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NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes for “Mit Feld Marschall von der Goltz Pascha in Mesopotamien und Persien”; Sir Thomas Holdich for his kind gift of Survey Maps of Persia; the Persia Society for their Publications; Mr. Moon for Herstlett’s “China Treaties”; Colonel Gabriel for “The Historical Record of the Imperial Visit to India, 1911”; Major Rynd for “L’Islam et les Questions Musulmanes”; Major Eadie for his Amharic Reader; General Sir Reginald Wingate for “The Story of the Gordon College”; Sir Arnold Wilson for “A Voyage up the Persian Gulf.”

The following books have been received for review :

- “Arabs in Tent and Town,” by A. Goodrych-Freer (Mrs. H. H. Spoer). (London: Seeley, Service and Co. 21s. net.)
- “Anatolica,” by H. C. Luke. (London: Macmillan and Co. 16s. net.)
- “Ben Kendim,” by Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Aubrey Herbert. (London: Hutchinson. 21s. net.)
- “Trans-Jordan,” by Mrs. Steuart Erskine. (London: Messrs. E. Benn, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.)
- “Persian Literature in Modern Times,” by Professor E. G. Browne. (Cambridge University Press. 35s. net.)
- “From China to Hkamti Long,” by F. Kingdon Ward, F.R.G.S. (London: Edward Arnold and Co. 18s. net.)
- “Adventures in Turkey and Russia,” by E. H. Keeling. (London: John Murray, Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.)
- “The Word of Lalla the Prophetess,” translated by Sir R. C. Temple. (Cambridge University Press. 16s. net.)
- “In the High Himalayas,” by H. Whistler, F.Z.A. (London: George Witherby and Co. 15s. net.)
- “In the Land of the Golden Fleece,” by Odette Keun. Translated from the French by Helen Jesiman. (London: John Lane. The Bodley Head. 7s. 6d. net.)
- “The Traditions of Islam,” by F. Guillaume. (Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

Members are asked to inform the Secretary of changes of address, and to notify the office of the non-arrival of *Journals* and lecture cards.

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

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE first meeting of the autumn session was held on October 10th, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall. The Right Hon. Viscount Peel presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have met this afternoon to hear a lecture from Major McCallum on “The French in Syria, 1919-1924.” Major McCallum belongs to the East Yorkshire Regiment. In 1914 he was with the French in the Cameroons as Intelligence Officer; after the war he was sent to Germany on the staff of our military mission in Berlin. From there he went in 1919 to Syria as British liaison officer, where he has been for four years, coming back in June of this year. As liaison officer he served with two very distinguished French Generals, whose names are well known here as well as in their own country—Generals Gouraud and Weygand—and he had very great opportunities of seeing the country; he also has a good knowledge of Arabic and speaks French exceedingly well, I believe. I think we are very fortunate indeed to obtain so competent a lecturer on this subject. (Applause.)

THE FRENCH IN SYRIA, 1919-1924

THE LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel very nervous on being called upon by Lord Peel to speak to you, this being my first attempt at addressing an audience in public; but, at the same time, I consider it a great privilege to have been given the opportunity of saying a few words upon a subject which I have so much at heart, and about which so much that is totally inaccurate has been spoken and written in this country.

There have been during the past four and a half years many British travellers, official and unofficial, passing through Syria, who, on their return to England, have considered themselves qualified to discourse at length on the rights and wrongs of the many intricate political and military questions which abounded and still abound between the mandated territory of Syria and her neighbours. The duration of these visits has generally been anything from one to seven days (one or two such persons have even stayed a little longer); but I venture to suggest that a prolonged stay of several years, such as mine has been, gives one greater facility to make a closer and more accurate study of the questions than the time afforded by these fleeting visits.

My object this afternoon is to endeavour to give you, as quickly and

as truthfully as possible, a résumé of what has happened under the French régime from the time the French troops relieved the British forces in Syria and Cilicia at the end of 1919.

As I proceed with my lecture I will try to make myself as clear as possible with the aid of the two maps which you see hanging before you. This one is the $\frac{1}{10000000}$ -scale official map of the Eastern Mediterranean and the territory lying between that Sea and a line drawn north and south from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. This other map is the most up-to-date French map of Syria, showing the administrative boundaries of the respective areas into which Syria has now been divided.

When speaking of Syria I want to make it quite clear that the area to which I refer by that name is that part of the pre-war Ottoman Empire which has been entrusted to the mandate of France. It is quite often the custom of authors and others, particularly public men of the Middle East countries, when they mention the word "Syria," to mean the Syria of 1914—*i.e.*, the area covered by what is now known as Palestine, Trans-Jordania, and the present-day Syria. It is as well to remember this when talking to Turks, Arabs, and Egyptians.

In the course of the next few minutes I propose to give you year by year, from 1919 to 1924, the various important questions in which Syria has been concerned. In particular, the two predominant questions which have been, roughly speaking, the attitude of the French in Syria towards the Turks, and their attitude towards the Arabs. These two great questions came into being practically at the same time (the end of 1919), and may be said to have developed in their respective ways side by side through the course of the years.

As you all probably know, certain conversations were held in 1915 between Great Britain, France, and Russia, which premeditated the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in the event of an Allied victory. These conversations resulted in 1916 in the drawing up of what has ever since been known as the "Sykes-Picot Accord" (May 9, 1916). Sir Mark Sykes was a great authority on the Turks and was the principal British delegate to sign this Accord. Monsieur Georges Picot was the French Consul-General in Beyrout before the war and was the principal French representative in these conversations. The Sykes-Picot Accord set out the areas of the Ottoman Empire which were to be handed over to France, on the one hand, and to Great Britain on the other. It also drew up the political and administrative systems that were to be instituted in the areas thus acquired. France was to receive :

(a) The Blue Zone, which comprised the Syrian coast from Acre to the Taurus Mountains—*i.e.*, the Lebanon, the Ansarieh country, the Alexandretta area, and Cilicia. This zone extended north-east to Armenia by an ever-narrowing strip of territory.

(b) "A" Zone, which included the whole of the Syrian hinterland with the much-talked-of "Four Towns"—Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo—also Upper Mesopotamia, including Mosul.

On the basis of this Accord was organized the allied occupation of these areas after the Armistice of Mudros (October 30, 1918). An amendment agreed to between Mr. Lloyd George and Monsieur Clemenceau in 1919 deprived France of Upper Mesopotamia, with Mosul, and allotted it to Great Britain.

The territory occupied by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force as the result of the Allied victory was divided into four zones, all under the supreme authority of Lord Allenby as Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, the force which had routed the Turks in this theatre of war :

1. The North Zone (O.E.T.A.,* North-Cilicia), administered by the French military authorities.

2. The Western Zone (O.E.T.A., West-Lebanon, Ansarieh Alexandretta), administered by the French military authorities.

3. The Southern Zone (O.E.T.A., South-Palestine), administered by the British military authorities.

4. The Eastern Zone (O.E.T.A., East-Syrian hinterland, including Damascus, Homs, Hama, Aleppo), administered by the Sherifian authorities—*i.e.*, the Emir Feisal.

Towards the end of 1919 the British troops of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, which then provided the military garrisons for Cilicia and Syria, were relieved by the French troops of what was afterwards called "The Army of the Levant," in accordance with the agreement arrived at between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau on September 5, 1919. No French troops penetrated into the Eastern Zone, which was left under the authority of the Emir Feisal, but the British troops, which had up to then been stationed in Feisal's area, were withdrawn. In November, 1919, General Gouraud arrived in Syria as French High Commissioner of the Mandated Territory and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Levant. Beyrout became the headquarters of both the French military and civil administrations. On General Gouraud's arrival at Beyrout, Lord Allenby came from Egypt to pay him a personal call and to formally hand over the administration of the area.

During the years 1919-1920 the Emir Feisal was in Europe, and came to an arrangement with M. Clemenceau, whereby they settled between them the means of regulating French action in the Syrian hinterland (Eastern Zone), which, according to the Sykes-Picot Accord, was to come under French influence. The Emir Feisal returned to Syria on January 14, 1920, and was given a most cordial

* O.E.T.A. is the abbreviation which was commonly used for "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration."

welcome by the French, befitting his newly-acquired importance. But about this time he came to the conclusion that he could carry on in the Eastern Zone *without* the aid or advice of the French, and once back in Damascus he became entirely subservient to the Syrian Extremist Party, which, though small, comprised men to whom intrigue is as the breath of life.

In the spring of 1920 the French military forces were disposed principally in Cilicia, on the frontier between the French mandatory territory and Turkey, and in the Lebanon. Small columns penetrated into the mountainous country of the Latakia or Ansarieh province with a view to showing the French flag to the rather stubborn inhabitants of that area, as a prelude to imposing ordered government upon them. In Alexandretta, which is one of the termini on the Mediterranean of the Baghdad railway, the French had a fairly strong garrison. In Damascus, with the Emir Feisal, was established a French military mission, under Colonel Cousse. In Aleppo, with the Sherifian authorities, the French had appointed an officer for liaison duties. In addition to the French military representative with the Emir Feisal, there were also established a British liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel G. L. Easton, M.C., an Italian Consul-General, an American Consul, and the honorary Consuls of the other and smaller nations. These honorary Consuls were for the most part natives of Syria with business interests in the countries which they represented.

The French arranged to exert their influence over the hinterland through the offices of Colonel Cousse.

On March 8, 1920, the Emir Feisal had himself proclaimed at Damascus as King of Syria, by a so-called Syrian Congress. This Congress was principally composed of the Emir's extremist friends, none of its members being elected by the people of the country. Feisal's kingship was recognized by no other foreign Power than Italy, who immediately relieved its Consul-General in Damascus by a Minister Plenipotentiary, to be the accredited Italian Ambassador to the Court of King Feisal.

In April, 1920, at the Conference of San Remo, after much discussion, the principal Allied Powers decided to award the mandate for the whole of Syria (the Northern, Western and Eastern zones) to France, who was to be responsible to the League of Nations. This, needless to say, was not at all in keeping with the views of the Extremist Party in Damascus and Aleppo, who promptly set about all manner of demonstrations and intrigues to oppose the French overlordship of the new imaginary "Kingdom of the Arabs." As a result of the agitations of this party, minor attacks on small French posts, detachments, and communications in the Western zone were carried out by men of the Sherifian army, acting upon orders of the organization in Damascus. In consequence of these attacks, ambushes, etc., the French lost consider-

able numbers of their soldiers. Not content with these minor agitations, the Government of the Emir Feisal suddenly refused to allow the French army to use the Rayak-Aleppo railway, which ran through the Sherifian zone.

To understand the importance of this move on the part of the Sherifian Government, I must explain in a few words the vital necessity to the French of the use of this railway. In Cilicia, north of the Baghdad railway, the French garrisons were distributed over a widely scattered area. Most of these garrisons were situated on roads debouching on to the railway, and the only means of communication for the French between the base at Beyrout and the Baghdad railway, north-west and north-east of Aleppo, were either by sea to the ports of Alexandretta and Mersina, or by this railway, which ran from Beyrout over the mountains to Rayak and thence to Aleppo. As much as possible of the supplies for the French forces in Cilicia were sent from Beyrout by sea, but for those garrisons lying east of the Taurus mountains, the transport by railway through Rayak, Aleppo, and Jerablus was obviously much more convenient. It will be understood, therefore, what a serious menace to the security of the French forces in the north was this decision of the Arabs at Damascus forbidding the use by the French of the Rayak-Aleppo railway.

To still further aggravate the position, the Government at Damascus issued orders to prevent food supplies from the Eastern zone reaching the inhabitants of the coastal regions which lay in the Western zone.

I beg to be forgiven if I seem to be laying undue stress upon these and the following points, but they are just those which have never been dwelt upon, described, or even considered by our previously-mentioned travellers.

After his coronation, for four months, the Emir Feisal continued to govern his own State in accordance with his ideas of monarchy; taxes were levied on all the inhabitants of the area, but, as is nearly always the case in these Oriental countries, the peasants or poorer classes were the only ones to pay them, they being forced to do so, while the richer class circumvented the fiscal measures by the usual system of "baksheesh." Bands of irregular soldiers were organized and began penetrating into the Western zone, creating all sorts of hostile incidents, until things came to such a pass that the coastal road from Beyrout to Haifa became well-nigh closed to circulation. Isolated French posts in the mountains of the Lebanon were attacked by these irregular bands, who, when brought to battle, made off back to the Sherifian zone by paths known only to themselves. Villages in the Western zone were raided and their inhabitants murdered; all traffic on the roads between Sidon, Tyre, and the Palestinian frontier was held up by these bandits, who would search each vehicle, whether motor or horse-drawn, separate the Moslems from the Christians, allowing the

former to proceed, but taking the latter on to the side of the road, where they were robbed and then murdered. Similar incidents had been occurring in the north of the Sherifian zone in the Aleppo area. This is no exaggeration.

There are some people who believe that these attacks were directed only against the French, but I know personally of three separate occasions when British military and civil parties were attacked and fired upon.

Now let us turn our minds in another direction, further eastward to Mesopotamia, or what is now called Iraq. It will be remembered that in May, 1920, a most serious rebellion by the Arabs of Mesopotamia broke out against the British administration of that country. This rebellion caused the death of some hundreds of British soldiers, not to mention the loss of rifles, ammunition, and other war material. I do not think it is very generally known that this revolt was supported by the Sherifian Extremist Party in Damascus, nor that three of the principal conspirators in the rising took refuge in Damascus from the inevitable ensuing British justice. There is no need for me to mention any names. As soon as this became known to the British authorities, Colonel Easton and myself were instructed to request the Emir Feisal to have these three men arrested and handed over to a British escort. In spite of numerous repeated requests for their arrest, and renewed assurances from the Emir to the effect that it should be carried out, the men were always forewarned in some mysterious way and evaded apprehension to the end of Feisal's reign in Damascus. Two minor incidents worth noting are that the horse of Captain Stewart, who was murdered by the Arabs at Tel-afar, and the dog of Captain Buchanan, who was murdered at Sharaban, were offered for sale in the bazaars of Damascus shortly after these outrages, but were fortunately found by Colonel Easton, who very rightly had them seized and brought into his own compound pending return to the British authorities.

I have seen it published in the British Press that Damascus and the Syrian hinterland under the régime of the Sherifian Government, during the first six months of 1920, was a peaceful, flourishing, and prosperous country, and that subsequently, after the French occupation, Damascus became practically a City of the Dead. That is a gross misrepresentation of the facts. Damascus and the surrounding country, between January 1 and July 24, 1920, was in a state of anarchy and chaos too extraordinary to describe. There were often occasions when the entire population of the Christian quarter of the city was forced to remain in its houses for fear of a general massacre by the Moslems; trade was at a standstill and public security nil. The French Government began to get tired of the situation in this area which formed part of the territory over which France had been granted a mandate.

On July 14, 1920, General Gouraud, in the name of the French Government, sent an ultimatum to the Emir Feisal, called the latter's attention to the various hostile acts which had been committed by the Sherifian authorities, and stipulated the conditions and guarantees which France demanded to assure the safety of her troops and the inhabitants of the countries placed under French mandate. The guarantees were to be as follows :

(a) The absolute control by the French of the Rayak-Aleppo railway—control of the traffic—the guarding and patrolling of the permanent way, and the occupation of Aleppo by French forces.

(b) Abolition of compulsory military service in the Eastern zone, and the reduction of the Sherifian army to its strength in December, 1919.

(c) Recognition of the French mandate.

(d) Acceptance of the new Syrian currency.

(e) Punishment of criminals convicted of offences against the Common Law in the Western zone who had taken refuge in the Eastern zone.

For seven days the Sherifian Government continued to waver between acceptance and refusal of the above terms, and as by July 21 no favourable reply had been received by the French, General Gouraud ordered the troops of his Third Division to move on Damascus. As this situation was developing the Third Division had been concentrating in the Lebanon mountains.

On July 22, the French advanced in three columns towards Damascus ; the main body, with which was General Goybet, G.O.C. of the Division, moved along the main Beyrout-Damascus road, leaving the French post on the frontier between the Eastern and Western zones at dawn. At the same time another column, to protect the left flank of the main body, moved by the railway through Zahle and Rayak to the north of the main road ; and another column, consisting of a regiment of cavalry, advanced on the right flank of the Division with the object of reaching the village of Kuneitra and cutting the road of retreat from Damascus into Palestine. No resistance was encountered from the Sherifians during the whole of that day, and at night the French forces encamped on the eastern edge of the plain which separates the Lebanon mountains from those of the Anti-Lebanon. On the 23rd the advance was continued through the rocky gorges by which the Anti-Lebanon range is traversed, and which afford most excellent positions for a defending army. Again, during the whole of this day, the Arabs offered no resistance, and the French main body camped at night with its advance guard at the western entrance to a narrow gorge, some five miles long, shut in on each side by precipitous cliffs.

On the morning of the 24th, the French General made the mistake

of becoming too confident that his advance on Damascus was to be nothing more than a triumphal progress, and, against all military precepts, he advanced the whole of his force into the gorge without taking the precaution either to clear it first by his advance guard or picquet the heights on each side. At the eastern end of this gorge was a gently-sloping ridge facing directly across its mouth, and from which observation could be obtained for some two miles down it. This was the spot which the Arab Commander-in-Chief, Azmé Bey, had chosen to resist the French advance. Azmé Bey was a very gallant soldier, who had completed his military studies in France and Germany before the war, and who had earned considerable distinction while subsequently serving with the Turkish army. It was evident to all those who have since seen the position that Azmé Bey had selected a very strong one. Had the whole Arab army been composed of men of the same spirit as their Commander-in-Chief the situation in Syria might be very different to-day. Since the day of the battle I have personally conducted many senior officers of the armies of different nations over this battlefield, and one and all have expressed their astonishment that any force that had allowed itself to be entrapped in that gorge should ever have escaped to tell the tale. An Indian Army Colonel assured me that with only a battalion of Indian North-West Frontier troops he would have held those heights against any force.

To make the difficulty of the French position even more clear I must explain that these operations were carried out over a barren country, in almost tropical heat, by a force of some 10,000 men, in addition to horses, mules, etc. You will understand that this force required a great deal of water, particularly at that time of the year, and in consequence the French Commander was obliged to order the stages of his march from one water-point to another. From the time he left his position at dawn on the 23rd he had only been able to supply his force with water from motor lorries, and it was incumbent upon him to reach a water supply by the night of the 24th, or else to fall back two days' march to the water-point he had left at dawn on the 23rd. You can imagine the loss of prestige that would have been caused to a Western army having to make such a retreat before an Arab army, and the consequent influence on the morale of the Arab troops. Now Azmé Bey had chosen his position to bar the French from their desired water-supply.

