baschurch, Shrewsbury.
1921. Hunt, Captain W. E., Old Rectory Cottage, Bathampton, Bath.
1920. Hunter-Weston, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Aylmer, K.C.B., D.S.O., D.L., M.P., 2, Culford Gardens, S.W. 3; Hunterston, West Kilbride, Ayrshire.
1918. Hunter, Mrs., 81, Holland Park, W. 11.

I

1922. Inchcape of Strathnaver, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
1924. India, Army Headquarters, Simla.
1916. India, Foreign and Political Department of Government, Delhi.
1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1915. Ingram, Captain M. B., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.

1922. Ingrams, W. H., Chake Chake, Pembu, Zanzibar.
1922. Ironside, Major-General Sir Edmund, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., The Staff College, Camberley.

J

1923. Jacks, T. L., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Jackson, R. J., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Jacob, General Sir Claud W., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Chief of the General Staff in India, Simla, India.
1922. James, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Cuthbert, C.B.E., M.P., 3, Ormonde Gate, Chelsea, S.W.
†Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
340 1921. Jardine, R. F., Assistant Political Officer, Dohuk, Mosul.
*†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
1920. Jeffreys, Major J. F. D., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Jelf, Arthur, Malayan C.S., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Jhalawar, H. H. Maharaj Rana Sri Bhawani Singh, Sahib Bahadur of, K.C.I.E., Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
1923. Joy, Lieut. G. A., 1st Yemen Infantry, Sheikh Othman, Arabia; Junior Army and Navy Club, Horse Guards Avenue, S.W.
1921. Joyce, Lieut.-Col. P. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

K

1920. Kay, Professor D. M., "Kildonan," St. Andrew's, Fife, N.B.
1920. Keeling, E. H., M.C., United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1913. Kemp, Miss, 26, Harley House, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
1923. Kemp, Miss Amy, 38, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1921. Kennett, Mrs. Barrington, Remenham, Wraysbury, Bucks.
1921. Kerr, Captain E. Teviott, I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W.
†King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
1922. Kirk, Captain F. C. de L., 5th Batt. K.A.R., Northern Frontier, Kenya Colony, Africa.
1922. Kirkpatrick, Lieut.-General Sir George M., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1., G.O.C.-in-C., Western Command, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1923. Kitching, G. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Knapton, A. G. H., Rope Hill, Lymington.
1923. Knight, Charles, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

360 1923. Knight, G. E. O., F.R.G.S., 6, Porteus Road, Paddington, W. 2.

1922. Knollys, Major Denis E., 19th Punjabis, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

L

1921. Ladd, W. E., Post Box 39, Baghdad.

1921. Laidlaw, Lieut. R. F. E., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

1920. Laithwaite, John G., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

1922. Lake, Lieut.-Colonel M. C., 1st Yemen Infantry, Aden.

1923. Lake, Lieut.-General Sir Percy H. N., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.

1904.†*Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 26, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.

1923. Lammie, G., M.C., Royal Scots Fusiliers, 21, Queen's Crescent, Edinburgh.

1924. Lampson, Commander G. Locker, C.M.G., D.S.O.,, M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W. 1.

1920. Lane, D. A., R.R. No. 1, St. Anne's, Ontario, Canada.

1921. Lane, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.M.S., 35, Westholm, Addison Way, Golders Green, N.W. 11.

1920. Lang, Commander G. H., D.S.O., R.N., 13, Abbey Court, Abbey Road, N.W.

1921. Lee, W. H., Wymondham, Hythe, Kent; Railways, Shuaibah, Iraq.

1920. Lees, Captain G. Martin, M.C., D.F.C., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1921. Lee-Warner, Captain W. Hamilton, S.S.C.S., Singapore.

1920. Léon, M. Henri M., Ph.D., LL.D., 8, Taviton Street, Gordon Square, W.C.

1921. Leslie, Lieut. L., Shropshire L.I., The Barracks, Shrewsbury.

1922. Lester, G. A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. (F), 16, Charing Cross, S.W.

1920. Leveson-Gower, Col. C., C.M.G., C.B.E., 13, Cottesmore Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.

380 1922. List, J. N., M.C., A.M.I.C.E., c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Sons, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

1921. Lloyd, Captain H. I., M.C., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1921. Lloyd, Major C. G., C.I.E., M.C., Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1; The Abbey, Penally, Pem.