I trust that you will not find the description of these very important operations too complicated, but I am endeavouring to show you what a golden opportunity the Emir Feisal had to extract more favourable terms from the French. A few stout-hearted Arab soldiers, armed with machine guns and bombs, both of which they had in their army, fighting along the tops of those precipitous cliffs which had been completely ignored by the French Commander, could have ambushed the

whole of that Division. The French troops could only have gone forward or gone back, the sides of the gorge being far too precipitous to allow any troops to deploy into action. Azmé Bey, however, did not follow these tactics, probably because he had no confidence, and rightly so, in his troops. He confined himself to allowing the French force, in column of route, to debouch from the gorge and then opening fire with his guns, howitzers, and machine guns. Naturally all the ranges up and down the gorge were known beforehand to his gunners, with the result that before one could realize what was happening the French had suffered considerable casualties; the 75 mm. battery with the advance guard was practically put out of action in the first few minutes. It was at this moment that the effect of Western discipline was put to the test and triumphed. The French Commander, quickly sizing up the situation, turned about the cavalry regiment accompanying the main body, and galloped them back to the western entrance of the defile, with orders to enter the mountains further south and make a turning movement against the Arab position. Simultaneously one company of Senegalese Infantry and two small Whippet tanks were ordered to assault the position from the front. The Senegalese behaved splendidly, and advanced to the assault through heavy fire from rifle and machine guns. Seeing that in spite of their fire the Senegalese continued to advance, the Arabs, who numbered some 20,000, began to lose heart. Another arm now began to add to the discomfiture of the Arabs, the French aeroplanes coming over bombing and machine-gunning the position. Within a very short time the much-talked-of Sherifian army had become a rabble of fleeing Bedouin, each man out to get back to Damascus as soon as possible and take his share in looting the town before the arrival of the French. The only man in all those 20,000 to put up any sort of a fight was Azmé Bey, and he died very gallantly on the top of the position, killed by a tank-gun at a range of some thirty yards. The French captured all the Sherifian guns and machine-guns and reached the water-point that was their objective, three miles east of the battlefield.

A little incident may serve to show the typical spirit of the members of the Syrian Extremist Party. A very well-known Arab Sheikh and member of the party was present in the Sherifian army with all the riflemen he could muster in his tribe, and amongst these men landed a French aeroplane which had been shot down. The officer and his observer were promptly taken prisoners, and were about to be put to death in a most cruel manner when the Sheikh saw how the battle was going. He promptly countermanded the execution of his prisoners, and through his interpreter requested the Frenchmen to put in a good word for him with the French authorities.

Thus ended the battle of Khan-Meiseloun, and turned what might have been a very serious reverse for the French General into an over-

whelming victory. It also sounded the death-knell of the Emir Feisal's dream of a Kingdom of Syria, with himself on the throne.

That night most dreadful scenes took place in Damascus, and sheer pandemonium reigned. The returned warriors, mostly Bedouin tribesmen, galloped up and down the streets and bazaars, firing upon everyone and everything. Numbers of shops were looted, Christian and Moslem alike, and things looked very black for the small Christian population. On receipt of the news giving the result of the battle, the "King" of Syria and his immediate followers left by train for the south.

The next day the French entered Damascus and set about restoring order out of chaos. The Moslems were astounded that the French soldiery did not proceed to sack the town. So great was the Moslems' relief at this abstention on the part of the French troops, that the "King" and his personal followers plucked up sufficient courage to come back to the city. He did not stay long, however, for the French lost no time in pointing out, gently but firmly, that his presence in Syria was no longer required, and that a change of environment for him would be more agreeable to them. Feisal accordingly left next day for Palestine and England, and subsequently found his way back to his native roof in the Hedjaz.

Simultaneously with the occupation of Damascus the French proceeded to occupy Aleppo and the other principal towns of the Eastern zone, and a native Government of a more reasonable frame of mind was set up. Several French officials were attached as advisers to each department of this native Government, which, I need hardly say, took good care to follow the lines indicated by its advisers.

While all this was going on in the south of Syria the French were by no means feeling comfortable in the northern part of their territory. At the time that their troops relieved ours in Cilicia and Northern Syria, Lord Allenby warned General Gouraud that his (the French) relieving forces were numerically too weak properly to garrison the different towns to be occupied, and to ensure safe communication. General Gouraud repeated these warnings to Paris, but at first, at least, to no apparent effect. Soon after the relief, the newly-started Turkish Nationalist movement, with Mustapha Kemal at its head, began to take effect in the form of attacks on the French posts established between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and those situated east of that river.

On January 21, 1920, the garrison of Marash was besieged by the Kemalists. A relief column was sent from Adana on February 9 to endeavour to disengage the town; but although the relief was effected the situation became so serious, and the difficulty of keeping up the supply service to the town became so acute, that it was decided

to evacuate the place. During the march south from Marash the troops were attacked and almost annihilated by the Kemalists.

It must be remembered that with the Turks the French were dealing with quite a different type of soldier from that of the Sherifian army. As all British soldiers who fought against the Turks during the Great War know, the Turkish private soldier is an extraordinarily stubborn fighter.

Marash, for the French in the north, was merely the beginning of their difficulties, and we must not forget the awkwardness of the situation which was gradually developing around them. They had replaced our Egyptian Expeditionary Force by their Army of the Levant, which was infinitely inferior in numbers and equipment. Almost before they had time to look around and size up the position they found themselves embroiled with the Arabs in the south and with the Turks in the north.

The Turks were quick to take advantage of the French military weakness. In April, 1920, the garrison of Urfa, which had sustained a protracted siege, had to surrender, and the following month the garrison of Bozanti capitulated to the Kemalists, after a heroic resistance and the distracted efforts of their comrades at Adana to relieve them.

Had the French Government listened to Lord Allenby's warnings and reinforced the Army of the Levant to a sufficient extent these terrible losses would have been prevented, and French military prestige in Turkey would not have suffered a blow from which one might almost say it has not yet recovered. In fact, I feel sure that this loss of French military prestige has had an important influence on the attitude of the Turks in the various negotiations which have since taken place between them and the Allies. You see, the Turk reasoned in the following manner: for many years he had been accustomed to look upon the German soldiers as the best in the world, and had fought with them as allies. To his astonishment he saw the German soldiers beaten in the Great War by the French troops (I am leaving out ourselves and the Americans for the time being), and he consequently thought the French must be terrible fighters. To his utter surprise he found that he could beat the Frenchmen, as at Marash, Urfa, etc., and he therefore not unnaturally began to look upon himself as a most invincible warrior. Later this belief became strengthened by his easy defeat of the Greek in 1922, until he apparently quite forgot that he was beaten, and very badly beaten, in the field by the British soldier.

To go on with my story, after the disaster of Bozanti, and with Aintab besieged in its turn, the French Government at last decided to reinforce their troops in Syria, and from July, 1920, onwards, regiments, guns, tanks, aeroplanes, etc., began to pour into the country,

until at one period in 1921 the Army of the Levant was some 80,000 men strong.

However, before these reinforcements could arrive, the French were forced, in May, 1920, to negotiate for an armistice with the Turk—natural result, further loss of prestige. Although the armistice only lasted from June 1 to July 31, 1920, it enabled the French to concentrate their forces upon one object at a time. The plan of action had already been decided. This was, first to deal with the Arabs in the south, and then to settle the Turks. *En passant*, it should be noted that although the Arab and Turkish difficulties were dealt with as two different questions, proof was not lacking to show that there was a certain amount of connection between them. Kemalist agents were very active in Damascus, and one or two members of the Sherifian Government were known to be in continual correspondence with Mustapha Kemal.

We have already seen how the Arab question was dealt with. By the end of July, 1920, the French were able to concentrate all their attention on the north, although maintaining a sufficient garrison in the Damascus area to ensure safety in the south.

In August, 1920, the Kemalists reopened operations against the French, particularly round Aintab, which place Mustapha Kemal seemed to be exceedingly anxious to capture. The town was besieged, and relieved on four different occasions, until in February, 1921, it was finally freed from the Turkish forces. A most curious military situation came about before the final relief—the French garrison of the town was besieged in the buildings of the American mission by a force of Turks, which also held the rest of the town. This Turkish force was in its turn surrounded by the French relieving force, and the French relieving force, also in its turn, was submitted to constant attacks from the surrounding hills by other Turkish troops trying to support their comrades in the town. In a way this situation was rather humorous, though not, I assure you, to the men on the spot. The French relieving column was unable to force its way in to relieve the actual garrison, and this latter was not strong enough to fight its way out. The Turks, on the other hand, were strong enough to keep the two French forces separate, but were unable either to capture the garrison or to fight their way clear of the surrounding French relief force. It was not until February, 1921, that further French reinforcements enabled Colonel Andrea to fight his way through and raise the siege.

During the spring of 1921, at the Conference of London, the French and Turkish representatives signed an Accord, which produced for a short time more or less calm on the northern frontier of Syria. It was at this time that the Army of the Levant reached its maximum strength, and that particulars of the disastrous fighting in Cilicia began to leak out in the French Press and cause much discontent among the

French public. Questions were asked in their Parliament, and unfavourable articles began to appear in a certain section of the Press. Owing to these disclosures and to the insistent demands of the French public for economy, the French Government was unable to reinforce the Army of the Levant to any further extent.

In June, 1921, the Emir Feisal was sent to Iraq to become head of the newly-projected native Government. His brother, the Emir Abdullah, was installed as the leader of a native administration in Trans-Jordania. Owing to what had happened the year previously in Damascus it was not to be expected that relations between the French in Syria and the Governments of Iraq and Trans-Jordania would be very cordial. Consequently General Gouraud found himself in this position—hostile Turks on his northern frontier, Iraq ruled over by the Emir Feisal on his eastern frontier, Trans-Jordania with the Emir Abdullah on the south-east, and Palestine with its Zionist régime on the south.

The French Government were accordingly obliged to look for some way out of their difficult position. The alternatives were either to reinforce the Army of the Levant until it was strong enough effectively to defend each frontier simultaneously, or to make peace with either Turks or Arabs in order to reduce military demands in one part or another of Syria. Negotiations were therefore entered into with the Turks.

In the conversation between the French and Turkish delegates the Turks as usual showed themselves past masters in the art of diplomacy. They knew full well the state of French public opinion at home, and the French military weakness on the spot, and they played their cards accordingly.

The principal French representative in these negotiations was M. Franklin-Bouillon, who was sent out by the French Government in Paris, together with a certain Colonel Mougin, known for his Turkish sympathies.

The Angora Accord was signed by the French and Turkish delegates on October 20, 1921. The outstanding result of this treaty was that the whole of the territory known as Cilicia west of the Euphrates, and all territory east of the Euphrates as far as Nissibin, lying to the north of the Baghdad railway, was given back to the Turks.

The second most important result of the Angora Accord was the decision to hand over to the Turks all the arms, ammunition, and equipment of the French military forces then stationed in the country to be evacuated, and also to supply further consignments of arms and equipment from Syria. Several months later the French had reason to regret this part of the Angora Accord, for these same arms, in 1922 and 1923, were actively employed by the Turkish bands against their donors.

I must now ask you to go back a year or so and see what has been happening in the interior of Syria since the disappearance of the Sherifian Government from Damascus. As shortly as possible I will endeavour to give you a general idea of the system adopted by the French for the administration of the area placed under their mandate.

On September 1, 1920, General Gouraud declared the independence of what is now known as the Grand Liban. It is, perhaps, not widely known that the greater part of the population of the Lebanon mountains are Christians of one denomination or another, whereas the majority of the population in the remaining areas under the French mandate are Moslems. The French idea was ultimately to administer Syria through the natives, dividing up the country for this purpose into provinces or states according to ethnological and geographical boundaries. The areas eventually decided upon by the French Government in drawing up the arrangement for this native administration were :

- (a) Le Grand Liban.
- (b) The State of Damascus, including the Jebel Druze.
- (c) The State of Aleppo, including the Caza of Alexandretta.
- (d) The Territory of Latakia.

It was hoped ultimately to establish a Council of the Federated States of Syria, which was to be the supreme governing authority, under the supervision of the French High Commissioner. On hearing rumours of these plans, a great outcry arose among the Christians of the Lebanon, who saw themselves being placed under the control of the Federated Council, in which naturally the Moslems would be in the majority. The leaders of the Christians pointed out that even in enlightened Turkish times the Lebanon had enjoyed an autonomous Government of its own. When the Federated Council was eventually formed, every consideration was given by the French to the representations of the Lebanon Christians, and it was accordingly decided that the Greater Lebanon should not be incorporated with the other three States mentioned above in the Federated States of Syria, but that it should retain its own Government directly responsible to the French High Commissioner.

A difficulty now arose as to who to appoint as head of the native Government in the Lebanon. The non-Moslem population of the mountains, comprising principally Christians and Druzes, is split up so I am informed by an American missionary who has lived many years in the country, into twenty-one different sects or religions, each of which concerns itself in the most inordinate way with the political situation of the country rather than with the spiritual welfare of its followers. You can, therefore, well imagine the difficulty for the French in this question—should they appoint a Maronite, the Greek-Latins, the Greek-Orthodox, the Druzes, the Jews, the Anglicans, the

Presbyterians, etc., would all be up in arms to protest, feeling sure that unfair favour would be shown to the Maronites. Should a Greek-Orthodox be nominated similar protests would be received from the Maronites and the others, and so on with no matter who should be chosen from the country. The French, after much deliberation, came to what was the only possible solution of the difficulty, that is to say, they nominated a Frenchman to be head of the Government of the Lebanon, hoping thus to assure impartiality to all sects and religions in the province. It should of course be understood that a number of French advisers were attached to the various heads of departments in the native Government.

In the States of Damascus and Aleppo native governors were nominated, naturally from those Moslem families thought to have shown French sympathies, and natives were put at the heads of the different departments of the local administrations. Alongside the native Governor was placed a Frenchman as delegate of the French High Commissioner, and it is he who practically governs the State to which he is nominated.

Before the carrying out of the terms of the Angora Accord there was another State or province to be added to those enumerated above, which comprised all the territory which was subsequently returned to the Turks by M. Franklin-Bouillon. This province was known as the "Confins Militaires," and included Cilicia and the country under French mandate lying to the north of the Baghdad railway, as far east as Mardin, Nissibin, and Jeziret-Ibn-Omar. In this area no attempt was made to establish civil government, as throughout its length and breadth it was the scene of continual fighting between the French and the Turkish forces.

In 1923 the territory of the Jebel Druze was separated from the Government of the State of Damascus, and the Druzes were given an independent Government of their own.

Since my departure from Syria in July this year, I understand that for purposes of economy the administrations of the States of Damascus and Aleppo have been merged into one under the leadership of the previous President of the Confederated States, Soubhi Bey Barakat. The Confederated States administration and its Council have been done away with, and the former delegate of the High Commissioner to the Government of Damascus has been nominated principal adviser to the Government of the combined States of Damascus and Aleppo. The former delegate of the High Commissioner at Aleppo remains in a purely military rôle, that of G.O.C. of the troops in Northern Syria.

The territory of Latakia was from the beginning of 1920 under direct French military administration. Up to 1922 no other form of government was possible, as I will explain to you later. The Ansarieh mountains became a very active theatre of military operations owing to

the long-drawn-out opposition of the mountaineers to French rule. On the termination of these operations in this Province the French military administration was transformed into French civil administration, but the French continued to govern direct and not through native officials.

It is not without interest to note that the State of Latakia, the one State of the four subject to direct government by the Western Power, is the most prosperous, contented, and go-ahead of the four States. This I can testify to by personal experience, as my duties in Syria have obliged me to wander over all parts of the mandatory zone, and I have made several journeys into the heart of the Ansarieh mountains and talked to many of the inhabitants, a fine, well-built, well-set-up race of mountain warriors of the Metwali section of the Moslem faith. These are the men who, for months and months, held up large bodies of French troops in the mountains, but who since their submission have been the most eager to volunteer for service in the native forces which the French are now raising in Syria.

As soon as the civil administration had been set up at Latakia, and the population could make their wishes known through their various Sheikhs, it became evident that the incorporation of the State of Latakia in the Federated States of Syria was extremely distasteful to the inhabitants throughout the mountains. However, it was decided to overrule their dislikes, and they were duly incorporated into the Federation. But just as the mountaineer had shown himself obstinate and courageous in war he showed himself obstinate and determined in peace. Every sort of device was utilized to separate their country from the hated union with Damascus and Aleppo. A local Press campaign was carried on, peaceful demonstrations were held and deputations sent not only to the High Commissioner at Beyrout, but also to Paris. In Paris they enlisted the help of certain well-known authors and Press writers, to such good effect that this year the Ansarieh people obtained that for which they had been striving—the right to keep their mountains to themselves, under the benevolent direct control of the French.

I now propose to deal for a few minutes with the subject of the difficulties experienced by the French in the south of Syria from the intrigues and agitations of the numerous Arab malcontents living within and without the borders of the French Mandatory Territory. The prominent members of the Extremist Party in Syria had followed their leaders to the south when the French occupied Damascus.

In 1921 when the Emir Abdullah was established in Trans-Jordania these extremists profited by his protection and made their headquarters in that country, which became a most convenient centre from which to intrigue and demonstrate against the French régime in the north.

Syrians who had been condemned by the French for murder, robbery with violence, and other such crimes, had fled south of the frontier to escape the penalty of their acts, and from there they organized small bands of brigands to attack isolated French posts or Syrian native gendarmerie patrols. By these attacks it was hoped to create a feeling of insecurity in the country, and make its more peaceably inclined inhabitants dissatisfied with the French régime. One of these outlawed murderers went so far as to organize an attempt to assassinate General Gouraud. The attempt was carried out in a most dastardly manner, but the General escaped by what was little short of a miracle. One of the occupants of the car in which he was driving at the time was killed and another wounded. Three bullets passed through the General's clothing, but two of them through the empty right sleeve of his tunic. (He lost his right arm at Gallipoli). Had it not been that the car in which the party was travelling was an American one with left- instead of right-handed steering, the General and all his companions would have been killed, for the murderers first fired upon and killed the man sitting where the chauffeur normally sits—*i.e.*, on the right. Fortunately this was not the chauffeur, but the General's interpreter; the former, on the left, pressed his foot on the accelerator and soon had the party out of danger, but I hope you can understand what a very narrow escape it was for the General. Immediately after the attempt, which took place on a road near the southern frontier of Syria, the murderers, who had come across from Trans-Jordania, galloped back to that country, where, of course, the French were unable to follow them.

From time to time, from 1921 onwards, there have been isolated armed raids into Syria by Arabs from across the Trans-Jordanian frontier, and also from time to time there have been vague attempts in Damascus at plotting and intriguing against the French authorities. Owing to the strength of the garrison which the French keep in Damascus and on the southern frontier the armed demonstrations, which occasionally cost the lives of French troops, do little to disturb the public security of the country. The other kind of demonstration in the city of Damascus or in the other Arab towns causes little harm to the French but much suffering to the demonstrators. Those who are caught are either imprisoned or exiled, those who are not caught generally bolt into one of the neighbouring British mandatory zones, and from there try to enlist the sympathies of the British public for what they imagine to be their righteous cause. It sometimes happens that the innocent get caught together with the guilty, but not very often, for such is the character of these Syrian agitators that immediately one of them sees trouble impending, to save his own skin he turns informer on his colleagues.

During 1923 and 1924 the Sultan of Nejd, Ibn Sa'ud, with his Wahabite followers, advanced north from Central Arabia and occupied

the town of Jauf and from there appeared to be advancing and threatening both Syria and Trans-Jordania, as well as the nomadic Bedouin tribes of Southern Iraq. Ibn Sa'ud seems intent upon smashing the power of the Hedjaz and its Hashamite reigning family, at the head of which, as you all know, is, or was, the Shereef Hussein. The French are said to have wished to enter into negotiations with Ibn Sa'ud, as they had realized that this potentate exerts the strongest influence in Arabia to-day, and that he alone amongst the Arabs is capable of governing an Arab country or kingdom and defending its frontiers. He has shown himself superior to all his neighbouring rival kings and emirs, both as a statesman and as a military leader, and his followers are the one warlike tribe in the Arabian Peninsula.

Once more we must look back a little and see how things have been developing between the French and the Turks in the north of Syria since the evacuation of Cilicia and the carrying out of the other terms of the Angora Accord. The Turks, having won such a signal victory over the French, were not likely, being Turks, to rest contented with that. Many of them declared they would not rest from their endeavours until they had regained for Turkey the whole of the Ottoman Empire, as it was before the war in 1914. Mustafa Kemal pronounced publicly that the natural southern frontiers of Turkey should be, in Syria, the line of the Orontes river—that is to say, the important towns of Alexandretta and Aleppo should be returned to the Turks. Whether Mustafa Kemal is ever likely to succeed to this objective or not it is not my place here to offer an opinion, but from 1922 the Turks have made no effort to disguise their designs upon Aleppo and Alexandretta. Finding themselves for the moment without any legitimate excuse for open hostile operations against the French, they set about attaining their end by less direct methods, principally by organizing, financing, and supporting internal rebellion in Syria. By these rebellions it was hoped to embarrass the French authorities and to cause their troops so many casualties that once again public opinion in France would demand explanations in Parliament. In the resultant political confusion the Turk hoped to score again and to have the French Government's hands forced by French public opinion into ceding back still more territory to the Turk. Accordingly, in 1922, Kemalist agitators effected their entrance into Syria, and went about spreading anti-French propaganda in the cities and preaching revolt to the tribesmen in the mountains and in the desert. So great was their success that for the following eighteen months the French troops were kept constantly employed in conducting operations throughout the northern part of Syria, principally in the Ansarieh mountains, which, as I have already told you, are inhabited by men who make very good fighting material. In these mountains the French put forward

tremendous efforts to stamp out the rebellion. Roads were constructed through the mountains and fortified posts were built. Some infantry units were organized into special mobile mounted-infantry columns. Gradually the opposition was overcome, but it was a long undertaking, full of anxious moments for the French commanders. However, by the end of 1922 Turkish designs had been defeated, the rebellion finally crushed, and many of the one-time rebels enlisted in the native forces being raised by the French. The change from military administration to civil government and its results I have already mentioned.

Another area which became for a time considerably disturbed was that part of the desert lying east and south-east of Aleppo. The Turks in Nissibin and other towns north of the new frontier sent emissaries into the territory known as the Jezireh, which is the area lying between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, south of the Baghdad railway. One of the principal sheikhs in this area was a certain Hachem Bey, who made repeated attacks upon the French posts in the Euphrates valley, as far south as Dier-Ez-Zor, and even in the area lying immediately east of Aleppo, to within a few miles of that city. At one time, with Hachem and his fellow Bedouin on the east and south of Aleppo, with the Ansarieh rebels on the west and south of Aleppo, and the Turks on the north, the authorities in that city were in a very awkward situation, but by dint of patience, of organization, and tremendous marching on the part of the French troops the country was gradually pacified and garrisons established in fortified posts throughout the disaffected areas.

Finding these efforts to regain Aleppo and Alexandretta did not succeed, the Turks in 1923 again turned their attention to more direct methods. Bands of irregular soldiers, supported by regular N.C.O.'s disguised as civilians, were organized and armed for the purpose of penetrating across the Syrian frontier and attacking French columns, patrols, and posts, wherever encountered. Raids were also carried out on any village or hamlet known to have offered shelter to the French, or to have supplied them with guides through the mountains. Repeated protests were made to Angora, who replied that these bands had no connection with the Turkish authorities, but that they were composed of discontented inhabitants of the French area who had crossed into Turkey. This was mere subterfuge, and by degrees the French were able to bring home to the Turks proofs of official complicity in these border raids. Eventually, in April of this year, an arrangement was come to between the French G.O.C. south of the frontier and the Turkish Vali of Aintab, north of the frontier, to put a stop to these incursions. Both sides agreed to arrest and hand over to the other any raiders apprehended in their respective zones. Nevertheless occasional frontier incidents continued to occur up to the time of my departure, in spite of the signature and ratification of the Treaty

of Lausanne; but I notice that lately the Turks appear to be quietening down on the Syrian frontier, and turning their attention more to ourselves on the Iraq frontier, north of Mosul.

For almost a whole year after the signature of the Angora Accord, a Turkish Military Mission was established at Beyrout. Its ostensible object was to co-operate with French headquarters in the carrying out of the terms of that Accord, but I was quite certain at the time, and the French afterwards became equally certain, that this Military Mission was principally employed in spreading Turkish propaganda throughout Syria, Palestine, and even as far south as Egypt. The French, however, could not object to the presence of Muheddin Pasha and his colleagues in Beyrout as long as they kept a French liaison officer at Angora. This officer, Colonel Mougin, was the principal colleague of M. Franklin Bouillon during the negotiations for the Angora Accord, and having once realized how they had placed themselves in the hands of the Turk, it was only natural that they should wish to maintain an expert representative at the seat of the Turkish Government to keep them informed of what was going on there. After nearly twelve months Muheddin Pasha was recalled to Angora, and then sent off on a mission to Afghanistan.

An event which took place in 1923 should in the future have a far-reaching effect on the commercial and political development of Syria and Iraq. This is the discovery and development of the direct desert motor route from the Mediterranean to Baghdad. It is little more than a year since this newly-discovered route began to be developed seriously, but already there is a constant stream of passengers passing backwards and forwards between Beyrout and Baghdad, and even further afield to Persia and India. I will not enlarge here on the question of this new land route to the East, as I understand it is to form the subject of a separate lecture to be given under the auspices of this Society, but I think I am right in mentioning it here, for this new route provides a rapid and easy form of transport for the exchange of visits between officials and inhabitants of the two mandated territories, who will thereby come to know and understand each other better, thus fostering that cordial co-operation between the administrations of the two countries which is so necessary to their peaceful development.

The internal situation in Syria to-day is quite quiet, public security is very good, economies are being effected in the administration; roads and railways are being surveyed and constructed, and every possible endeavour made to bring back commercial prosperity to the country. This is the only way to make the people of Syria contented with their lot, if they can ever be contented. The same may be said of

Palestine and Iraq. The question is how to bring about a revival of trade. My own personal belief is that so long as the present customs boundaries exist between Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordania, and Iraq, there will never be any chance of commercial development, for you must remember that for centuries these areas formed a part of the Ottoman Empire in which trade went on from one district to another unhindered by any such fiscal measures as are now in force.

Of one thing I am certain, and that is as long as France and Great Britain remain charged by the League of Nations with their present mandates in the Middle East, difficulties will go on increasing unless French and British work loyally and frankly together in those countries. From a purely selfish point of view it would not be to the advantage of Great Britain to see France so embarrassed by her difficulties in Syria as to be compelled to evacuate that country. Without the protection of the large French army which is now maintained in Syria our position in Palestine and Trans-Jordania would be untenable and our situation in Iraq gravely endangered. In such case, with the Turk free to advance on Palestine and Trans-Jordania from the north and on Iraq from the west, we should either have to evacuate our mandated territories or else increase our present garrisons at enormous expense.

GENERAL DE LA PANOUSE said it was late and he would not detain the meeting very long. He had followed Major McCallum's lecture with very great interest and attention, and had been very pleased to hear the references to Generals Gouraud and Weygand. These were personal friends of his own, they had won great fame during the war, and he highly appreciated the tribute paid to them. The French had accepted the mandate in Syria because they had very old traditions there. It was for this reason that, at the time of the Picot-Sykes agreement, they had insisted on having some interest and some position in the country. He remembered a discussion he had himself had with Lord Kitchener, when Lord Kitchener had told him that the English wanted to have Alexandretta because it was a way to India. That was so, but the French could not give up their interests there, where they had many schools and great moral influence. He had followed with deep interest what Major McCallum had said about the French troops. The French troops had to encounter many difficulties; also there were relatively few of them in comparison with those that had belonged to Lord Allenby's army. As Major McCallum said, the French had to keep the country on the one side against the Emir Feisal and his supporters, and on the other side against the Turks, and he thought the French troops had done very well. The situation is now improving very much. The last time he had seen General Weygand, at Easter this year, the General told him that the

economic situation was much better, and that he expected that during the next few years Syria would not cost very much to the budget of the French Government. "If these expectations are to be realized, it will do much good to the franc." (Laughter.) Now there was one thing he especially wished to say. Major McCallum had drawn attention to the necessity of French and British being united in the Middle East. That is quite true. According to the treaty they had made with Iraq, the British were bound to evacuate that country in about three years' time, and General Weygand was anxious as to what might happen if the British completely left Iraq and the French remained alone in Syria, surrounded by hostile people. The French are now at peace with the Turks, but how long was that situation to last? It would be for diplomacy, and perhaps for discussion at the League of Nations next year, to try and have some common arrangement to keep all those countries united and quiet.

Major McCallum mentioned the hard work the French troops had to do and the checks and reverses they had sustained. Of course it was a purely military question, but there were some soldiers present, and he (General de la Panouse) believed they would agree with him when he said that the checks were above all due to the smallness in numbers of the French troops. Perhaps it would have been better not to keep small garrisons very far from central reserves. General Gouraud had asked for reinforcements but could not get them, and that was why his garrisons were very small. But there was another reason for the French reverses. He (the speaker) knew that in some columns sent to relieve the besieged garrisons there was a certain number of officers and non-commissioned officers who had experience in trench warfare, but had none of warfare in wild countries where there were large desert spaces and often very narrow gorges, where surprises are easy. For this reason he thought that the British and French staffs who have to fight in the colonies must not be what might be called hypnotized by "trench warfare," but must train their troops, officers, and non-commissioned officers for the war of movement, not only for fighting on the European front but also for fighting in the Middle East and in Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I will say one word to close the proceedings. I am sure we all feel very much pleasure that General de la Panouse has been good enough to give us his views on the paper. We have listened with great pleasure to his observations, and there is no more competent military authority. One cannot help, after listening to Major McCallum, having some sympathy with those inhabitants who still call the whole of that district Syria; because, owing to the numbers of changes in the boundaries, and the delimitations and the treaties, in four or five years I should have thought those different inhabitants would hardly know in whose jurisdiction or in what country they were living. I

listened with very great interest as to the very complicated story of the political and military relations of the French with the Turks, with the Arabs on the east and with ourselves. I had some lingering feeling of sympathy with the Emir Feisal for falling a victim to his own extremists, because we have seen instances even further West of Governments who have not shown sufficient resistance to the insistent claims of the extremists of their own party. Possibly, in both cases, suffering to those who yielded may ensue. (Laughter.) I suppose we may possibly regard all this story which has been so clearly detailed to us by Major McCallum as closed by the Treaty of Lausanne. I say closed, although, as we know, one difficult question—the delimitation of the boundary of Mosul—is before the League of Nations, and we know with what patience in that country the Turks have been awaiting the decision of the League of Nations. I never regard, of course, any political question as being settled, either by the delimitation of Boundary Commissions or anything else, and I fully realize the anxiety displayed by General de la Panouse when he looks ahead as to what may happen in two or three years' time when we act upon our Anglo-Iraq treaty and remove our forces from that country. Much has been said, and sometimes criticism has been expressed in this country, as to the French method of administration in dependent countries, but I was very much struck in the lecture we have just heard by the very great flexibility that the French have shown in Syria in adapting their administrative and governmental methods to the very complicated religious and racial problems with which they are confronted, and we, with our knowledge of the management and government of persons belonging to different religions, can sympathize with their difficulties in dealing with Maronites, Druzes, Nestorians, and other religions, whose religious distinctions are not always fully appreciated by soldiers or administrators. But, lastly, I echo strongly the view expressed both by our lecturer and General de la Panouse of the necessity of the two great Powers, Great Britain and France, fellow mandatories under the League of Nations, acting together with complete co-ordination and sympathy in the control of those countries which they are administering together. (Applause.) In your name, if I may, I should like to congratulate our lecturer on having gathered so much interesting information in the four and a half years during which he has been liaison officer to two very distinguished French Generals, and on the way in which he has placed that accumulated experience at the disposal of the Central Asian Society. (Renewed applause.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Friday, October 24, 1924, at the Royal United Service Institution, when, in the absence of Lord Peel, General Sir Edmund Barrow presided at a lecture by Lieut.-Colonel H. F. Jacob, C.S.I., on "The Yemen."

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is the usual one of introducing to you the lecturer. His name, I have no doubt, is familiar to many of you, because the name of Jacob is associated in the minds of at least two generations of Anglo-Indians with Aden, or the Persian Gulf, or Sind, and I would add that Colonel Jacob has been intimately associated with Aden and its hinterland for over fifteen years. All that time he was at Aden either as Assistant Resident, or Acting Resident, and he also has had considerable acquaintance with the hinterland. During the war he served under Lord Allenby and one or two other high officials connected with the war. I will waste no time in speaking on the affairs of Arabia because we want to get on with the lecture.

THE YEMEN

COLONEL JACOB: My talk this afternoon will be mainly of the Yemen, that almost unknown Province in S.W. Arabia; but when I seem to stray from this quarter and to discuss the other Arab Provinces and their Rulers I trust you will bear with me, for, in truth, it were an error to omit to mention Arabia as a whole—the Jezirat al Arab, as it is called—whose several Rulers, liberated after the Great War from the grip of the Turk, are seeking to realize their ideals, each in his own peculiar way. They are all, to use the words of Walt Whitman, "forth-steppers from the latent unrealized baby-days." At the same time, I am no believer in the slogan of the "Confederated States of Arabia." The Prophet himself could hardly effect it. It is clean contrary to the Arab genius. The Koran recognized the Arab's independence, where it is written: "We (*i.e.*, Allah) have made you into tribes and families that *you may get to know one another.*" That is all. The various "Kings" of Arabia are not likely to band together under one Sovereign King, not even if that one shall proclaim himself as Caliph. The spiritual Caliphate, many do believe, terminated with Ali bin Abi Talib. Thereafter we see various *temporal* Rulers. In India we do not look to see the various Princes owning allegiance to one Head. They are all in different degrees of alliance with the Paramount Power, and that Power, the

British Government, is *in situ* and deals separately with each ruler. The problem is not, I admit, quite the same in Arabia. Here the Rulers are *Moslems* only, but the Arab is perhaps even more independent than the Indian, and certainly more conservative. However this may be, we do not *control* the various States in Arabia as we do in India. The Turks in Arabia *did*, but they were too wise to attempt an amalgamation.

The Yemen, as I have said, lies in the S.W. of the Arabian Peninsula. It comprises the Highlands and the Lowlands, or Tihama. The province of Asir, from, say, Kunfidha in the north to Al Habl in the south, with the up-country capital at Abha—at which place to-day the influence of Ibn Sa'ud is predominant—is really an adjunct of the Yemen. Even Aden is *geographically* a town in the Yemen, which further includes the Hadramaut to its east and north-east. *Politically* we have marked the limits of the Yemen to comprise the territories held by the Turks from 1873 to 1918. Before 1918 there was the Turkish Yemen, with its headquarters at Sana, and latterly its military headquarters at Ta'izz, the old home of the Rasuli Dynasty; Aden and vicinity formed the British Area, and finally came the Aden Hinterland, the boundaries of which with the Turkish territories were finally drawn by British and Turkish Commissioners between the years 1902 and 1904.

I will briefly sketch the origin of our Protectorate. When Captain Haines of the Indian Navy captured Aden on January 19, 1839, from the hands of the Sultan Mohsin of Lahej, he found a handful of up-country Rulers who exacted blackmail from that Sultan in the form of annual stipends paid to secure him from the harassment of brigandage and invasion. Haines shouldered these liabilities. Gradually other Sultans and Sheikhs sought our friendship and alliance, and further engagements were entered into as the times demanded. The Turks became very active on our northern sphere of influence in 1873, and our policy thenceforward was to make more and more engagements which were styled "Treaties of Protection." In reality, our doles, by which the alliances were sealed, were paid as a consideration for the preservation by the tribesmen of peace on the trade-routes. In this "protected" area we made it a rule to refrain from interference with tribal or Sultanly affairs. If a Ruler became unpopular with his people, these deposed him. Occasionally only we tested our rule by an exception, and supplied him with arms and ammunition to chastise or overawe the unruly ones, but as a general rule we contented ourselves with giving the Ruler advice, which he could take or neglect. Thus for many long years we have been expending thousands of rupees annually under the heading of stipends and presents, and we have kept open house in Aden in the shape of a

Guest-House, where we entertain throughout the year the tribesmen and subjects of the stipendiaries, who are privileged to send recommendatory letters of introduction to secure the required hospitality. If a chief is in our "bad books" we curtail the number of these letters. Some few of the Rulers are entitled to a salute of guns when they enter Aden to see the Political Resident.

As you are doubtless aware, the Ruler of Aden is a General Officer of the Indian Army, who functions in the dual rôle of Resident and G.O.C. The Resident with his four Political Assistants carry out all the political, administrative and magisterial duties in the British zone. In latter years an officer of the Public Works Department of India has held charge of the Aden Settlement and the Port Trust, and a subordinate official of the Indian Police Force is in executive charge of the Police. The G.O.C. has, of course, his separate Brigade Staff.

There are in the Yemen three different creeds. The sect the least numerically strong is the Ismailiya or Fatimiya, whose *habitat* is in the vicinity of J. Haraz, near Menakha, which stands over 9,000 feet altitude on the road from Hodeida to Sana. The Ismailiya sect harks back to one Ismail, the younger son of the Imam Jafar al Sâdik, the grandson of Ali Zain al Abidin, the son of Al Husein, himself the second son of the fourth Caliph Ali. The powerful tribesmen of the B. Yam, in the province of Nejran, to the east by north from Sana, are also of this faith. They are ruled over by the royal house of the Makârîma. Nejran is twenty days' journey from Haraz. During the régime of the Turks the Ismailiya of J. Haraz sect were hostile to the Imam of Sana. Now they are under his survey and amenable to his rule. They hardly count in the hegemony of the Yemen. Their doctrines are akin to those of the "Assassins." The two principal religious persuasions are those of Shafa'i (Sunni) and Zeidi (Shi'a). The Imam of Sana is the head of the Zeidis, who live principally in the Highlands. The Shafa'i Sultans and tribesmen are found in the Lowlands of the "Turkish" Yemen, and the entire inhabitants of our Aden Protectorate are also Shafa'is only. There is not in the Yemen the distinct line of cleavage between Sunnis and Shi'as as we see it in India. The two sects will intermarry, enter the same mosque, and even, on occasion, change from one creed to the other. Owing to Aden's long connection with India, it has been the practice of that Government to look at Aden and Arabia through Indian spectacles. This tendency has warped their judgment when considering the occasional "fracas" between the Arabian Sunni and Shi'a creeds, and has given rise to a considerable amount of misunderstanding. I shall refer to this later on.

The Shafa'i (Sunni) sect accept the four immediate successors of the Prophet. The Zeidis give their allegiance to the fourth Caliph Ali and to his sons by Fatima, Al Hasan, and Al Husein; and they recognize

Zeid, the descendant of Al Husein and the uncle of Imam Jafar Al Sādik, as founder of their house. As a matter of fact, the Imams of Sana have been descendants of both Al Hasan the elder, and also of Al Husein, the younger son of the fourth Caliph. The Imam to-day, Imam Yahya bin Muhammed, is of the stock of Al Hasan, as is the Sherif (now King) of the Hijaz, and also the Idrisi Saiyid of Sabia, in the Lowlands of the Asir Province.