1908. *Lloyd, Sir George A., G.C.I.E., D.S.O.

1912. Loch, Major P. G., I.A., Political Dept., Government of India.

1921. Loch, Lieut.-Colonel G. H., C.I.E., I.A. (retd.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1908. Lockhart, Lady, 187, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.

1920. Longrigg, Major S. H., Political Officer, Mesopotamia.

1918. Lovett, Major-General Beresford, C.B., C.S.I., Hillside, Harvey Road, Guildford.
1921. Lovett, Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., c/o Messrs. H. S. King and Co., 9, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Lowis, H. R., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1921. Lubbock, Brig.-General G., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., Furze Hill, Marguretting, Essex.
1923. Luke, H. C., Assistant Governor, Jerusalem.
1922. Lumby, Major A. F. Rawson, O.B.E., 69th Punjabis, Army Headquarters, Delhi, India.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., 3rd Kashmir Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Lyell, T. R. G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Lynch, Stephen, c/o Euphrates and Tigris S.N. Co., 3, Salter's Hall Court, E.C.
1922. Lynden-Bell, Captain L. A., M.C., 2nd Seaforth Highlanders, Meerut, U.P., India.
1922. Lytton, H.E. the Earl of, Calcutta.

M

1909. *Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Les Vaux, St. Saviour's, Jersey, Channel Isles.
400 1922. Macdonald, Lieut.-Colonel F., I.A. (ret.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. McCallum, Major Duncan, British Liaison Officer with G.H.Q., French Army of the Levant, Beyrout, Syria.
1923. McCann, Captain A. G. H., I.A., 10/188 Madras Pioneers, Bangalore, S. India.
1922. M'Cleverty, Major P. H., 2/14 Punjab Regiment, I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 3.
1923. McDonell, A. R., Royal Auto Club, Pall Mall, S.W, 1.
1923. McGovern, W. M., Ph.D., c/o British Exploration Syndicate, 1-18, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C. 4.
1921. McGrath, Lieut.-Colonel A. T., 43, South Audley Street, W. 1.
1920. McGrath, Mrs. (Rosita Forbes), 43, South Audley Street W. 1.
1920. MacGregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
1922. Machray, Robert, 78, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1921. McIntyre, Captain H. M. J., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Mackarness, H. J. C., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Mackenzie, Lady M. M. Owen, 6, Chesham Street, S.W. 1. Brantham Court, Suffolk.
1923. Mackenzie, J. M., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.

1923. Mackenzie, Miss K., Lucknow, India.
1923. Mackenzie, K., Government Bookshop, Dept. of Education, Baghdad.
1920. Mackie, J. B., Castle Cary, Somerset.
1921. Mackintosh, C. A. G., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.; Gezira Gardens, Cairo.
1906. *McMahon, Lieut.-Colonel Sir H., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., 59, Pont Street, S.W. 1.
420 1922. MacMichael, H. A., c/o Civil Secretary, Khartoum.
1920. McNearnie, Captain H. D., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Maconochie, R. R., I.C.S., British Legation, Kabul.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., c/o Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Basra.
1923. Macquoid, Brig.-General C. E. K., C.I.E., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1924. McRoberts, B. A. K., Zanzibar, E. Africa.
1923. Makant, Mrs., Gilnow Lodge, Bolton, Lancs.
1903. *Malcolm, Major-General Sir Neill, K.C.B., D.S.O., Singapore, S.S.
1921. Malleson, Major-General Sir Wilfrid, K.C.I.E., C.B., Foxhurst, Ashvale, Surrey.
1922. Mann, Alexander, 64, Lancaster Gate, W. 2.
1922. Mann, J. S., Hazeldene, South Hill, Bromley.
1921. Marklew, E. G., 23, Richmond Road, W. 2.
1920. Marling, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., British Embassy, The Hague.
1920. Marrs, Major R., C.I.E., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Marshall, Justice J. E., Egyptian National Court of Appeal, Zamaleh, Gezira, Cairo.
1923. Martin, Lieut. R., 1st Yemen Infantry, Sheikh Othman, Arabia.
1922. Martin, Miss F., Valnino, Sedalia, California.
1920. Massy, Col. P. H. Hamon, C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Mather, Norman, F. H., Malay C. S., Singapore.
1920. Mathieson, Wilfred, Minchinhampton, Glos.
440 1920. May, Major W. R. S., C.I.E., Twyford House, Alnmouth.
1923. Medlicott, J. H., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1912. Medlicott, Lieut.-Colonel H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Mellor, Donald, 25, Dault Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W. 18.
1920. MICHELL, Roland, C.M.G., 22, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11. Hon. Librarian.
1923. Millar, Captain A. B., 2nd Frontier Force Rifles, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay, India.
1920. Millard, W. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.
1922. Mills, E., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W.

1922. Milne, J. L., c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Co., Post Box 70, Calcutta.
1922. Milnes-Gaskell, The Lady Constance, 47, Pont Street, S.W.
1920. Minchin, Captain H. C. Stephens, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Moberly, Brig.-General F. J., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.C.S., Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, 2, Cavendish Square, W.
1920. Mocatta, Major V. E., O.B.E., 14th Hussars, 31, Great Cumberland Place, W.
1922. Moens, Colonel A. M., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., c/o India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1920. Molony, Wm. O'Sullivan, c/o League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.
1923. Monckton, Captain A. W., 12, The Beach, Walmer, Kent.
1921. MONRO, General Sir C. C., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.Gen., Gibraltar. Vice-President.
1924. Montagu of Beaulieu, The Lord, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Beaulieu, Hants.
1920. Monteath, D. Taylor, O.B.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1921. Monteath, G., I.C.S., Buckerell Lodge, Honiton, Devon.
460 1922. Montgomery, Major-General Sir A. A., K.C.B., Pitchford Hall, Shropshire.
1903. *MOON, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1921. Moore, Captain J. H., Walton Grange, Swindon, Wilts.
1922. Moore, Major Arthur, 9, Chester Terrace, Eaton Square, S.W.
1920. More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), Political Agency, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1921. Morgan, C. Stuart, National Arts Club, 15, Grammercy Park, New York.
1920. Morison, Sir Theodor, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Overdale, Lindisfarne Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1922. Morland, Major W. E. T., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, 36, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. Morrison, A. B., c/o Messrs. Shaw, Wallace and Co., Bombay.
1923. Morshead, Major H. T., D.S.O., R.E., Survey of India, c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
1921. Mousley, Captain E. O., R.F.A., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Muir, Mrs., Whipp's Cross Hospital, Leytonstone, E. 11.
1920. Mules, Sir Chas., K.C.S.I., M.V.O., O.B.E., 29, Bramham Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Mumm, Arnold L., F.R.G.S., 112, Gloucester Terrace, W. 2.
1921. Murphy, Lieut.-Colonel C. C. R., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; 14, Norfolk Road, Littlehampton.
†Murray, John, M.A., D.L., J.P., F.S.A., 50A, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Murray, Major S. G. C., C.I.E., I.A., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.

1921. Muspratt, Colonel S. F., C.S.I., D.S.O., A.D.C., 12th Cavalry, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Blenheim Cottage, Nuffield, Henley-on-Thames.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

480 1923. Nairn, Norman, Nairn Transport Co., Box 262, Beyrout.
1922. Nalder, L. F., C.B.E., C.I.E., Savile Club, 107, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Napier, Major A. Harper, I.M.S., c/o Marshall, Terne, N. Queensferry, N.B.
1921. Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Newton, Mrs. Frances E., 156, Sloane Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Nicolson, Major the Hon. F. A., M.C., 15th Hussars, 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Nightingale, Colonel M. R. W., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Nightingale, Major G. W., M.C., 1st Yemen Infantry, Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Noble, Mrs., 49, Palace Gardens Terrace, W. 8.
1920. Noel, Major E., C.I.E., D.S.O. (Political Dept. Govt. of India), Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Noel, Major J. B. L., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 1.
1920. Noone, H. V. V., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Norbury, Major P. F., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Norris, Captain David, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., c/o Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Northcote, D. S.