Imam Yahya, the present Ruler of the Yemen, is an active, intelligent, and learned man, of an extremely amiable and jovial disposition. He is some fifty-five years of age, and has been reigning since 1904. He lately invited myself, with my friends Major A. D. Spiers and Dr. J. K. Reid, to his capital, where we remained as his guests for three months at the close of last year. He allotted us one of his palaces, both in Bir al Azab, the "west end" quarter of Sana, and prior to that for fifteen days, at the close of the grape season, at the suburb of Al Rauda, to Sana's north. We were fortunate to be the first Englishmen to make this trip under Arab auspices. Others have gone up from Hodeida to Sana, but only under the guidance of Turkish "ciceroni," and my good friend Wavell, who fell later in East Africa fighting gallantly against the Germans, was confined in Sana by the Turks for attempting an unauthorized trip to Marib. He travelled as a professing Moslem. Imam Yahya is very accessible. He moves daily, both on foot and in his carriage, throughout the town, chatting to all and sundry, receiving their written petitions and listening to their tales of woe. He employs a Cabinet to assist his deliberations, but is himself closely engaged in the oversight of every detail in his domains. He is in telegraphic communication from Sana with all his chief towns. He rises early, and with a short siesta at 2 p.m., works well into the night. After finishing his State duties he retires to his private apartments and reads the Arabian classics. His Arabic letters prove he is a master of style. He is slightly "close" in money matters, but markedly and deservedly popular with his tribesmen, by whom he is styled the "Amir al Muminin," or Commander of the Faithful. The Turks tried to make him drop this style, but he refused compliance, and his seal still bears the device. The Imam has a charming smile, and he is affability and *bonhomie* personified. He was loud in his admiration of the British, whom he prefers to all other European Powers. He often expressed to me his profound veneration for H.M. our King.

I would like here to prick the bubble of his alleged love of the Turk. No student of the Yemen's history and the chronicles of his house would dare perpetuate such a calumny. His father Muhammed and himself have ever stood out against Turkish domination. It is true that in 1911, and shortly before the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish war, he was induced as a true Moslem to bury the hatchet for the nonce

and espouse the Turkish cause against the infidel; and a pact was made with the Turks through the agency of Izzat Pasha, thereafter the Grand Vizier in Istamboul. The pact stood for a period of ten years—*i.e.*, to 1921. This was the main reason why we could not draw the Imam Yahya into our net. Even if, after the conclusion of the peace between Italy and Turkey and during the Great War, he had tried to break away from the Turks, his success would have been impossible, for he was beset before and behind by a cordon of Turkish troops in Sana. Suffice it to say that he did not assist the Turks in the Great War, my chief witness for this assertion being General Ali Said Pasha, the Circassian General, who for three years opposed the Aden Field Force from Lahej, his headquarters. The Pasha, after his surrender to us in 1918 in terms of the Armistice, told me that while he did not like the Imam who had opposed the Turkish descent on Lahej, he was bound to admit that for integrity and honourable dealing he had not seen the like of the Imam Yahya in the entire province of the Yemen.

Now it was easy for King Husein, for the Idrisi, and for Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd to join up with us in the war. They were extremely accessible. Husein, too, had definite promises in writing, from the highest in authority, of preferment after the war. He was visited often at Jedda and other places by many Government officials. The Idrisi I was myself instrumental in winning to our side during the régime of General David Shaw, and in the days of his successor, Sir James Stewart, I made a second agreement with him in 1917 over the Farasan Islands in the Red Sea. In spite of his pact with the Turks, the letters received during the war from Imam Yahya proved his friendly feelings towards us. As I have said, he was neutral during the war, when he busied himself arranging his plan of campaign in the outlying districts that once owned Imamic sway, before the Turks returned to the Yemen in 1850. He foresaw the Turkish fall, and prophesied their declension after the war with Italy. He was bent on consolidating his domain-to-be.

The young Idrisi Saiyid Ali has lately succeeded my old friend, his father, the astute and sagacious Saiyid Muhammed, with whom our two treaties were concluded. The Idrisi's stock is akin to the Senusi "Tarika," and also to that of the "Mad Mullah" of Somaliland. I liked this Saiyid Ruler, who was an honourable man, and this opinion was shared and lately communicated to me in Sana by Imam Yahya. The Idrisi family are, as I have said, of the family of Al Hasan, the elder son of Ali and Fatima, but his forbears migrated years ago to Morocco. An ancestor, Saiyid Ahmed, returned to Mecca and wandered as a spiritual mendicant to Sabia, in the Asir province of the Yemen, where he died and is buried. Saiyid Muhammed, lately deceased, was educated at the Al Azhar University of Cairo. He was greatly revered in Sabia

and district, but did not succeed in making his mark in the Asir province, owing to the superior and anterior claims there, and more particularly in the capital of Abha, of the Ashrāf of Mecca. The Idrisi's influence lay almost wholly in the Lowlands of Asir, in the inland towns of Sabia and Abu Arish, and at the coastal towns from Hali Point to Al Habl. Early in the Great War our Navy bombarded and took on his behalf the port of Kunfidha. The Sherif of Mecca objected, and, at the instance of the High Commissioner of Egypt, the R.N. removed the Idrisi warriors. The Idrisi was thereby aggrieved and sulked. By the gifts to him of guns, rifles, and ammunition galore, and also by monetary presents, he was induced to make some few half-hearted attacks on the Turks, but only with the initiative and under the cover of the guns of the R.N., and he had the loan of our military and political advisers. On the surrender to us of the Turks in the Asir in 1918, the Idrisi made a bid for the Asir country, but he could not attain to Abha, nor indeed to-day does his word carry into the fastnesses of the province. Baulked in that direction, and during my detention by Arab tribesmen at Bajil in 1919, when I was travelling as H.M.'s envoy to the Imam of Sana, the Idrisi began to encroach in a southerly and easterly direction, and on my release from Bajil, by measures I need not here recapitulate, he came into Bajil and entered the port of Hodeida. He has no legitimate claims to these regions, which he had not conquered from the Turks. He has himself admitted in a letter to the Aden Residency that "Hodeida is the key to Sana."

The Imam of Sana has, since the Armistice, been looking for a treaty with the British Government. A treaty is sought by him that he may the better gauge the feelings of our Government towards himself, and so ensure that no undue preference be given to his rival the Idrisi, with whom we have treaties. He also insists on the rendition to himself of his ancestral port of Hodeida. He is very anxious to open up his country to trade, but he feels he cannot succeed unless his relations with the Government are placed on a firm foundation. The country of the Imam is very fertile and populous. There are immense potentialities for trade. The population is from five to six millions. There is a monsoon of three months. The crops are superb, of wheat and millet principally. The coffee has a world-wide reputation, but the crops do not to-day yield what they did before the war. With the conclusion of a treaty of peace and goodwill, we shall see the prosperity of the Yemen and the consolidation of a one-man rule throughout the country.

I think we have ignored or forgotten the vicissitudes of the Yemen in the first half of the nineteenth century. Let me briefly rehearse them. It will illustrate the position to-day. In 1840 the Egyptians, with British connivance, were preparing to evacuate the Yemen, and

Ibrahim Pasha had originally agreed to hand over the coastal towns of the Yemen to the then Sherif of Mecca, but Sherif Husein bin Ali, of the Ashrāf family of Abu Arish, disputed possession, and in alliance with the B. Asir of Abha seized Hodeida. So the Pasha confirmed the possession of Sherif Husein bin Ali, in consideration of an annual tribute of 90,000 German crowns. The province of Asir had once belonged to the Imams of Sana, whose slaves had ruled there as Governors. In an evil hour an Imam had substituted the local Ashrāf as his deputies, and these had assumed independent control. This Sherif Husein bin Ali practised every kind of enormity in the Tihama towns, and his exactions were levelled against the British subjects of Mokha. He also wrote an insolent letter to the Governor of Bombay, demanding the immediate evacuation of Aden. Our Embassy at Constantinople protesting, a Turkish Commissioner was sent to remove Sherif Husein. Husein naïvely referred the Commissioner to the hereditary right here of the Imams of Sana! The Turk was given a large *douceur* by Husein and allowed to continue in office. In 1847 this Turk returned to present to Husein the Turkish insignia of office. Our Embassy at Constantinople thereupon wrote to Palmerston that the Grand Vizier was profoundly satisfied at the Yemen's submission to the Porte! It was the line of least resistance on which the Porte, in its weakness, had embarked. This division of the Yemen by the Porte was the harbinger of the subsequent ill-feeling between the Turks and the Imam of Sana, and although in 1849 the Ashrāf of Abu Arish were ousted from the Yemen Lowlands, their place was taken by the Turks themselves. The present Idrisi family came to Sabia in 1907. The Turks discovered in 1911 the ill effects of their policy in allowing the presence of two Rulers in the Yemen. It was then too late, and the Idrisi Muhammed, bought with Italian gold, allied himself with the Italians in the war of 1911-12. So we see our Foreign Office in 1840 first backing the Turks to oust the Egyptians of Muhammed Ali's régime; then in 1847 conniving at the substitution, by the Porte, of Sherif Husein of Abu Arish as a rival to the Imam of Sana; and finally, in 1919, permitting the Idrisi Ruler of Sabia and Abu Arish to come down from this his legitimate area to Hodeida, the chief port and key to Sana. There has lately, I have said, succeeded to the throne of Sabia a young Idrisi Ruler. If only he could be induced to approach the Imam Yahya, some *rapprochement* might be possible. In the Great War we could hope for nothing better than the operation of each Ruler in his own sphere. To-day our policy seems directed towards keeping them apart! The Idrisi has already conflicting claims to his north with the King of the Hijaz, and it is surely unwise to have embittered his relations with Yahya down south. It is certainly not a knowledge of the Yemen's history that has prompted our present-day policy in S.W. Arabia! Beginning with the days of Captain Haines,

the Imam has often approached us in Aden for an engagement, but our policy of standing aloof from the interior withstood his every offer. Now is the day of salvation.

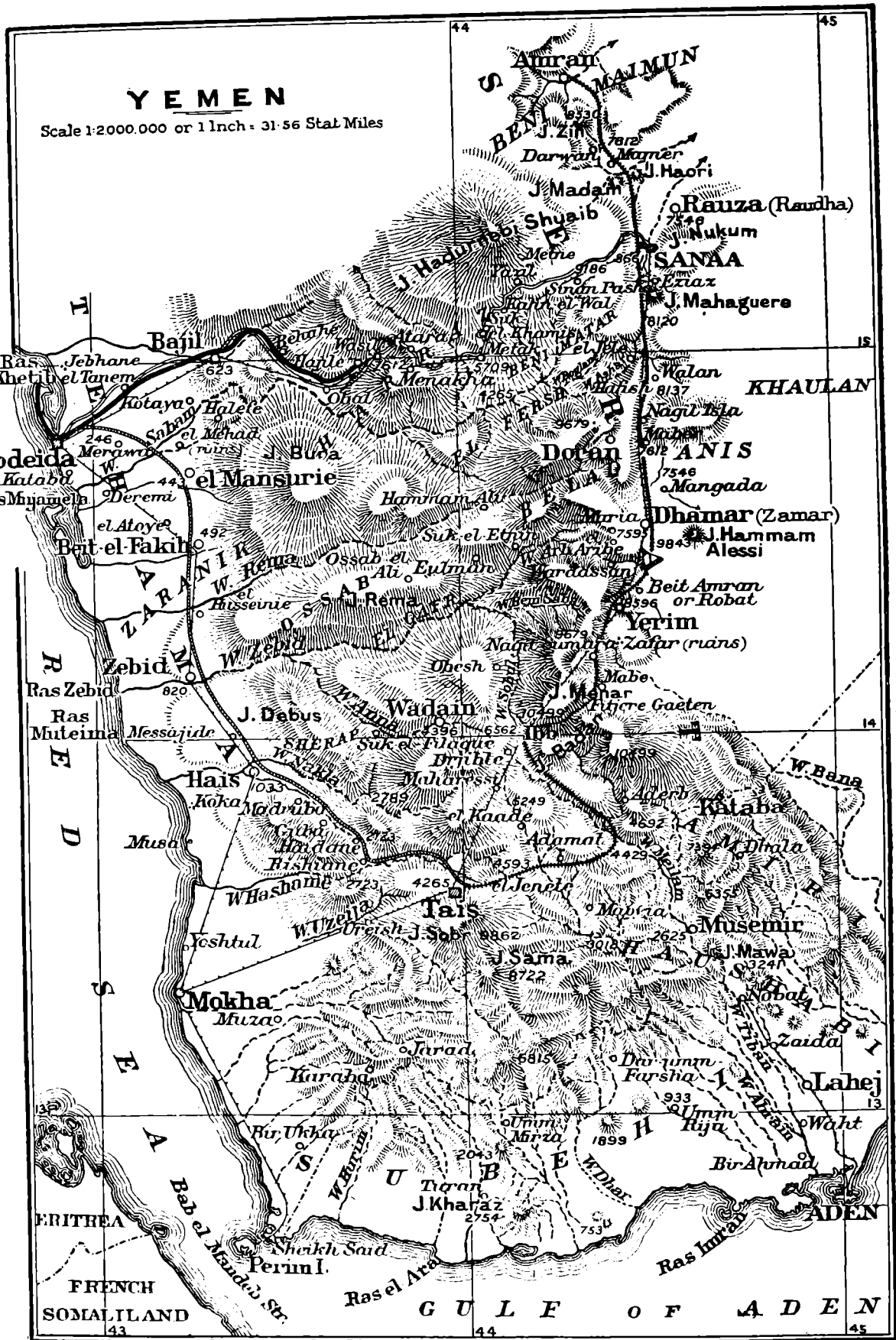
It has been said that Imam Yahya, whose policy of "Irredentism" is akin to that of Signor Mussolini, cannot curb his Shafa'i subjects; but the whole Yemen was once his forbears' domain, and, in Shafa'i tracts, the Imams were wont to appoint Shafa'i governors. Imam Yahya is a shrewd man, and would do so to-day. The Shafa'is of our Protectorate would quickly join up with a strong Zeidi Ruler *if we ceased to pay them doles*. With the obliteration of the boundary-line between ourselves and the Turks, as drawn in 1902-1904, there seems to be little philosophy in separating Arab from Arab. It is the doles that cause this separation. A strong Arab Ruler, whose sway secures to-day far greater tranquillity on the trade-routes than ever the Turkish régime was able to give—and this our Aden merchants of all creeds readily confess is the case—a strong Arab Ruler, I say, would speedily effect a consolidation of Shafa'is and Zeidis by letting each sect follow its own tenets, and not only would the Yemen be territorially under one Arab administration, but our exchequer would be saved an enormous annual expenditure, and, indeed, to-day we derive no tangible return for our monetary outlay. Best of all, we should be on friendly terms with the interior, and trade would follow in leaps and bounds. Remember, the Arab loves not us but our doles. I would, however, retain a small buffer State between us and Imam Yahya.

As to the vexed question of the "Kings" of Arabia. Husein of the Hijaz was maligned for adopting the style of "King of the Arabs." All the Arab Rulers think themselves Kings. "Malik" is just a Ruler. Husein, or now his successor, Ali; Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd; the Imam of Sana; and the Idrisi Saiyid of Sabia, are all "Kings of the Arabs," and each can use the style without offence to the others. The words "Malik al Arab" do not mean *the sole* King of the Arabs, but "a" King. There is a noteworthy precedent for this style. The Da'i Imrān bin Muhammed of the Zurayite Dynasty (A.H. 548-560) adopted the designation of "the unparagoned among the Kings of the Age, King of the Arabs and of the Yemen"; and so King Husein could properly subscribe himself as "Malik al Arab" and also of the Hijaz. The LXX version of the 72nd Psalm phrases it "Kings of the Arabs and of Saba shall bring gifts."

I think in the Great War we did put too much money on King Husein. To adopt racing parlance, it had been better to have put our money on "both ways." The first Arab Ruler to join our ranks was the Idrisi in April, 1915. Then came Ibn Sa'ud of Nejd, and thirdly, Husein of the Hijaz. I do not belittle the services to us of "Husein et fils." We, on our part, gave him gold galore, and manifold promises to mature after the war. We lent him the services of Lawrence and

his able coadjutors, and, best of all, we gave him the victorious march of Lord Allenby to Jerusalem and Damascus. Our fault lay, if I may say so, in discounting the value to us of the *other* Arab Rulers, and believing that Husein would become their acclaimed leader and suzerain. This was manifestly impossible. Ibn Sa'ud's advance to-day on Mecca is the result of this undue favouritism, and also of Amir Abdullah's wanton seduction, during the war, of tribes on the Nejd border, for which purpose he used a quota of the sums given monthly by us to Husein, his father, to fight the Turks. We belittled Ibn Sa'ud, and so he to-day turns to rend his adversary. It is, however, criminal to have to-day dropped Husein, whatever his faults, and to have allowed the hordes of iconoclast "Ikhwān" to enter the sacred city, as they did once before in 1804. We could not, of course, have helped Husein to oust Ibn Sa'ud. That would only have accentuated the bad blood already existing between them. We might, however, have advanced to make a *rapprochement*, and have precluded the charge by the Moslem world of failing to stave off the chaotic conditions now prevailing. There is yet another result that bodes us no good—and that is that the other Arab Rulers will ponder and wonder at the nonchalance that one day raises an Arab friend to such high prominence, and on the next permits his total eclipse. Emerson said of Napoleon, "He sees where the matter hinges." When we to-day look at our Arab programme in execution we must note its non-realization. We must feel, as did the eighteenth-century Madame Geoffrin, who, speaking of her daughter, so dissimilar to herself, said: "When I look at her, I feel like a hen that has hatched a duck's egg." We should act the foster-parent to the Arab nation whose cause we had espoused. All are Moslems; all seek our friendship; all craned their necks to welcome the Turkish dissolution, when they might start their advance under our star. Let us recognize their individuality, and help each to "cultivate his own garden."

Before finishing this perhaps somewhat arid discourse, and then exhibiting a few slides of places in the Imam's dominion, may I be permitted shortly to detail the present, and potential, assets lying at our disposal in Aden, which do make independently for the prosperity and advancement of the Yemen. First, we have the admirable Keith-Falconer Mission at Sheikh Othman, ten miles from Aden, conducted by that veteran leader the Rev. Dr. John Cameron Young, aided by his assistants Dr. Turnbull and the Rev. J. Robson. Many thousands of Arabs come annually to be treated and then return to their homes, to places all over Arabia, to belaud the British name. I place this institution as our premier *political* asset. I do not forget, however, our own benign, just, and impartial rule in Aden, which is the admiration of the whole countryside. We owe, too, more than I can adequately express to the British soldier. Quiet, unobtrusive "Tommy Atkins"



(By kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society.)

and his officers, by their sporting predilections, have won the hearts of Aden's population. An admirable article in the *Field* defined pastime as being "besides the Esperanto of peoples, as perhaps the true League of Nations." Had I started a golf-course at Sana and enrolled Imam Yahya and his white-turbaned Saiyids as life-members of the "Royal and Primitive Sana Golf Club," I believe I should have hastened the conclusion of the much delayed treaty! Robert Louis Stevenson, too, has written these pregnant words: "What religion unites people so closely as a common sport?"

I now pass to the 1st Yemen Infantry, a development in 1918 of the wartime Arab Labour Corps. Colonel M. C. Lake, who raised the regiment, is its zealous Colonel, and the Corps is doing a grand work as an advertiser of British methods. These Arab soldiers take readily to military discipline and are charged full of "esprit de corps." The Italians recruited largely from this same field during their warfare against the Turks in Tripoli, and a Colonel of theirs told me their fire-discipline was superior to that of their Abyssinian levies. We can go one better, I believe, than the Italians. The men are recruited from places all over the Yemen. Every British officer in the regiment—and my son is one of them—is a potential political officer. The 1st Yemen Infantry is a strong political asset to us, who in 1907 marched down from our headquarters in Dala and so lost that personal touch so necessary in Oriental affairs. I hear rumours of the Corps' disbandment. I can conceive no more suicidal policy. Reverting to sports—the men play a strong game of "soccer" football, and I should like to match them against one of our 3rd Division League teams.