O

1922. Oatway, Captain S. H., 93rd Burma Infantry, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1923. O'Callaghan, T. P. M., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Ockelford, C. E., 162, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1921. O'Connor, Captain R. L., c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1906. O'Connor, Lieut.-Colonel W. F. T., C.S.I., C.I.E., R.A., British Legation, Nepal, India.
500 1922. Oddie, Philip, M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. O'DWYER, Sir Michael F., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 26, Brechin Place, S.W. 7. M. of C.
1923. O'Leary, Rev. de L., Christ Church Vicarage, Redfield, Bristol.

1924. Olivier, The Right Hon. Lord, K.C.M.G., C.B., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Olver, Lieut.-Colonel A., C.B., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Holt and Co., Whitehall Place, S.W.
1923. Ormond, Charles, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
1920. *Ormsby-Gore, Major the Hon. W. G. A., J.P., D.L., F.R.G.S., 5, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
1922. Osmond, Captain W. R. Fiddes, R.A., United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Outlaw, Captain W. H., 40, Charles Street, Berkhamsted.
1923. Owen, Captain Fenwick, 16, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 1.

P

1923. Palmer, C. E. S., D.S.C., F.R.G.S., H.B.M.Consul, Port Said.
1920. Parker, Lieut.-Col. A. C., D.S.O., Governor of Sinai Peninsula, Arîsh, Sinai.
1920. Parr, E. Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1921. Pead, T. D., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Peake Bey, Inspector-General of Gendarmerie, Amman, Transjordan.
1920. Pearce, Captain M. Channing, Cintra, Swanage, Dorset; c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1921. Pedder, Captain G. R., 13th Hussars, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Peek, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., D.S.O., 5, Eastcheap, E.C. 3.
1922. Peel, E. G. B., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
520 †Peel, The Viscount, 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1907. Pemberton, Col. E. St. Clair, R.E. (ret.), Pyrland Hall, Taunton.
*†Penton, Sir E., K.B.E., 2, Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. 1. Vice-President and Hon. Treasurer.
1920. Peralta, Miss Louise, 45, Powis Square, W. 11.
†Perowne, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W.
1924. Perry, Dr. Lionel B., 35, Devon Road, Bedford.
1919. Philby, H. St. John, C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Phillips, Miss L. B., 9, Rosslyn Mansions, S. Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1923. Phillips, Major W. A., O.B.E., 22, Hans Crescent, S.W. 1.
1908. Phipson, H., 10, Hyde Park Mansions, N.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, C. M., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Pickthall, Mrs. W. M., c/o Ladies' Army and Navy Club, Burlington Gardens, W. 1.

*†Picot, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., Indian Army (ret.), 22, Rosary Gardens, S.W., Junior United Service Club, S.W.
1921. Pitcairn, G. D., White Cottage, Amport, Andover.
1923. Pitkeathly, J. S., C.V.O., C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O., Simla, India.
1920. Platt, Sir T. Comyn, 47, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
1920. Popham, Lieut.-Colonel E. Leyborne, D.S.O., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1923. Postance, Captain J. F. A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Price, Brig.-Gen. C. H. Uvedale, C.B., D.S.O., I.A. (ret.), The Mount, Winterbourne, Nr. Bristol.
1921. Prichard, J., Judicial Department, Baghdad; Wick, Glamorganshire, Wales.
540 1921. Prior, Mrs. Upton, Eaton Grange, Cobham.
1921. Pulley, Major H. C., O.B.E., I.A., c/o Eastern Bank, 4, Crosby Square, E.C.

R

1923. Rae, Major M. E., I.A., 9, Drummond Place, Edinburgh.
1923. Raglan, The Lord, Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, S.W.
1910. Raines, Lady, 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1921. Ralston, Lieut.-Colonel W. H., 47th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1920. Rawlinson, General The Lord, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., Commander-in-Chief, India.
1922. Rawlinson, Colonel Alfred, C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., The Cottage, Oxgate Lane, Cricklewood, N.W.
1923. Raynor, M. R., Tingewick Rectory, Buckingham.
1923. Read, A., M.B.E., 101, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
1921. Ready, Major-General F. F., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lynch House, Winchester.
1921. Redl, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Sycamores, Newick, Sussex; Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1923. Reilly, Major B. R., Bombay Political Service, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Relton, T. L., Southernhay, Warlingham, Surrey.
1924. Rennie, E. A., M.V.O., British Legation, Helsingfors, Finland.
1920. Reynardson, Capt. H. Birch, 1st Oxford and Bucks L.I., 2, Devonshire Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1922. Richards, Captain E. I. G., Army Educational Corps, School of Education, Wellington, S. India.
1912. Richmond, Mrs. Bruce, 3, Sumner Place, S.W.
1923. Ridding, Miss, 15, Vicarage Gate, W. 8.
1922. Ridge-Jones, I., M.C., Health Directorate, Ministry of Interior, Baghdad.

560 1919. Ridgeway, Col. R. Kirby, V.C., C.B., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1904. Ridgeway, Rt. Hon. Sir West, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., LL.D., etc., 37, Threadneedle Street, E.C.

1921. Rivett-Carnac, Captain H. G., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Robert, Captain V. G., M.B.E., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Roberts, Captain A. H., Palace Chambers, Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.

1921. Robertson, Field-Marshal Sir William R., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., D.S.O., etc., 88, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.

1923. Robertson, Sir Benjamin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

1920. Robinson, Major F. A., M.C., R.A.M.C., The Vicarage, Holme on Spalding Moor, Yorks.

1922. Roche, Lady, Stoneleigh House, Buckingham.

1920. Rodd, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., R.A.O.C., Union Club, Malta.

1924. Rogers, Sidney H., The Red Cottage, Laleham, Middlesex.

*†RONALDSHAY, The Earl of, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Snelsmore House, Newbury. Vice-President.

1920. Rooker, S. K., M.C., Le Mailly, Versoix, Geneva.

1914. Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., 46, Abingdon Villas, Kensington, W. 8.

1922. Royds, Rear-Admiral Percy, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., 20, Chelsea Park Gardens, S.W. 3.

1921. Rundle, Captain C. A. Grant, M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W.

1922. Ruthven, Colonel Hon. A. G. Hore, V.C., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W.

1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

S

1924. Salvesen, Captain H. K., I.A., New College, Oxford.

1923. Samuel, Miss M. Sylvester, 19, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.

580 †Sandbach, Major-General A. E., C.B., D.S.O., R.E. (ret.), Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.

1923. Sandeman Major D., Q. V. O. Corps of Guides, Peshawar, India.

1923. Sandison, Lieut.-Colonel J. F. W., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Saunders, G., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Scarlett, Major Hon. P. G., M.C., War Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

1923. Schofield, Mrs. W. H., East Hill, Peterborough, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

1922. Scott, Lieut.-Colonel Norman, C.I.E., I.M.S. (ret.), c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.

1922. Scott-Moncrieff, Major-General Sir G. K., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., R.E., 31, Ladbroke Square, W. 11.

1922. Seton, Sir Malcolm, K.C.B., 26, Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.

1920. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel J., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 414, Clive Court, W. 9.

1920. Shakespear, Col. L. Waterfield, C.B., C.I.E., Sutton Cottage, Sutton Valence, Kent.

1923. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., I.A. (ret.), Auckland, New Zealand.

1921. Shepherd, Miss E., 122, Oakwood Court, W. 14.

1922. Sheppard, Sir William D., K.C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1923. Shuttleworth, Colonel Commandant D. I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1919. Silberrad, C. A., I.C.S., Park House, Combe Martin, N. Devon.

1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

1921. Simpson, B. Lenox, c/o British Legation, Peking, China.

1923. Sinderson, Dr. H. C., New General Hospital, Baghdad.

1920. Sircar, Ganapati, 69, Beliaghatta Main Rd., Calcutta.

600 1923. Skinner, Major-General Sir P. Cyriac., K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., "Thornton," Burke's Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.