There are certain "lacunæ" in our Aden propaganda. There is no college for the training of the young Arab chiefs, as we have in India. Early marriage and the devotion to "kat leaf" is sapping the energies of the youth. A college on the Khor Maksar plain of Aden is essential. Here the youths would be taught English and Arabic; trained in the Koran and their own classical literature. They would learn polo and other manly games. The Italians have already adopted this form of propaganda. I admire the Italians in many ways.

Again, the Aden Railway, a wartime strategic line, that runs thirty-four miles from Aden to Habil, eight miles north of Lahej, might be extended as a *commercial* proposition. This would treble our trade. At present the railway hardly pays. A treaty with the Imam would ensure its extension, and he would in that case be pleased to grant us a sanatorium in the vicinity of Ta'izz, or even at Ibb. I learnt this during my stay in Sana. Lord Morley's "sun-baked officials" in Aden require a change of scenery.

Another missing link is the absence of Boy Scouts. Somalis and Arabs would readily join the ranks. I believe in an intensive as against an extensive policy in Aden; or, to adopt the words of the

old-time Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu, we want "production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination."

To ensure the success of our aims a good understanding with the Imam is essential. Solid alliances are based upon real interests. As Gustave Vapereau once said: "Misunderstandings divide mankind more deeply than disagreements," and to use an illustration from the late Anatole France's *Bee*, I would re-echo the reply of the dwarf Tad to Bee, who had said, "Little men, it is a pity you are so ugly!"—"You will consider us less ugly, Miss, when you like us better." Apply this adage to the Imam Yahya, the strong man of the Yemen.

Now for a rapid succession of slides, if your patience is not exhausted. I do not exhibit any of our own Protectorate, for time is short, and I think pictures of the Imam's territories will prove more interesting, as they are also more recent.

Commander CRAUFURD: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure that my first duty is to thank Colonel Jacob for the very interesting lecture he has given to us. I think that few of the people here can realize what a large number of years Colonel Jacob aimed at his trip to Sana.

I cannot guess myself, because I have never asked him about the matter and he has never told me; but I have a very good inkling that this lecture is the fruition of about nineteen years of work on Colonel Jacob's part. It is very difficult for us to realize what a lot of good, both directly and indirectly, Colonel Jacob's trip will do.

Personality is the great thing that counts in Arabia, as elsewhere in the world. Colonel Jacob by his personal influence imported British brains into Sana, to see the Imam, one of the most influential rulers of Southern Arabia. I think it is of extreme importance that the rulers of Southern Arabia, and, indeed, of all Arabia, should get into touch with real British brains. Owing to Colonel Jacob's work they have been able to do so. I should like to break a small lance with him; he has said that he hopes somebody will get up and call him a liar. I cannot do that, but I should like to have a slight dispute as regards the boundaries that he told us about when he started. I do not think it is our place to interfere with Arabian boundaries. To begin with, Arabs don't keep to them. There are a lot of Bedou tribes wandering about and so on; and they don't keep to boundaries. It is acknowledged now, I take it, that our Boundary Commission was not very much use. It is not our place. Arabia belongs to the Arabs. Is it our place to interfere and to give to the Imam one place, and to the Idrissi another place, and so on? I think we ought to leave that sort of thing alone. That is a suggestion I make.

Of course, it is unfortunate that the Imam of Yemen has not got a proper sea outlet, and Hodeida seems historically to have belonged to

the Imam of Yemen. Now he is not holding Hodeida, and he has not got a proper sea outlet. I am myself an ex-seaman, and have had ample opportunities of knowing the coast of Yemen and other parts of Arabia. I think that difficulty (over which the Imam of Yemen is now hung up) of not having a proper sea outlet to his wonderfully wealthy country could easily be repaired. It is most unfortunate that we make all sorts of endeavours in other ways to please the Arabs but fail in our opportunities to do so, whereas with a little personal knowledge we could assist them very much. I am speaking as a seaman. There are at least two very good ports for outlet to Yemen trade. One of them is the ancient port of Mocha. If there are any seamen here they will say, of course, that Mocha is no longer a good seaport. But it can be made into one.

I was very glad to hear Colonel Jacob say that if he could help, Mocha was going to be developed; in my opinion it should be developed. Another port is Al Khokha.

Colonel Jacob told us a little bit about the Yemen Light Infantry; well, I think he painted things rather lightly. I think that the Yemen Light Infantry is of supreme importance to the British, and I only hope that people will realize the real importance of the Yemen Light Infantry, that brings a personal touch to the Arabs instead of too much of this confounded paper work that goes on and trips things up.

Another thing Colonel Jacob told us of was some of the improvements we could carry out in our own port of Aden. I think those suggestions were very interesting, but I should like to add another suggestion. We have held Aden about eighty years, so far as I know. The extraordinary thing is that we have no hospital to which the Arab women of the interior can come. We have not supported the Arabs to the slightest extent in that matter. People may say that they can go to the Keith-Falconer hospital—which is, of course, a private enterprise, not a Government enterprise at all—but as everybody who knows the Middle East will realize, it would be extremely difficult for an Arab woman to go to a hospital that is attended by men and is almost essentially a man's hospital. It is rather extraordinary that we have held this place for eighty years and have done so little for the people. In almost every civilized community the first thing we do is to give first aid to the sick!

I do not want to touch on lugubrious subjects, so I will end my short remarks by telling you that Colonel Jacob gave you a little fable which is, as a matter of fact, perfectly true. He said that when you go to the eastern end of Socotra the women are said to be very beautiful and you have to avert your eyes. I have been there, and I know that you have to avert your eyes, because the women throw stones at you, and they are awfully good shots! (Laughter and applause.)

Major SPIERS: General Barrow, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Colonel Jacob in giving us his interesting discourse told us an anecdote about someone eating grapes. I am the culprit. (Laughter.) I think it is best to be quite candid: some of them have gone sour and are going to react on the Colonel's own head; but to be serious, what I would like to point out is that whilst we are indebted to Colonel Jacob for telling us some very interesting things about Arabia, due to his modesty there is one thing he has not told us—the fact that the journey we made was entirely under Arab auspices, and it should be elaborated on. Several other journeys have been made into the Yemen, but never such a journey as ours, entirely under Arab auspices and without any British personnel other than ourselves—three Britons. It is a remarkable tribute to Colonel Jacob's influence in that part of the world, and a thing we should everyone be extremely proud of. (Applause.) I never felt so proud in my life of being a Britisher as when I travelled at Colonel Jacob's side in these unknown parts of the world. It was wonderful the way the people came down to see us, and "Gekab," the name by which Colonel Jacob is known in the Yemen, is a household word there. The British Empire to Yemen Arabs is visualized through the personality of Colonel Jacob. You all know the great Britishers there are in history—men like Livingstone and so on—but in his particular sphere Colonel Jacob's influence is every bit as great. I would like to turn on to one or two small matters touched on in the lecture. The Colonel showed us a motor road in his slides. Without a word of explanation it might leave a wrong impression. There is no motor transport whatever in the Yemen, although there is a section of motor road. A motor-car, a Ford, was given by the British Government to the Imam as a present shortly after the war. The roads were all unsuitable for motor traffic, but a small length of motor road was made. Of course it was altogether uneconomical, many thousands of pounds being spent to make a road to run one Ford on, and that not much used. All the transport in the Yemen is extraordinarily primitive—there are only tracks and camels. That brings us down to the modern railway which we presented to the Imam. He was immensely pleased, taking an extraordinarily keen and intelligent interest and asking innumerable questions. I had the job of explaining the speeds and so on of a railway. I found it difficult, because he had no idea of our weights and measures, and my Arabic was so bad I could not go into detail. I had to liken it to something he knew, and talked in camel loads. The mountain camel takes a load of about the fifth part of a ton, so that a standard ten-ton railway truck is equivalent to fifty camel loads. In one goods train of fifty trucks there is the equivalent of 2,500 camels. That is the way we had to talk. He was extremely interested to learn that it might be possible to perform the journey from Sana to Aden in ten hours, whereas camel transport

carrying produce would take fourteen days. The Imam was much interested in flying and asked various questions. He was astonished to learn that it would be possible to fly from Aden to Sana (170 miles in a direct line) in an hour. That impressed him immensely. This brings up questions of communications, and I would like to touch on something Commander Craufurd said. The chief difficulty of the Yemen is that it is a country of stupendous possibilities—Colonel Jacob has told of its potentialities—of vast areas of highly fertile land, of a gigantic population and good climatic conditions, but with one let and hindrance—you have a wonderful market but no door to get the produce out of. Commander Craufurd said there are other ports, and the first he mentioned was Mocha. Mocha may be redeveloped, but it is 120 miles further from Sana than Hodeida, over a particularly bad country, and it would not be a commercially sound thing to develop that port if it were possible to develop one at Hodeida. The other port is a possibility. We have detailed reports which have been carefully considered; but it is a question of enormous expenditure relatively. The salient point is that the Imam is labouring under a sense of injustice—British injustice! It has either got to be cleared up or removed. He believes somehow or other that a mistake in policy has been made. Quite apart from the fact that there are other ports, the problem has got to be solved as to whether he is right or wrong; and if he is right in his contention I think the result is assured. There are other questions in defining of boundaries. By all means leave it to the Arabs to define their own boundaries; it is not our province. One word on the question of conflicting interests. The Yemen is a vast country, and in a vast country there is room for plenty of interests. The great thing is that they all work in and dovetail together, and are not hostile to one another. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: There is nothing more to be done but to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his most interesting lecture, but before doing so I will just make a few remarks which have occurred to me during its course. Many of us have passed Aden, and when we have seen that cinder-heap and the arid coasts of Arabia, we have wondered why any people should call it "Arabia Felix." It certainly would seem to be a most unsuitable title when seen from the sea, and I remember on my first voyage thinking that it must have been a sarcastic name for Arabia; but as a matter of fact the Romans who gave it the name of Arabia Felix were perfectly right; because when you get away from the coast, up among the mountains at the southern end of the peninsula of Arabia, you get a delightful climate and a very productive country. That is now well known, and the lecturer has told us something about it. It is a very important point to remember, that Arabia Felix was really considered a happy country in those days—in fact the Queen of Sheba would never have gone back to it if it had not been. The next

remark I wanted to make was with reference to the railways. I believe the railway has been made from Aden to a point eight miles beyond Lahej. I want to ask if it cannot be carried further?

The LECTURER: It cannot be carried further unless you come to terms with the Imam. All the territory vacated by the Turks is now occupied by the Imam.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no physical difficulties?

The LECTURER: No.

The CHAIRMAN: The third point was with regard to the sanatorium. I know something of Aden; I have had to go there to inspect once or twice, and I spent a miserable month there once on a sick bed, so I know from experience what a blessing a sanatorium for Aden would be to the troops and officers condemned to serve there. I believe if the Unionist Government had only remained in power at the beginning of this century, that possibly a good health resort might have been started; but unfortunately, as the lecturer told us, Lord Morley decided that we were not to stay there, and consequently nothing more was done. I see I noted down the word "Mocha." Most of you have heard of Mocha coffee. Well, Mocha coffee mostly comes from India. That is a fact. I remember once at Aden noticing a lot of coffee being unladen, and I said to my host, "Why don't you buy Mocha coffee here instead of getting Indian coffee?" He replied, "They have not got enough Mocha coffee to sell to us, and it is expensive to send it down on camels, so Indian coffee comes to Aden and is there labelled 'Mocha.' It goes on to London, and you drink it as Mocha coffee." I have also written down the word "Kat." The lecturer has told us about Kat; I have never been able to make out whether Kat is an intoxicant?

The LECTURER: Certainly it is an intoxicant; I have seen people absolutely drunk on it.

The CHAIRMAN: It is only a matter of curiosity, I have no intention of taking Kat. (Laughter.) I have also noted down, "Women and Socotra." I was going to make some remarks about that, but Commander Craufurd has forestalled me. (Laughter.) Finally, I should like to express my own personal feelings as regards the lecturer and the lecture. When I was coming here I was asked by a lady whether it would not be a dry subject, for she said that was her idea of Arabia. I said, "No doubt it seems to us a very dry subject; but I am perfectly sure that Colonel Jacob will make it a very interesting one." In that matter I think I have been a true prophet. (Applause.) I personally found it an extremely interesting lecture. I learned a great deal, and I am sure you all have done so. (Hear, hear.) I only wish that in this country the propaganda arrangements of the Central Asian Society were better managed, and that we might instruct our fellow-countrymen as to our great interests in Aden and Arabia, which have been so vividly put before you by the lecturer. (Applause.) I

will now proceed with the formal duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his very entertaining lecture, the humorous way in which he showed us the slides, and the great amount of information we have all acquired. (Applause.) I am sure I need ask no one in particular to second that motion, because I am sure everyone here will do so.

The vote of thanks was carried by a round of applause.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Friday, November 14, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., Colonel Sir Charles Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., presiding, when a lecture was delivered by Major D. McCallum (late British Liaison Officer in Syria) on "The Discovery and Development of the New Land Route to the East."

The CHAIRMAN: I will first ask our Secretary to announce the number of new members that have just been elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, K.C.B. K.C.I.E.): Ladies and Gentlemen,—Eight new members have been added to our number since the last meeting, bringing our membership now to 809. (Applause.) We shall welcome further additions, and hope that to-day's lecture will attract some more.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say our Chairman, Lord Peel, has not been able to come to-day, and I have been asked to take the chair in his place. I have now to introduce to you our lecturer, Major McCallum. Major McCallum, I believe, belongs to a Yorkshire Regiment —

The LECTURER: The East Yorkshire Regiment.

The CHAIRMAN: The old Fifteenth. He was in the Cameroons during the war, and subsequently was on the staff in Berlin. Further, he was sent at the end of 1919 to Syria as a British liaison officer, and he held that position till June of this year; so that he is fresh from the scene of what he is going to describe to us to-day. He gave us a most interesting lecture on the French in Syria about a month ago, and we shall, I think, have another interesting lecture from him to-day. He was the man, as you will see from his lecture, who made the first journey across the desert, which has now become the regular motor route between Beirut and Baghdad. He was one of the pioneers of that movement, we may say, which has now been carried out by the Nairn Brothers so successfully, as he will tell us. So you see, ladies and gentlemen, that we have a real authority before us, and I now ask him to give us his lecture.

THE DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW LAND ROUTE TO THE EAST

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

You probably all know that prior to the opening of the Suez Canal one of the principal trade routes to the East passed from Syria across the desert by camel-caravan to Baghdad, and thence to Persia or India via the Persian Gulf. The cutting of the Suez Canal practically killed the land route across the Syrian Desert.

A little over two years ago, Mr. C. E. S. Palmer, then His Majesty's Consul in Damascus, began making enquiries and investigations with a view to finding a quick route from Damascus to Baghdad over which mechanically-propelled vehicles could cross the desert. From various shooting expeditions into the desert it was known that, for part of the way at any rate, this Syrian Desert was feasible for light motor transport. The question to be solved was whether it were possible to cross the desert from west to east by motor-car. In the course of his investigations, Mr. Palmer made the acquaintance of a certain wealthy Baghdad merchant, by name Mahommed Ibn Bassam, then living and trading between Damascus and Baghdad. Ibn Bassam, a very well-known personality all over Arabia, is imbued with very friendly feelings towards Great Britain. This, not as a result of any financial advantage obtained from the British Government, as is the case with most other Arabian personalities, but because at one time in his long life he was rescued from certain death by a well-known British traveller in Arabia, I believe it was Doughty. At the end of 1922, and the beginning of 1923, Ibn Bassam was running a contraband trade in gold between Syria and Iraq; he, in partnership with a Syrian, was buying up as much gold as possible in Damascus, and transporting it to Baghdad, where he sold it again at a considerable profit. After a few journeys by camel with this contraband, Ibn Bassam conceived the idea of employing motor-cars for the transport across the desert, and, in the first two months of 1923, made one or two successful journeys by car. These first crossings were made from Damascus to Deir-*ez-Zor* on the Euphrates, and thence down that river to Felujah, and on to Baghdad. It is quite obvious that the owners, owing to the precious nature of the cargo to be transported, should seek to arrive in Baghdad by the least possible frequented route. During his conversations with Mr. Palmer, Ibn Bassam stated his belief that it would be possible to drive direct from Damascus to Iraq without touching any habitations nearer to Syria than Ramadi, which is on the Euphrates, some seventy miles west of Baghdad, and in an almost direct east and west line with Damascus and Baghdad. Ibn Bassam invited Mr. Palmer to accompany

him in making the attempt, which he intended to do as soon as the rains would allow. Mr. Palmer suggested that it would be safer to explore with two or more vehicles rather than with one, and therefore proposed that I should accompany him in my car. The necessary Foreign Office and Air Ministry sanctions for the journey were obtained, and I was instructed to make a detailed report on the reconnaissance.

Shortly after the termination of Lord Allenby's operations against the Turks in Syria, at the end of the Great War, various attempts were made to motor over the Syrian Desert. Lord Allenby paid a visit to Palmyra, some 150 miles into the desert north-east from Damascus, in Rolls-Royce cars, escorted by armoured cars of the same make. In 1919 an attempt was made to send a convoy of ten Ford cars across to Mesopotamia from Syria. I believe I am right in saying that only four of the Fords actually arrived, via Deir-ez-Zor; the other six broke down and had to be abandoned in the desert (one of these derelict Fords has now become a well-known landmark on the present-day direct route to Baghdad, known to all the drivers as "The Ford Chassis." It lies about eighty miles east of Damascus). This desert has been crossed by several Europeans before and after the war by camel, horse, or carriage, so that I do not want you to believe that we are claiming to be the original Europeans to cross the desert direct from Damascus to Baghdad—such well-known names as Miss Gertrude Bell and Colonel Leachmen being long since inscribed on the map of that part of the world.

In accordance with Haji Mahommed Ibn Bassam's suggestions, and our instructions from our own Government, Mr. Palmer and I made all the necessary preparations to attempt the direct crossing towards the end of March, 1923, or during the first few days of April. While we were waiting for the weather to clear to enable us to start, a convoy of one C.M.G. light motor lorry and a Dodge touring car arrived in Damascus from Baghdad, having made the first actual direct crossing. These vehicles were driven by two of Ibn Bassam's men, and amongst their passengers were the first two Europeans to make the crossing: Mr. Drury, of the Public Works Department of the Iraq Government, and Monsieur Maigret, the French Consul in Baghdad. They had succeeded in crossing the desert and reported the route feasible for light motor traffic. After a few days' stay in Syria, Mr. Drury set off back to Baghdad with the C.M.G. truck laden with a particular piece of machinery required by the Iraq Government, while Monsieur Maigret returned via Aleppo and the Euphrates valley.

It should be remembered that in making our calculations for the journey, we were allowing for as heavy a rainfall in the desert as obtains between Damascus and the Mediterranean coast, and it was thought that we would have to wait several days after the heavy rains

there experienced had subsided. As a matter of fact, we were all wrong in our calculations, and we afterwards found out that there had been no rain in the desert for three or four weeks. The rainfall in the desert is much lighter than in the inhabited parts of Syria, and much more irregular. When Major Holt was surveying the land route for the Air Mail from Cairo to Baghdad in 1921, he experienced heavy rain as late as May, whereas in 1923 there was no rain after February. But since the opening of this direct desert motor route it has been found that the rainfall experienced in the desert is not sufficiently heavy seriously to impede the mail traffic for more than a few hours: as soon as a rain-storm passes over, the strong prevailing winds of the desert dry the surface sufficiently for the cars to proceed. While speaking of surface, I want you to understand that this Syrian desert is not a mass of sand dunes such as one finds in the Sinai desert. It would be better described as "barren steppe land," the surface of which is quite hard in dry weather, but churned up into mud in wet weather. There are some forty miles of rather soft surface to be traversed just west of Ramadi, but it is not sand-dune country; it is merely soft calcareous soil, which gives way in places under the weight of the cars.

On April 2, 1923, we set out on the first official reconnaissance of the direct cross-desert route. The convoy consisted of three cars—one a Lancia, a high-powered, heavy Italian car, one a Buick six-cylinder 27 horse-power ordinary touring car, and one an eight-cylinder Oldsmobile of similar horse-power. These two latter, as you know, are of American manufacture. It was not considered advisable to take my Vauxhall car, an army one which had seen much service since 1914, as it was too heavy, and hardly reliable enough for the difficulties that we expected to have to contend with. We left Damascus shortly after dawn, and had made some 216 miles before halting for the night. Naturally, we had to proceed cautiously, not knowing what lay ahead of us, but we were astonished to find the going so easy. Just before nightfall on the first day the leading car, the Lancia, had an accident, which very nearly caused us to abandon it in the middle of the desert. Running along in the dusk, the Beduin guide had lost his way, with the result that without any warning we suddenly ran into a wadi (a dried-up watercourse) with rather steep sides. As the Lancia came up to the edge of the wadi, its sump-casing struck a rock lying in its path, which tore a hole some 4 inches square in the bottom of the sump-casing. Fortunately, the rock did not remain embedded in the ground, but gave way with the blow. Had it not done so there is no doubt that it would have completely smashed the Lancia engine. You can understand the gravity of such an accident. We thought the damage was beyond repair, and that we should have to abandon the Lancia in the desert, as we knew we had still more than 300 miles of

unknown desert to cross, and we felt that we should only be risking the safety of the rest of the party if we attempted to tow such a heavy car with either or both of the remaining ones. Fortunately, we had in the party a man, of whom I will speak again later, who refused to be beaten by the circumstances, and who eventually effected a triumphant temporary repair of the damage, which enabled the Lancia to continue the journey, albeit very cautiously.

During the second day's run we had the satisfaction of finding the "air-furrow." This is the line that has been ploughed across the desert by the Royal Air Force from Amman in Trans-Jordania to Baghdad, to guide the pilots of the Cairo-Baghdad Air Mail machines. Once on this route we felt we were not quite so isolated from all help and succour, and we hoped that even in the event of any further serious accident we should be able, with the aid of our reserve supplies, to last out until the next Air Mail was due to fly over us. As the Air Mail goes every fortnight, we knew that we could not have longer than that to wait for help. Once on the Air Mail route we pushed along as quickly as possible, stopping every now and again to examine the damaged Lancia. By sundown that day we reached a spot some 150 miles west of Ramadi, and again camped for the night, having decided to risk no further running in the dark. In the course of that afternoon we had passed through the southernmost limit of the encampment of a sub-section of the Anezeh tribe of Beduin Arabs, and encountered many of their flocks wandering over the desert. Knowing the Arabs' proclivity for light-fingeredness, we determined to push on until we were many miles away from any human being before we camped for the night. But even then I thought that it would be better for us to take turns to keep watch all through the night. This we did each night we spent in the desert, both on the outward and return journeys, as we knew by experience in Syria how easy it is to be surprised in the desert by the Beduin, and what poor chance of defence one has when caught unawares.

I should say that included in the party making the crossing, besides Mr. Palmer and myself, there were: Mahommed Ibn Bassam, who was more or less our host; a Beduin guide supplied by him; Mr. Lovell, Chief Engineer of the Nairn Transport Company, from whom the two American cars had been hired; and another Britisher, always known as Fred, who drove the Buick car. The other two cars were driven by natives. We had with us three rifles, two "scatter"-guns, and three or four revolvers, with which we intended to defend ourselves against any hostile Beduin.

By midday of the third day we came in sight of the Euphrates, and a few minutes later pulled up at the house of the British Government official in Ramadi, Major Ditchburn. We now felt more at our ease, as we were once again in telegraphic and postal touch with the outside

world, and had only some seventy miles more to go to reach Baghdad. A certain amount of anxiety, however, was caused by learning that the abnormal floods of the Tigris river had swept away the Maude Bridge at Baghdad, and we had visions of having to leave the cars on the western bank while we transferred ourselves and our belongings by boat to the hotels of the eastern bank. Greatly to our relief, however, we found on arrival at Baghdad that the other bridge was still standing, and we drove triumphantly up to the Maude Hotel, just after dark on the evening of the third day, having safely accomplished the 603 miles from Beyrout. Except for the accident to the Lancia we had had no trouble. In fact, the Buick car crossed from Beyrout to Baghdad and back again to Beyrout, over 1,200 miles, without us once having to touch the tyres or lift the bonnet. When you think that that car had already done over 38,000 miles over all types of roads and paths in Syria and Palestine, running in the Nairn Transport Company's daily service up and down the Syrian coast until the day before we started, that it was then loaded up with all the various supplies and spares necessary, and sent off on this hazardous journey, I think you will agree with me that its performance was little short of wonderful. That is what I thought at the time, but as the Buick cars have done the crossing so many hundreds of times since with the same reliability, I have come to regard that performance as merely a normal achievement for that make of car. I will say a few words in a minute or two on the subject of types of cars suitable for this cross-desert service.

Needless to say, our arrival at Ramadi and Baghdad caused quite a sensation, and for the moment we were quite the heroes and heroines of the hour (for the third car had been hired by some lady tourists who had asked if they might join the convoy). In Ramadi Major and Mrs. Ditchburn and Captain Buttolph, of the Iraq police, showed us every kindness, allowed us to have a much-needed wash and brush-up, and gave us our first civilized meal since our departure from Damascus. Captain Buttolph also accompanied us for the first few miles out of Ramadi to help us over one or two difficult places. In Baghdad everybody was perfectly charming to us, from Sir Percy Cox, the then High Commissioner, and Air-Marshal Sir John Salmond, the then Commander-in-Chief in Iraq, downwards. We spent some three or four days in Baghdad while we had the Lancia put on a pit and more or less properly repaired; the other cars were also overhauled, and all preparations made for the return journey, for we felt that although luck had been with us on the outward journey, it was probable that we should not always be so fortunate. The return journey was even more uneventful than the outward journey, and we arrived back in Damascus during the morning of the third day, and were having tea in Beyrout that same afternoon. On the return journey we had not to pay the slightest attention to any of the cars beyond filling them up at regular intervals with oil and petrol.

The successful completion of our journey confirmed Mr. Palmer's dream of the possibility of developing a new land route to the East along the tracks we had already made. Various Government and other officials in Baghdad were enthusiastic about the idea, and Mr. Lovell made all kinds of enquiries at Baghdad with a view to putting the possibilities of the route before his chief on his return to Beyrout. I also was most eager that Mr. Nairn, the head of the Nairn Transport Company, should go across himself and see how easy the journey was, for when planning the original journey he had been very adverse to lending us his cars for the attempt, feeling sure that they would both become derelicts in the unknown desert. I managed, fortunately, to overcome his doubts, and incidentally accepted full responsibility for compensating him in the event of our having to abandon the cars. Mr. Nairn was delighted to get our wireless signal announcing the safe arrival at Baghdad, and even more so to see us roll up at his office at the end of the return journey with his two cars none the worse for their adventure! I felt convinced that, should it be possible to inaugurate a regular passenger service by motor over this direct route, the latter would speedily develop into a most important system of communication between the Mediterranean and Central Asia. Provided the journey could be accomplished speedily, and in safety, I saw no reason why travellers going to Iraq, Persia, and even India, should not utilize such a motor service in preference to the long voyage by steamer through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. Major Gumley, the Postmaster-General in the Iraq Government, was also quick to see the possibilities of this route for the transport of his mails to and from England. What has actually come to pass is more than even the most optimistic of us dared to dream in those early days of 1923.

With the motor service as at present run by the Nairn Transport Company, Baghdad has been brought within nine days of London, and within forty-eight hours' journey from Port Said. The saving of time in the journey from London to Baghdad by the ordinary sea passage is enormous. Whereas previously the journey took over thirty days, it is now done regularly in nine or ten days. The saving in expense is also very considerable. A first-class passage from London to Baghdad by steamer costs more than £100. A first-class passage to-day by steamer as far as the Eastern Mediterranean, and thence by motor to Baghdad, costs £70. One also saves the incidental expenses incurred during the extra twenty odd days of the long sea journey.

From Baghdad, this land route is being further developed into Persia as far as Tehran, and the journey to that place is now done comfortably by motor in three or four days. Again, travelling by rail from Baghdad to Basra and thence by boat to Karachi, India can be

reached within six or seven days from Baghdad. It will, therefore, be quite obvious to you that we were very keen to see this desert route developed. I should say at this point that General Weygand, High Commissioner for the French in Syria, and his more immediate subordinates became keenly interested in our discovery, if I may so call it, and subsequently afforded Mr. Nairn valuable help in his development of a mail and passenger motor service.

Acting on the suggestions of Mr. Lovell and myself, Mr. Nairn decided to make a trial crossing of the desert on his own account as soon as his business engagements would permit, and in the month of May, 1923, the second trip was made, from which Mr. Nairn came back fully convinced of the soundness of our ideas of establishing a regular passenger service over this route. The following month I made my second journey, and from then until August of that year further trial runs were made. On each of these trial runs fresh areas of the desert were reconnoitred, well to the north and well to the south of the original route, with the idea of eventually discovering the best possible route as regards freedom of the terrain from such obstructions as boulders, dried watercourses, etc. After many such trial runs the wisdom of old Ibn Bassam in choosing the original route over which he led us was fully justified, as that route is the one in permanent use to-day.

From the very first it had been decided that attempts to cross the desert with single cars would be highly dangerous on account of the long distances they would have to travel without any hope of help in the event of trouble. This is not to say that it is impossible for a single car to make the journey, for they have done so on several occasions: an old Crossley tender, a Vauxhall two-seater, a Trojan, a Wolseley, and a Fiat light lorry have each made the journey alone, but their owners have invariably told me on arrival at their destination that it was a foolhardy thing to do, that they would never have done it had they realized what they were letting themselves in for, and that they would never attempt it again by themselves. As a matter of fact, there are now Police Regulations, both in British and French territory, forbidding single cars to make the passage. With the service as developed to-day, it is no uncommon thing for convoys of as many as twelve cars to come across together, and even as early as November of last year the Nairn Transport Company ran a convoy of eleven cars from Baghdad to Damascus to bring across His Majesty the Shah of Persia and his suite.

At first, and until quite recently, a Beduin guide always accompanied each convoy and travelled beside the driver of the leading car. These guides were chosen by Ibn Bassam from amongst his men, who know the desert thoroughly as a result of travelling all over it by camel-caravan, and so long as it remains daylight they are most useful.

But as soon as nightfall arrives they are useless, being quite unable to find their way in the dark while travelling at a speed greater than a camel-walk. This is a curious thing about the Beduin—apparently they find their way about in the daytime not by the sun, but by recognizing various landmarks. At nightfall they are quite unable to read the stars in order to guide themselves. When I say landmarks I mean very slight conformations of the ground, because for the greater part of the 500 miles across the desert there are no landmarks of any sort noticeable to the ordinary traveller. The desert resembles some wide ocean on which one's four-wheeled craft is being directed as a ship at sea rather than a Trans-continental high-road.

Another precaution adopted by us on our original journey, and maintained up to the present day, was that of telegraphing the news of our departure by wireless from Syria to Baghdad, and on arrival at Baghdad, wirelessly back to Beyrout news of our safe arrival.

Let me say a few words about the geography of this route. From Beyrout to Damascus the road crosses two high ranges of mountains, the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Shortly after leaving Beyrout, the cars have to climb some 5,000 feet in about fifteen miles, they then drop about 2,500 feet in eight miles. Thence the road goes over a plain some ten miles wide before climbing up another 1,500 feet over the Anti-Lebanon, from the top of which it drops gradually into the oasis round Damascus. From Damascus the main road to Aleppo is followed for fifteen miles, and then the cars turn off into the desert and bear practically due east for the next 500 miles. Between Damascus and Baghdad it is almost perfectly flat, there are no hills or valleys on the journey, but Baghdad is some 1,200 feet or so lower than Damascus. The difference, however, is so slight as to be imperceptible while travelling across the desert. After 459 miles the Euphrates is reached at Ramadi, and from there a road is followed down the Euphrates for thirty miles to Felujah. At Felujah the route strikes out east into the desert once more, after forty miles of which the palm groves of Baghdad are reached. About half the route lies in the French Mandatory Territory of Syria, and the rest in the British Mandatory Territory of Iraq. You will probably say, "Why don't you find a route that runs entirely through British territory?" We have endeavoured to do so, but there are several conditions which make it impracticable. In order that such a route should run through British territory it would have to traverse Trans-Jordania. The Royal Air Force cars crossed the desert to Baghdad from Amman when marking-out the previously-mentioned "air-furrow." But in the eastern part of Trans-Jordania their route crosses a belt, sixty miles wide, of rough lava country over which the going is most painfully slow and dangerous for automobiles. The average time taken by armoured cars and other R.A.F. vehicles between Amman and Baghdad

is anything from eight to twelve days, so you can imagine that in comparison with the other route this is not a commercial proposition. Again, even supposing it were possible to establish a sufficiently good track debouching from the desert into Trans-Jordania, there is still the journey to be made from that country to the Palestine coast either at Haifa or Jaffa. There is a road (or so-called road) from Amman to the Jordan, but in winter-time it is very often impassable owing to rains. In the Damascus area, on the other hand, there is a perfectly good macadamized road from that city to the Syrian coast at Beyrout. Also Beyrout is a terminal port for various steamship companies, from which there are almost daily departures for Europe. Haifa and Jaffa are ports of much less importance, with consequent fewer facilities for frequent sailings. These are the reasons why it has been decided to carry on the development of the cross-desert route from Beyrout and Damascus rather than Palestine and Amman. The same lava belt mentioned previously stretches north and south throughout the whole Trans-Jordania territory, and in fact reaches to within a few hundred yards of the track of our route.

At certain times of the year, generally March, April and May, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers come down in full flood, the result of the snows on the Anatolian Mountains melting as spring progresses. Along the banks of both these rivers, for hundreds of years, high embankments or "bunds" have been constructed for the express purpose of keeping them within bounds when they are in flood. In the spring of 1923, however, these rivers suffered from abnormal floods, which completely upset the Irrigation authorities' calculations and swept away large stretches of the "bunds." The result was that for several hundred square miles the ground around Baghdad was inundated to the depth of several feet by the Tigris, and the Euphrates overflowed into all the country lying north-west and south of Ramadi and Felujah. The road along the river bank between those two places was under 14 feet of water. This was most annoying for the cause of our desert route, for the cars could not get into Ramadi, which became an island in the middle of the floods, but had to make a detour of some eighty miles south-west into the desert in order to reach the crossing over the Euphrates at Felujah. Having made the eighty-mile detour over almost insurmountable difficulties, they arrived at Felujah to find the bridge of boats had been cut by the authorities in order to prevent its being washed away by the floods, a fate which had already befallen the Maude Bridge in Baghdad. I will show you in a few minutes some photographs of the flooded country and the cars making their way through it. In 1923 these floods did not subside sufficiently to render the Ramadi-Felujah road visible again until the month of September. This year the floods were not so heavy, and the Irrigation authorities were able to keep them in check by means of the "bunds."

For the various journeys that were made between May and September of last year, the Buick cars had to be left on the west bank of the river at Felujah, and the passengers and their baggage transferred by rickety old native boats to the eastern bank, where local antiquated Fords had to be requisitioned to complete the last forty miles to Baghdad. However, as a result of the experiences of 1923, the Iraq Government authorities made special arrangements for flood-time this year, and, when it was found necessary to cut the bridge of boats as a precaution against floods, a temporary ferry was installed which served its purpose admirably and enabled two big cars at a time to cross the river. I have been told that even better arrangements are to be made for the coming year.

A word or two now about the Air Mail and this desert service. You may ask what is the use of instituting this desert motor service when we have already a desert Air Mail service in full swing. The reasons are these. Firstly, a passage from Cairo to Baghdad by Air Mail costs the ordinary traveller £150 for the single journey only. The passage for the single journey by car from Beyrout to Baghdad costs £30, or £50 return. These facts speak for themselves. Again, the Air Mail is only a fortnightly service, the present motor mail service is a weekly one. It might be thought that the Air Mail would be quicker than the motor mail, but as a matter of fact both services catch the same mail-boats at Port Said, and I have known occasions in the desert when the R.A.F. Mail aeroplanes have had to make forced landings and have been assisted in carrying out the repairs to their machines by the British mechanics of Nairns' desert motor service. Also, I think I am sticking absolutely to the truth when I say that the Motor Mail is more reliable than the Air Mail. Another point with the Air Mail: a passenger may only take 35 lbs. of baggage; whereas, by the motor route, one can take almost any amount. I know it is stated in the Company's advertisements that only 60 lbs. of baggage per passenger are allowed on the cars; but, as a matter of fact, many passengers come across with all their luggage, and, provided it does not inconvenience the rest of the convoy, neither drivers nor owners of the Company make any fuss.

May I say a few words about the fitting-out of the vehicles in which we made our original reconnaissance. Petrol and oil, sufficient to take us to Baghdad and back, were carried. This in case of having to double back on our tracks, or having to turn back almost within reach of the other side, or in case of a burst petrol tank or other accident. Food and water for human consumption were carried sufficient for ten days; water for the motors sufficient for several complete replenishments of the radiators. As far as we knew, there was no water to be obtained anywhere between Damascus and Ramadi; but, as a matter of fact, there is one well which exists at a point almost exactly half-way across the desert. The water in this well lies at a level of some

50 feet below the surface of the desert, and therefore, unless one is furnished with a long enough rope, the well is useless. On arrival there we fortunately had such a rope, and we replenished the water supply for our motors. The water was so dirty, however, that we refrained from drawing upon it for our own needs. A Primus stove was included in the outfit for the purpose of brewing tea. Two complete spare wheels with tyres and tubes were carried with each car, also a supply of spare inner tubes, a complete set of tools and spare parts normally carried in the car, together with a large box containing a large assortment of such workshop tools as could be wanted for repairs en route (these proved invaluable after the accident to the Lancia). Several blocks of wood of varying lengths and thicknesses were included for use in conjunction with lifting-jacks, or for blocking-up broken springs, or even, if not otherwise wanted, for firewood. Other items taken were compasses, binoculars, electric torches, waterproof ground-sheets, and two blankets or rugs per person. For the first two or three journeys we used to go fully armed, but it was later decided not to carry these arms, for Mr. Nairn employs the wise expedient of subsidizing Mahommed Ibn Bassam, who guarantees, as far as possible, the safety of the desert. Before leaving the subject of equipment of the cars, it might be as well to point out that during the months November to April the nights on the desert are very cold, and intending travellers should provide themselves with a sufficient number of rugs, fur coats, etc. We found the ordinary Beduin sheepskin cloak to be an exceedingly useful article of clothing with which to keep out the cold and rain.