1922. Skrine, Clarmont Perceval, I.C.S., c/o Messrs. King, King and Co., Bombay.

1920. Skrine, F. H., C.S.I., 147, Victoria Street, S.W.

1920. Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Charing Cross.

1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.

1924. Smart, Miss D., Naval and Military Hotel, Harrington Road, S.W. 7.

1920. Smith, A. L. F., M.V.O., Balliol College, Oxford.

1920. Smith, Captain Godwin, Royal Auto Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

1923. Smith, W. Donald, 10, Buchanan Terrace, Paisley, Scotland.

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1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.

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620 1909. Stein, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.-W.F. Province, India.
1921. Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
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1922. Strong, Kenneth, Royal Scots Fusiliers, Gledhow Hall, Roundhay, Leeds.
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1923. Sutton, Eric, Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
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†Sykes, Miss Ella, 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 29, Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
640 1904. Sykes, H. R., Lydham Manor, Bishop's Castle, Shropshire.
1907. Sykes, Brigadier-General Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

T

1921. Tainsh, Lieut.-Col. J. R., Railway Directorate, Baghdad.
1922. Talbot, Colonel F., 40, Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W. 7.
1920. Talbot, Colonel the Hon. G. Milo, C.B., Bifrons, Canterbury.
1903. Tanner, Miss, 8, Cavendish Place, Bath.
1920. Tatton, R. Grey, 2, Somers Place, Hyde Park, W. 2.

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1920. Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
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1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
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1921. Thomas, Major E. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Thomas, Captain B. S., O.B.E., Amman, Transjordan.
1921. Thomas, Roger, Agricultural Directorate, Baghdad.
1924. Thomas, The Right Hon. H. J., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Thompson, Captain David, 15th Lancers, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Thomson, J. S., I.C.S., Greenham Common, Newbury.
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660 1919. Thorburn, Major H. Hay, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
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1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Standlynch, Four Marks, Hants.
1921. Todd, Captain H. I., Imperial Police, 45, Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E. 3.
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1919. Trotter, Lady, 18, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1922. Trotter, Miss Angela, 18, Eaton Place, S.W.
1922. Trotter, Miss Jacqueline, 18, Eaton Place, S.W.
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1923. Turner, Colonel A. J., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.A., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1921. Tweedie, Mrs. Alec, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1923. Twining, Lady, 48, Prince's Gate, S.W. 1.
1920. Tyler, H. H. F., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Madras.

V

1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1
1920. Varma, Raj Kumar N. Chandra Deb, Comilla, Tipperah, India.
1911. Vaughan, Mrs., The Marches, Willowbrook, Eton.
1922. Venning, E. G., Liskeard, Cornwall.
1922. Vickery, Lieut.-Colonel C. E., C.M.G., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Vincent, Sir William, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1923. Vivian, Major V., C.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank (King's Branch), 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

W

1923. Wakely, L. D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Waley, A., Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1922. Waley, R. P. S., Royal West Kents, Alderhurst, Englefield Green, Surrey.
1921. Waley, Captain E. G. S., 14, Oxford Square, W. 2.
1923. Walker, Colonel Sir James, C.I.E., V.D., 7, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1924. Walker, W. Seymour, c/o Anglo-Persian Oil Co., 23, Great Winchester Street, E.C.
1921. Wallace, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Willoughby, 209, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Wallace, Mrs. E. F., c/o Messrs. Smythe and Co., 40, Queen Street, E.C.
1920. Waller, Major A. G., I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Indian Dept., Charing Cross.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1923. Wallis, Captain C., I.A., Guides Cavalry (F.F.), East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
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1921. Warburton, H. G., I.C.S. (ret.), Holmesdale, Fleet, Hants.
1920. Ward, Captain F. Kingdon, F.R.G.S., c/o Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, S.W. 7.
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1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, 25, Abchurch Lane, E.C.
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1920. Watson, Sir Logie P., c/o Messrs. Cooper, Allen and Co., Cawnpore, India.