Before finishing this part of my lecture, and turning to the lantern slides, I would like to give you some idea as to how this new land route to the East has already been developed by a small body of British ex-Service men, working entirely on their own account and without any financial help from either British or French Governments, nor from any outside source of any sort. Whereas, when we first went over, we used to take three or four days to make the crossing between Beyrout and Baghdad, the Nairn Transport Company have so developed things that they now run across regularly in from twenty-four to twenty-six hours. The actual record held for the crossing is sixteen hours fifty-three minutes. This time was made as a result of a wager concluded between Sir Arnold Wilson, of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and Mr. Nairn. In his bet the latter undertook to run Sir Arnold Wilson from Baghdad to Beyrout in under sixteen hours—that is to say, sixteen hours on the clock. Travelling from Baghdad to Damascus, one gains exactly one hour on the sun, so that Mr. Nairn had actually seventeen hours' running time in which to win his bet. The Nairn Transport Company were as good as their word, and, in spite of numbers of people (myself amongst them) laying side bets against them, they had the most

astonishing success, and completed the run in seven minutes under the time limit. Sitting here we can hardly imagine what such an undertaking means in the way of strain on the car and the driver, and I confess that I was absolutely astounded to see the Cadillac car roll into Damascus in such wonderful time, having maintained an average speed of about forty miles an hour across the desert, through the Damascus bazaars, and over the mountains.

The food question has also been greatly improved from our first efforts, and, if you are travelling to the East to-day by this route, you will find all sorts of up-to-date arrangements made as regards the supply of meals during the cross-desert run. As far as possible the cars run straight through from Damascus to Baghdad and *vice versa*, pulling up only for an hour or so at each meal-time to enable the passengers to get out and partake of a picnic meal, which is produced from airtight boxes, thermos flasks, etc.

As regards garage and road organization, no detail, however small, should be omitted in order to ensure safe, reliable, and fast journeys across the desert. This British Company now developing the route pays the greatest attention to organization. Before leaving on each cross-desert trip every car is completely overhauled, re-greased, re-oiled, and furnished with fresh equipment. On arrival at Baghdad the cars are again put on a pit and carefully overhauled, both as regards the machinery of the vehicle itself and its equipment. On the desert the cars are organized in convoys of never less than two cars—each convoy is put in charge of the senior driver, who is called the "Convoy-leader." He is responsible for the safety and comfort of the passengers, and for discipline amongst the drivers during the journey. There are various standing orders for the guidance of the drivers during the cross-desert part of the journey, amongst which is the order for the driver of each car to keep up within reasonable distance of the car in front; the drivers of the cars in front have to look round every now and again to see that the car behind is following; and should they find that it is not, they are instructed to come to a standstill and wait for the others. After waiting a few minutes, and finding that the rear car or cars do not come along, their duty is to turn about and run back until they find it; the drivers are not supposed to leave the now well-worn track except for some specific cause, the reason for this being that the track has now been covered so many times that all obstacles in the way of stones, holes, etc., have been eliminated, but are liable to be encountered if one deviates from the track in some of the rougher parts of the ground to be crossed. Also, so long as one sticks to the track, it is impossible to be lost; and, even should a car break down and be left behind through some misunderstanding, it is bound to be picked up again sooner or later by some of the many motors now using this route. Again, should a driver leave the track and get lost (which is

hardly ever likely to happen), his orders are not to wander further afield in fruitless endeavours to regain it, but to come to a standstill and wait until the other cars come back and find him. Other details of organization, such as running time, stoppages for meals, etc., are all carefully thought out beforehand, which makes for that efficiency so necessary in maintaining a cross-desert land transport service. The results of such organization can be seen to-day in the almost clock-work regularity with which the convoys of the Nairn Transport Company run backwards and forwards. I think it is a pity that other semi-native, or purely native, concerns cannot grasp the importance of this carefully-thought-out organization, as they, and the accidents that are constantly occurring to their services, may bring the new land route to the East into ill repute. No one could be surprised if you began to think that I was a member of this Nairn Transport Company, and that I was giving you a sort of business propaganda lecture. Unfortunately for me (from a financial point of view!) I have no interest whatsoever in this firm beyond that which I naturally take in seeing something which I helped to start being developed into a great Imperial asset. For there is no doubt that this new land route is an Imperial asset. I would like to give you a few facts concerning the men who are doing this work. They are all British ex-Service men. The owners are two New Zealand brothers who fought all through the war on the various Mediterranean fronts, and who obtained their local demobilization in order to set up a motor transport business in Palestine and Syria. They were joined by another man whom I have already referred to—Mr. Lovell, the Chief Engineer of the Nairn Transport Company. These three started work in Beyrout in 1919, and in the face of increasing native competition they have not only kept up their own ends, but have done much to raise the prestige of British commerce in the Levant. They have had a very hard struggle, and at times have been faced with the entire collapse of their ambitions, but even in the most adverse circumstances they never faltered and never whined, but went on working harder than ever. I used to see a great deal of these men in the course of my duties in Syria, and I found them to be some of the best fellows that you could possibly wish to have alongside you in a tight corner. It was knowing their absolute reliability that induced me to ask them to provide the vehicles and organize their equipment for the pioneer trip on this desert route. And, as you will have gathered from the successful result of our first trip, they did not let me down. Mr. Norman Nairn is a man of most extraordinary energy and capacity for work. He is very far-seeing and always thinking ahead, and it is owing to the push and inspiration brought by him to bear on the question, that the present reliable development of the new land route to the East has been evolved. I have heard it said by one of our greatest authorities on Middle East questions that Mr. Nairn

has done more in the course of the last eighteen months towards the amicable mutual development of Iraq and Syria than all the conferences and political discussions that have taken place between the various Government authorities since the end of the war. As a result of his quick grasp of the situation and his hard work in its development, the new route, which is officially known as the Overland Mail Route, has come to be known, even as far away as in America, as the Nairn Route. His brother, Mr. Gerald Nairn, I consider to be the finest driver of a motor-car that I have ever met. His reputation for motor driving is a byword throughout Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. Unlike his brother, he is very silent and shy, but he is what I may call the "body of the concern," his brother being the "head." Gerald Nairn is always in such wonderfully fit physical condition that continuous work never seems capable of tiring him out. I have travelled many hundreds of miles sitting beside Gerald Nairn, and I have been astounded at the man's capacity for work. I have known him to drive continuously for seventy-two hours day and night, stopping only at infrequent intervals for a few minutes to have a bite of food, and at the end of it he most unselfishly volunteered to start off again with the mails in place of one of the other drivers who was not available at the last moment. The loyalty of these two brothers to their service must be experienced to be believed, but perhaps I can give you some impression of it when I tell you that on many occasions I have known one or the other to take the place of some driver who had dropped out, and they have quite willingly gone across to Baghdad and back as ordinary drivers under the orders of the convoy leader, who, after all, was one of their employees. Mr. Lovell I should call the "legs of the concern." He was serving in the army long before the war, and had then got his papers as a master-mechanic, master-fitter, master-car-penter, and master-electrician, so you can understand his value to the mechanical side of the business. Lovell belongs to that type which seems almost to have disappeared since the war—I mean the type of craftsman who takes a pride in anything he turns his hand to. He would no more allow a car to leave his garage unless it was assembled or repaired by himself entirely to his own satisfaction than he would think of engaging a man whom he knew to be a shirker. In Syria Lovell came to be regarded as almost a wizard where machinery was concerned. The astonishing mechanical jobs that I have seen him carry out would make the hair of any motor-engineer in England stand on end. There is no time to give you examples of the energy, power, and determination of Lovell and his two colleagues, but I can assure you that you would hardly believe me if I were to tell you of some of the more outstanding of their exploits. You will understand now why I was so keen on Lovell accompanying us on our exploration trip across the desert, and I have already explained to you how well repaid

we were for taking him with us. I wish some of our trade-unionists in England could have seen Lovell at work underneath the broken-down Lancia that very cold night on the desert in April last year. I think it was his unfailing cheeriness, even under the most forlorn-looking conditions, that kept up our spirits at the time of the accident. These are the three men who have developed the cross-desert route in such a remarkable manner. I don't suggest that they have been doing it entirely in a spirit of philanthropy to the British Empire, for of course they have been doing it to earn their own daily bread, but I do think that they are deserving of all our support in the way in which they are keeping up the prestige of the Old Country under very difficult circumstances. The men employed as drivers, mechanics, etc., in this concern are all British ex-Service men. There are amongst them Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Canadians, Australians, and South Africans, so you see Great Britain and the Dominions are well represented. You might think that some of them are rather rough and ready, but I assure you they are all of them men to be proud of. I think I have travelled with them all at one time or another, and I must honestly say that I have never yet met a body of men more capable of, and more willing for, hard work. The before-mentioned trade-unionists would have about seventeen fits if they were to go out and see those men working. On the desert there is no such thing as an eight-hour day, overtime, war bonuses, doles, or like luxuries; all that there is, is work, and plenty of it. These men have to be prepared to carry on at the wheel of their cars for thirty-six or forty-eight hours at a stretch. They may be turned out for some urgent call in the middle of the night, or have to go and collect some irate passenger before dawn in order to carry him the 100 miles from Beyrout to Haifa to catch his train or mail-boat for England. Whatever time of the day or night, and whatever the conditions of the weather, these men are always cheerful and always alert. A good idea of their capabilities and qualities may be formed from the fact that although they have carried over a hundred lady passengers across the desert, I have never once heard anything but the most unstinted praise for Nairns' drivers. I know of one occasion on which a convoy of cars were bogged by wet weather some 350 miles from Damascus at two o'clock in the morning of a particular Saturday last winter, after the drivers had been pushing and pulling their cars through the mud throughout the previous day until they were so exhausted that they could hardly stand. The mail-boat was due to leave Beyrout at five o'clock that evening. Thirteen ladies and gentlemen, eager for their long overdue leave, had got their passage booked on that mail-boat, and saw little chance of catching it. The cars had got bogged in various positions on what is known as the "Mud Flat," near No. 5 Landing Ground of the Air

Mail Route, and in order that no passengers should go without some hot food and drink on that cold night, Gerald Nairn started out from his own car carrying the food and drink to each of the other five cars. He had to walk a total of nine miles through the pouring rain to distribute the food, and yet he never thought of grumbling or complaining in the slightest degree. By dawn they had got the cars free from the mud, after the most exhausting efforts. I think you will agree with me that those men would have been quite within their rights if they had sat down where they were for a few hours and had had a much-needed rest. They did nothing of the kind. Just before dawn the East-going convoy had arrived on the scene, and their drivers, who had been travelling twenty-four hours on end, assisted in getting the bogged cars free. Immediately Gerald Nairn called for volunteers amongst the drivers of both convoys to attempt to take four of the cars, with the thirteen passengers, to catch the mail-boat at Beyrout that evening. Every single driver volunteered to make the attempt, and so the original drivers started off with their own mud-covered vehicles. The passengers were quite convinced that it would be impossible to catch the boat, and I don't think that you or I, had we been in their places, would have thought differently. I was at Beyrout at the time and heard the anxious telephone enquiries of the shipping line as to the whereabouts of their passengers. Nairns' office manager, another British ex-Service man, persuaded the Steamship Company to delay the departure of the mail-boat as long as possible, until the absolute final departure of the boat was fixed for 10 p.m. Imagine the feelings of that office manager each time he telephoned to Damascus to ask if there was any news of the incoming cars. The situation appeared to be almost hopeless, when, shortly after eight o'clock, the four cars rolled quietly into Beyrout and took their passengers straight down to the docks, where they embarked immediately, baggage, mud, and all. It sounds incredible that human beings and motor cars could possibly have achieved that run, and one of the lady passengers told me on board the boat something of their experiences. Her actual words were: "We had given up all hope of catching the mail, and now that we are here I must confess that we could not have been much annoyed had we missed it, for those drivers accomplished what I should have thought humanly impossible." I have tried to give you a word picture of the human material that is being used in the development of this road to the East, and I must say that I am proud to claim all those fellows as friends of mine. It is the loyalty and devotion to duty of these men that has enabled this purely British concern to win through against the most acute competition.

So much for the human element. Now just a few sentences about the mechanical element in the development of the desert route. I believe I am right in saying that the reason the British Government

will not subsidize the Nairn Transport Company is that it does not use British material in its service. To the ordinary man in the street that point of view seems quite logical, but we who know the conditions feel that the decision is a little hard, for, to the best of my knowledge, there is no British material available that is suitable to the needs of the desert. Since my return to England I have talked to many men interested in the motor industry in England about this question, but so far without any profitable results. The cars which we used on the first pioneer trip and those now in use are Buicks and Cadillacs. These, as you know, are of American manufacture, and I must confess that after four years' first-hand experience of what those cars are capable of doing, I should always choose them again under the same circumstances. In a few moments I am going to show you some slides which will give you an idea of what these cross-desert cars are called upon to do, not only now and again, but almost continuously. I think I am right in saying that the two main obstacles to the adoption of British cars for the desert service are firstly, financial cost, and secondly, that British cars are built too low in the chassis to avoid the many stones and boulders which the higher-built American cars pass over without risk to engine or axle. I hold no brief for the American motor industry, and naturally I would like to see it possible for British cars to be used by the British concern developing the desert route. The Buick car is sufficiently high-powered to carry the enormous weight which these cars have to carry over the two ranges of mountains and across the desert without overheating. It is built high, and yet is comfortable to ride in. It maintains a high speed for hours and hours on end while running across the desert, and, should it get stuck in a soft place, it is not too heavy to be towed or pushed out. The Cadillac car is more powerful, and more comfortable perhaps than the Buick, and is also more expensive. These cars actually make the trip to Baghdad and back without having to replenish one drop of water in the radiator. This is astonishing when you think of the long climb up over the two mountain ranges which is done every week with cars so heavily loaded. Surely it should be possible for the British motor industry to produce a car which can compare favourably with the Buick in price, and also conform to the various constructional details necessary, but it seems almost useless to ask for it. I will give you an example of the different methods adopted in this connection in the British and American motor industries. Recently Mr. Nairn decided to make some structural alterations in the cross-desert cars, in order that for the same expenditure in oil and petrol he could carry more than three passengers in each car. On his arrival in England this summer, he talked the matter over with the representative of a certain well-known make of British car, but to no effect as far as he (Mr. Nairn) was concerned. I also talked the matter over with a

representative of the same make of car at the recent Motor Show at Olympia. The reply I got was: "We do not go in for building cars for special stunts, we build cars for use on English roads." All I can say in reply to this is: if that is the policy adopted by the British motor industry, why grumble that the American motor industry has captured the motor trade in these Eastern countries, where roads are not so perfect as they are in England. In order to get his special car, Mr. Nairn was therefore forced to go to the United States. You might think that the American motor firms, with their mass production and their standard machinery plant, would be justified in refusing to accept the construction of some special type of car; but not a bit of it. General Motors Limited, of Detroit, listened with interest to Mr. Nairn's requirements and promptly set about satisfying them, not for tens or hundreds, but merely for a paltry four cars. Those cars were ordered in July last, and I believe I am right in saying that they are now actually running on the desert. What I cannot understand is, that, if it is worth the while of the American motor industry to satisfy such a demand, why is it not possible for our British manufacturers to do the same thing? I could go on for hours on the same subject, but time forbids. I can only say that, in default of the necessary British vehicles, the cross-desert service was originated and is maintained with Cadillac and Buick cars, the reliability of which is amazing. Mr. Nairn has both Buick and Cadillac cars running as faultlessly to-day, after having completed over 100,000 miles each, as they did the day they were put on the road. That, I think, is a great testimony to the above makes of cars, and, much though we regret the absence of British vehicles, I think we cannot refrain from congratulating the American makers, General Motors Limited. As far as Customs tariffs are concerned, British, French, and American cars get exactly the same treatment in Syria.

That is the story of the discovery and development of what is called the New Land Route to the East. For over twelve months practically no one in Europe took much interest in its development, regarding it more as a freak show than a sound undertaking in the political and commercial world. This year, however, both British and French Governments and commercial houses have awakened to the possibilities of the route to such an extent that the French Government, or rather the Syrian Government under French guidance, has subsidized two semi-native concerns, in which French capital is invested, in their efforts to compete with the British one. The British Government has given mail contracts to the Nairn concern; the Royal Air Force now dispatch their officer and other rank details by this route, and such important concerns as the Anglo-Persian Oil Company send numbers of their officials over the route in Nairn's convoys. The P. and O. and the Messageries Maritimes Steamship Lines both run services in

connection with the Nairn Transport convoys over the Desert Route. I hope that what these Britishers have so well started will not be allowed to be overwhelmed by the competition of other nations, and that our own Government will keep a fatherly eye upon those who keep up British interests of the route.

Some forty lantern slides were then shown depicting views of interest on the route between Beyrout and Baghdad.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had a most realistic set of photographs shown to us, which I think we have all most thoroughly enjoyed; and I must say that I for one have never seen before a photograph of a mirage. I will not say anything more at the present time. I understand that we have some representatives of the motor industry with us here to-day. I do not know if Mr. Dewar is here; if so, he will perhaps give us his observations on the lecture we have just heard. (No response.) Is any other representative of the motor industry here? (No response.) Is there any other lady or gentleman who will give us their observations?

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: My point is about the route that was shown on the map. I believe it goes through Rutbah?

The LECTURER: The well is known as Rutbah.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Is there not another route being opened up from Damascus, through Palmyra, and then north-east to Ramadi?

The LECTURER: The route is being developed by a semi-native concern called the Eastern Transport Company.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: On the map there is very little shown from Damascus to Baghdad except Rutbah.

The LECTURER: There is nothing else, absolutely nothing at all. It is just like being out at sea.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: I am very pleased, as a member of the Society and also as a Briton, to know that we have such stubborn determination being shown by those who have this organization in hand; and I know a number of people have gone across and have been perfectly satisfied. I think you mentioned the matter of the organization of the propaganda, and certainly, in my opinion, that does a great deal towards furthering British interests, as regards Indo-Persia and places beyond, and opening the eyes apparently of a great many people who are opposed to the British; I certainly think that if we can get the route developed beyond Basra to Baluchistan and India it will be a greater benefit still. You mentioned that the road was being developed from Baghdad towards India; but I have seen nothing personally in any of the papers regarding that portion of the road south from Baghdad through Ur of the Chaldees, across the desert, and then through Baluchistan to Nushki and Quetta.

The LECTURER: I don't think anything has been done that way. They have confined their attention towards Tehran in Persia.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: I suppose, really, to develop that road further south would be a very difficult undertaking on account of the character of the country in that particular district.

Mrs. PATRICK NESS: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—May I endorse every word that Major McCallum has said with regard to Captain Norman Nairn and all his drivers. I happened to be in one of the broken-down cars you looked at on the screen. (Applause.) That was the second time that women had crossed the desert. On our return journey, eleven weeks later, Captain Nairn drove us himself. He had just done a wonderful performance. While driving to Baghdad one of his cars had broken down in the desert. After the delay he had taken eight passengers in his own car, and had driven night and day so as not to fail to deliver the mails up to time. Soon after he started back again with us. The extraordinary speed with which the route had developed was very marked. When we crossed in September, before the service had started, there was no track. We met no natives of any sort. The heat was like driving into a furnace. Eleven weeks later, after having been to Persia, we crossed again. A service both ways had been established. Specially-built Cadillac cars were used instead of Buicks. We carried the Christmas mails, weighing four hundred pounds, and we crossed in forty-five hours in bitter cold. Eleven weeks had been sufficient so to develop this wonderful route across the desert.

Dr. A. MANN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have just come across the same route from Tehran. I would like to endorse what Major McCallum said. I did not come with Nairn; it is a matter of £ s. d. They have a connection between Baghdad and Tehran—the Company does that for them—but it is rather expensive, and you find when the pilgrims are coming down that route to Baghdad all the cars return empty to Beirut and Damascus. Then you can get a seat in a very good Hudson for £4 to £5. Nairns charge £25. When you come home on leave, and want to spend a little in town, you think of these things and are willing to come with anybody. They are perfectly safe. I had a very good Nash car. We did it in very good time; we lost one and had to return, but that was not our fault. We know Nairns have developed the road, and I have heard they subsidize somebody to keep the Beduin off. We benefit by that. If they can keep competition away by lowering their prices, I am going back very shortly and shall certainly use their cars.