1921. Watson-Armstrong, Captain W. J. M., Post Office, Irvine's Landing, Pender Harbour, B.C.
1921. Webb, Captain W. F., attd. Indian Political Dept., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Webb-Ware, Lieut.-Col. F., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., West Hill, Castletown, Isle of Man.
1921. Weir, Major J. L. R., Indian Political Dept., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Weldon, Captain S. W., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Wellcome, Henry S., 6, Gloucester Gate, Regent's Park, N.W., and Khartoum.
1923. Wells, Lieut.-Colonel R. P. Collings, D.S.O., O.B.E., 20, Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1920. Wheatley, H., Government Quinine Factory, Naduvatam, India.
1923. Wheeler, Captain G. E., I.A., General Staff, Castille, Malta.
†Whitbred, S. H., 11, Mansfield Street, W. 1.
1920. Whitehorne, Captain Cecil, M.C., The Welch Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1922. Whittal, Major G., M.C., 52nd L.I., Rawalpindi, India.
1923. Whittal, F. E., c/o Messrs. T. W. Whittal and Co., Constantinople.
1923. Whitwell, Mrs., 18, Harford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1922. Wickham, Captain E. T. R., c/o Lloyds Bank 16, Charing Cross, S.W. 1.
720 1922. Wightwick, Major H. M., Bombay Political Service, Aden, Arabia.
1921. Wigley, Captain P. J. R., M.C., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., Watling House, St. Albans.
1923. Wilberforce-Bell, Major H., I.A., Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Wilkinson, Captain L. C. R., R.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co. (R.A. Branch), Charing Cross, S.W.
1921. Willcox, Colonel Sir W. H., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.C.P., 40, Welbeck Street, W. 1.
1921. Williams, Robert, 35, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 7; Park House, Drumoak, Aberdeenshire.
1921. Williams, Captain L., O.B.E., Ardua, Denbridge Road Bickley, Kent.
1922. Williams, Dr. H., 9, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Williamson, Captain H., I.M.S., 1, Church Road, Rangoon, Burma.
1924. Williamson, Major H. N. Hedworth, D.S.O., M.C., R.F.A., Neemuch, Central India.
1923. Williamson, R. H., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1921. Willoughby, Brig.-Gen. M. E., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

1920. Wilson, Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.

1920. Wilson, Major W. C. F., I.A., Mesopotamian C. S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament St., S.W. 1.

1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Alban, D.S.O., 8th Gurkhas, Galloway House, West Burton, Aysgarth.

1921. Wilson, W., New Oxford and Cambridge Club, Stratton Street, W. 1.

1923. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel The Right Hon. Leslie, C.M.G., D.S.O., Government House, Bombay.

1919. Wilson-Johnston, Lieut.-Colonel W. E., C.I.E., D.S.O., c/o India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.

1923. Wimshurst, C. R., Tibbs Court, Brenchley, Kent.

740 1920. *Wingate, General Sir Reginald, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., etc., Knockenhair, Dunbar. Vice-President.

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1923. Woodman, G. S., Gresham House, Darlington.

1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

1923. Worth, Captain J. G., 1st Yemen Infantry, Sheikh Othman, Arabia.

1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Town Thorns, Rugby.

1923. Wratislaw, A. C., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., 13, York House, Kensington, W. 8.

1921. Wright, Captain S. A., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

1922. Wright, Colonel G., C.B.E., D.S.O., R.A. (ret.), United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1923. Wright, John Laird, c/o Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.

1923. Wright, Miss N., Willingham, Market Rasen, Lincolnshire.

1922. Wynn, Wing-Commander W. E., O.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

Y

*†Yate, Lieut.-Colonel Arthur C., Beckbury Hall, Shifnal, Shropshire. Vice-President.

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1922. Younan, Lieut.-Colonel A. C., I.M.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

760 *+YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Currant Hill, Westerham. M. of C.

1918. Young, General H. G., C.I.E., D.S.O., etc., Tobercooran, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim, Ireland.

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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) eight 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 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 by 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 second Thursday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Thursday 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.

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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 ____________________