Sir LOUIS DANE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Chairman asked if there were any representatives of car firms here. I am not a representative of a car firm, but am interested in taking motors across impossible places. I may mention that in 1904 we took

a motor-car to Kabul ; it was not an English car, for the reason you have spoken of. It was a De Dion, and it duly created an interest in motoring which led to the construction of good roads. My friend Colonel O'Connor in 1906 took a motor through Tibet to Shigatze by a pass fifteen thousand feet high. This was also a De Dion. A third was taken by Colonel O'Connor, in 1908, across four hundred and fifty miles of desert such as you have seen from Nushki to Seistan, thereby proving the possibility of a motor route in that direction, over which a railway has since been laid. I believe a motor route across Persia could be devised on that line. So not only in Syria, but in Afghanistan, Tibet, and Eastern Persia, experiments at a much earlier period have been successfully made. I am also very much interested in what the lecturer said about the trans-Syrian desert route, because it attracted my attention in 1918, and a scheme was put by responsible persons before Mr. Herbert Samuel—Sir Herbert Samuel as he is now—and Sir Alfred Mond. It was very much considered by them, with the eventual possibility of taking a railway by the route the lecturer has described, by which you have seen there are no difficulties. Desert railways connecting rich agricultural tracts with the seaboard, as experience of the East has shown, are most profitable. The cost of construction and of upkeep is very small, and very heavy loads can be moved. Desert reaches from the Punjab to Karachi, and from Delhi to Karachi; across it have been laid some of the most profitable railways in the whole of India, though the population per square mile is next to nothing. That is all I can say now. It may interest you to know that a De Dion has travelled over almost worse country than what you have heard of the Syrian desert, and with success.

Mr. FRANCIS H. SKRINE : I should like to ask a question, Mr. Chairman. Is there any project for building a rest-house with a petrol depôt in the Wadi which has a well? It seems to me a crying want.

The LECTURER : There is a scheme for building one; I believe negotiations are going on with the Royal Air Force for the time being about putting a wireless observation post out in the middle of the desert, which would be a meteorological post for the air route, and also serve Nairn, or whoever runs that route, for a half-way house.

Mr. FRANCIS H. SKRINE : Another question regarding the routes. Of course American cars are specially built for the roads which you get in the States; we have nothing like them in England. They say that the civilization of a country is in direct ratio with its roads; if this is true, I am very sorry for the Yankees! Only in Russia do you see such dreadful roads as in the States. But would it not be possible to construct a macadamized road across the desert? There must be plenty of stone. Ought not Government to help a scheme of this kind?

The LECTURER : I do not think a macadamized road is necessary; the route is such wonderful going as it is. It is like a billiard-table

most of the way, but there are one or two places where you have to pull up and go gently. I think the Rolls-Royce is looked upon as the best British car. When the Shah of Persia came over he chose that route to come by, and chose Nairns' convoy; Gerald Nairn brought him across. He had his own Cadillac-Limousine; they had their own cars, eleven altogether. The High Commissioner sent an escort with the Shah over the British territory. The escort comprised two Rolls armoured cars and two Rolls tenders. The armoured cars could hardly be expected to keep up the pace; they are very much heavier with all their armour. But one would have thought the Rolls tenders would have kept up with the Cadillac-Limousine, but they were left far behind. Gerald Nairn went up to the Shah's driver and said, "If your driver cannot keep up with us he will be left. We are running the mail and must keep up to time." The record run is sixteen hours fifty-three minutes, which includes the run across the desert, over the mountains, and through the Damascus bazaars. The Rolls could not keep up to it, and it is six times the price of a Buick and three times the price of a Cadillac. British cars have been tried and are not capable. I am told I am not speaking the truth when I say they are not capable; but experience has shown that they are not capable of maintaining the speed and the pace under rough conditions as are the American cars. One question about expense; one gentleman was talking about it. There are two seasons for pilgrims—pilgrims going to Mecca and pilgrims coming from Mecca. At the season for going to Mecca you cannot get a car for love or money in Iraq; you pay sixty or seventy pounds for a seat in an old Ford car going westwards. On the other hand, those cars have to go back to get more passengers, and then they are ready to take anybody for one or two pounds to help cover expenses on the way back. It is possible when the pilgrim traffic starts in the other direction to get a cheap trip West.

Dr. A. MANN: Four weeks ago I paid in Baghdad seven pounds a seat for five people.

The LECTURER: You were very lucky. As to the other question, the Seistan route is being very seriously considered in connection with this route. That, I think, is all.

Dr. ZIA UDDIN AHMAD: I have been interested in the overland route to India. There is a service between Quetta and Birjand, and again between Birjand and Tehran. Aligarh Muslim University has several students from Birjand who go home during vacations via Quetta. A second thing is that I was told they always use American cars.

The CHAIRMAN: Well, ladies and gentlemen, if there is nobody else going to speak, I think I should like to say how proud we must all feel that the employees of these Nairn Brothers and Mr. Lovell are all ex-Service men. (Applause.) We have heard from the lecturer that all are Britishers from various parts of the Empire. I am sure we must

all be proud of this small band of British ex-Service men who are upholding the honour and the prestige of our country, if I may say so, on these borders of Empire in Syria and Baghdad. I think we must congratulate Messrs. Nairn and Mr. Lovell, and the firm in general, on the reliability, hard work, and straight dealing with which they are upholding the British name in these far-away places. I think the confidence they are inspiring in British firms and British workmen must have a great effect on the people in that country who deal with those firms, in comparison with the foreign firms in opposition to them. I have had the opportunity of reading Major McCallum's lecture, which he has not been able to give us in full to-day, and I have been much impressed by what I have read there, as I feel sure you will all be when you come to read it in the *Journal*. I cannot help thinking that the success of a purely British concern of this sort working against the acute competition that has come up against it—in fact, the lecturer has pointed out to us how the good results that have been obtained are due to the co-operation between the masters and the men in that concern—is an example that may lead us to hope that the trade-union leaders in this country may eventually come to see what can be done by co-operation between masters and men, and how much better such co-operation works than obstruction and every sort of non-co-operation that is so often in evidence in this country. (Hear, hear.) Another point that struck me during the lecture is the question of the motor-car industry between this country and other countries, especially in the trade with Eastern countries. Any one of us who has studied the import returns of India, for instance, must have been enormously struck by the great preponderance of foreign cars, especially American cars, that go into India in comparison with British cars; and surely, when you find British manufacturers saying, as the lecturer told us, "We don't go in for building cars for special stunts; we build them for use on English roads"—surely we must say that such a spirit must militate against the trade of this country. I am very sorry indeed that we have not had representatives of the motor industry here to-day to give us their opinion as to whether that action on the part of British manufacturers cannot be modified in some way or another. The lecturer has told us that in Syria, for instance, British, French, and American cars all get equal treatment in the question of customs. There is no prejudice in any way against any country in that respect. They have an equal chance in open competition, and I hope that we shall see the British motor-car industry altering their action in this respect, and trying if they cannot make cars that will be more fitted for work in the East than they are at present. I congratulate most heartily our lecturer on having so thoroughly well carried out the discovery and development of this new land route to the East, as he terms it. Having established

that route, as it has been established, we now see that the Syrian Government, under French guidance, are subsidizing their local companies, so that this British firm is up against tremendous competition. I am glad to hear that the British Government has given the mail contract to this British firm, but we must have more than that. It is a difficult thing to ask for a subsidy, but I trust that the Government we have now in power will do their very best to assist this British company in every possible way they can. If they cannot give a subsidy they may do something to put the company in a fair position to compete with these native concerns that the lecturer has told us about. (Applause.) I will now ask you to join with me in a most hearty vote of thanks to our lecturer, not only for the interesting lecture he has given us, but for the really fine show of photographs that he has given us on the screen, which has brought home to us the realities of the situation out there. We are all delighted to think that this British firm has carried on such good work, and that it is able to carry on its work in the French mandated territory there; we trust it will continue to work for the benefit of our mandated territory in Iraq, and that it will be a successful concern and get better and better every year. We thank our lecturer most cordially for his lecture. It is the second time he has lectured for us, and I can only hope we shall hear him another time. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, on the motion of Colonel Sir Charles Burn.

SOME EARLY TRAVELLERS IN PERSIA AND THE PERSIAN GULF

BY SIR A. T. WILSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O.

FROM Alexander's time until the present day, Persia and Arabia have been the theme of innumerable histories and works of travel; no countries so sparsely visited by Western folk have been responsible for such a steady stream of books. A bibliography of Persia compiled in 1877 by Moise Schwab includes some 1,770 separate books, and probably as many more have been written since that date.

Those writers who in recent times have dealt with South Persia and the Persian Gulf—with which I propose more particularly to deal in this paper—have been for the most part competent observers and careful historians, who, to quote the seventeenth-century editor of Tavernier, were

“sufficiently imbued with all due knowledge of sciences, languages, geography, and precedent travellers' maps and books, without all which common travellers cannot conceive so soon and so orderly, nor reap so much benefit for themselves or others.”

We have been relatively immune in the South from that class of authors, anathematized by Lord Curzon in his “Persia and the Persian Question,” “who rush through a country, either not having read what has been written by better men before, or reading it only in order to plagiarize and reproduce it as their own, and who misunderstand, misspell, and misinterpret everywhere they go.” Such authors have for many years past found scope for their activities along the main roads in Persia, and, during the war, in Mesopotamia, but the arid shores of the Persian Gulf and the almost equally forbidding mountain ranges of South Persia have seldom inspired the globe-trotter to perpetuate in print his own misconceptions or to inflict upon the reading public his jejune reflections or his fatuous comments upon matters beyond his grasp.

The first Western traveller in the Persian Gulf of whom we have any knowledge is Nearchus, the Cretan admiral of Alexander, who in 326-5 B.C. navigated a fleet of rowing-boats from the mouth of the Indus to Ahwaz. His “log” has come down to us through Arrian, who embodied much of it in his “Indica,” or Indian history, written at the beginning of our era. To take a fleet of rowing-boats along the Baluchistan and Persian coasts would be considered an almost impossible feat to-day, but it was accomplished, and successfully.

After much difficulty and after several encounters with the

aboriginal tribes on the Mekran coast, they sighted the massive heights of Masandam Peninsula.

“When Onesicritus viewed this promontory, he gave orders that the fleet should steer directly thither; but Nearchus opposed him, and declared that Onesicritus must have a shallow memory if he did not remember for what purpose the fleet was ordered to pass those seas. He then assured him that the above-mentioned voyage was not undertaken because the king was unable to convey the whole army safe home by land, but because he had fixed a resolution of viewing the situation of all shores, havens, and islands; of searching the bottom of all gulfs and creeks, and having an account given him of all maritime places, and which countries were fruitful and which barren and uninhabited. . . . He was afraid, as that promontory stretched itself so much to the southward, that by sailing round the point they might fall upon some sandy, barren and sunburnt region.”*

But the achievement of Nearchus was but an incident in the epic campaign of Alexander, who forged the first links between East and West, and thereby left an indelible mark on the world's history. “Alexander was never defeated, never checked or baffled; what general can show such a record after a score of battles? And withal a champion while a general. Napoleon used his sword once as generalissimo; Alexander was first in a breach, first in a charge, wounded a dozen times, himself the leader of every desperate expedition. Half of it was mad recklessness, the other was set purpose; professional armies were new as yet, and the machine needed animating with a personal feeling if it were to submit to the labours which Alexander designed for its endurance. Remembering the impressionable nature of a veteran army, can we wonder at the passionate love evinced on the Acesines and the Tigris? And there is no more touching scene in history than was enacted in that chamber at Babylon when the scarred veterans of fifty battles, who had mutinied for one more look at their idol, filed in silence before the dying king, speechless but able to look recognition and raise a hand when a well-remembered face went by. It would absolve Arrian for many sins that, without a word of rhetorical declamation on such a theme, he has only repeated the simple story of the royal diary concerning the illness and death at thirty-two of the conqueror and pacificator of half the world.

“But there must be reason in hero-worship; let no one think it a miracle that Alexander conquered the Persian Empire: a far meaner general could have done it as surely, if at more cost, and perhaps only accident has robbed Agesilaus of some of the fame of Alexander.

“It was much that Alexander conquered, and it was more that he did it at incredibly small expense of life; but it was most that he left every province as much his own behind him as if he had spent all his thirty years in its administration. This is his highest honour, and his

* Arrian's “Indica.”

military fame must take second place. That will always rest on the second count, on the economy of life, whereby he certainly ranks above Napoleon, perhaps above Hannibal; on his campaigns beyond the Tigris, wherein his ever-happy dispositions discomfited every variety of enemy, of whom some had baffled every great king since Cyprus; on the merited fortune that never failed before a wall or lost a battle, that never knew a Zama or Waterloo." *

The next Westerner of whose exploits and travels we have any record was the Roman Emperor Trajan (A.D. 116), in whose mind the praises of Alexander, transmitted by a succession of poets and historians, had kindled a dangerous emulation. "The degenerate Parthians," says Gibbon,† "broken by intestine discord, fled before his arms. He descended the river Tigris in triumph, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf. He enjoyed the honour of being the first, as he was the last, of the Roman generals who ever navigated that remote sea. His fleets ravaged the coasts of Arabia." But his death soon clouded the splendid prospect which his victories had opened to the expectant Senate.

Trajan, like Alexander, was a European, and his exploits, as recorded by Dion Cassius and Julian and other commentators, were, like those of Alexander, undertaken in a spirit of adventure and with the object of exploration as well as of conquest.

An interval of some six centuries separates the relations of Trajan's commentators from the next books of travel and geography that have come down to us—namely, those of the Arab geographers, Ibn Khurdadbih, who wrote in A.D. 864, and was followed by Qudamah, Yaqubi, Ibn Serapion, Ibn Rustah, and Ibn Faqih (A.D. 903). These set forth in detail, in the form of road books, the various itineraries, interspersed with short accounts of the towns passed through, and the revenues and products, in turn, of each province. Ibn Khurdadbih was postmaster of the Jibal Province, which included Tabriz, Tehran, Hamadan, and Ispahan; Qudamah was a revenue accountant: their itineraries give, stage by stage, the distances along the great Khurasan road and the other travel roads which radiated from Baghdad to Mecca, to Basrah, and, indeed, to every centre of importance of the Old World. On all these trunk lines not only are the distances and stages given, but an exact description is added of the nature of the country passed through, whether the way be hilly, ascending or descending, or whether the road lies in the plain.‡

We are indebted to Ibn Khurdadbih for the earliest account of

* Hogarth, "The Army of Alexander." *Journal of Philology*, xvii., 1888. See also "Eine Quellenkritik zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen in Diodor, Curtius und Justin." Rudolf Kohler, Leipzig, 1879. (London Library Pamphlets, 1839.)

† "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i.

‡ Le Strange, "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate." 1905.

the Shiraz-Bandar Abbas road, which terminated in his day on the coast at Suru, not far west of the present port and town of Bandar Abbas; but his narrative and those of his contemporaries are very matter-of-fact documents, closely resembling the gazetteers and route reports prepared by British officials to-day in India and elsewhere. The Arab writers do not boast of Arab conquests, nor of the law and order which they introduced into the countries they overran. They assume it as confidently and implicitly as do our own officials in countries over which they rule.

After these came the systematic geographers, Istakhri (A.D. 951), Ibn Hawqal, and Muqadassi (A.D. 985). Istakhri, a native of Persepolis, gives the description of his native province, Fars, in far greater detail than is to be found in Ibn Hawqal, who reduced his chapter on Fars to the due proportion of the remainder of the book. Ibn Hawqal's work is indeed but a new edition, partly enlarged and amended, of Istakhri. Muqadassi wrote his geography entirely on independent lines, and chiefly from personal observation. His is probably the greatest, as it is certainly the most original, work of all those which the Arab geographers composed; his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his careful summaries of the characteristics of each province in turn, are indeed some of the best written pages to be found in all the range of mediæval Arab literature.*

In the tenth century also flourished Tabari,† whose work is, for geography as well as for history, a primary authority, and Hamzah Ispahani, whose work, though composed in Arabic, was evidently based on many Persian books now lost, and relates facts of which we should otherwise be ignorant.

Coming to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we have the work of a famous traveller, Nāsir-i-Khusraw, the Persian (A.D. 1047), who went from Khurasan to Mecca and back, visiting Egypt and Syria on his way out, and crossing Arabia on the homeward journey; and his diary, written in Persian, is one of the earliest works we possess in that language. His account of Basrah, the Shatt-al-Arab, Mehruban (the modern Hindijan), and Arrajan, the great city whose ruins are still to be seen east of Behbahan, is of extraordinary interest. He says that in his day the rulers of Basrah had built on the Shatt-al-Arab bar a scaffolding with great beams of teak wood, very broad below and narrowing above, forty yards in height, to serve as a lighthouse to warn mariners. On its summit was the watchman's cabin, and the platform being stone-flagged and supported on arches was used at night as a brasier wherein a beacon fire was lighted. A similar light-

* Le Strange, *op. cit.*

† Tabari's "Chronicles." Zotenberg's French translation, 4 vols., Paris 1867-74.

house was seen by him at the mouth of the Hindijan river. He gives an interesting description of Basrah and the river between it and Abbadan, then, as now, flanked on either side by deep palm groves, amongst which, on either bank, stood the country-houses and castles of local notables.

Dating from the twelfth century is another Persian work called the *Fars Namah* of Ibn-ul-Balkhi, which describes this province most minutely, and is invaluable as far as it goes.* Of Bushire, under the old name, Rishahr, he writes: "The climate here is extremely hot, so that men have, in summer-time, to wrap the inner rind of the acorn on parts of the skin in certain places, otherwise it would chafe into sores by the excess of sweat and the heat engendered there. Further, they have the habit of putting on many shirts, and they wear them very long. The people have neither excellence nor strength of character, being of a weak nature."

The first-mentioned custom no longer holds, though it is an anticipation of the virtues of talcum powder; the custom of wearing many shirts is certainly no longer a habit of the residents, though it is typical of Baluchis to this day, and no one who knows the Bushiris would agree with Ibn-ul-Balkhi's estimate of them; on the contrary, they are by common consent the most energetic and businesslike community in the Persian Gulf.

Of Ganawah, a fishing village north-west of Bushire, and a base of operations of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, under its old name Jannabah, he writes: "In Persian they call it Ganfāh, which signifies "Stinking Water." Now a city that has stinking water for its name must be described as of an evil stinking character, and there is no occasion to speak of its condition."

Here again, Ibn-ul-Balkhi, who probably never actually travelled in this region, must still have been wide of the mark. His derivation of the name of the place from the Persian *Gand-ab* is far-fetched, and, as a matter of fact, the water there is excellent, and has apparently always been so, for it is mentioned favourably in later chronicles, notably in the logs and sailing directions of East India merchantmen.

Idrisi, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century, is of little help to us, as he had no personal knowledge of Persia, and his work has come down to us in a very corrupt form.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who wrote in 1173, was a contemporary of Idrisi; he visited Tadmor, Babylon, Baghdad, and Susa among other places, and his narrative makes the first European travel story that has come down to us since Arrian's narrative of Nearchus and the scanty account of Trajan's exploits. Of Qatif he writes that—

* See Le Strange's translation, Asiatic Society Monographs, xiv., 1912.

“It is a city with about 5,000 Israelites. In this vicinity the pearls are found : about the 24th of Nisan (*i.e.*, in April) large drops of rain are observed upon the surface of the water, which are swallowed by the reptiles, after this they close their shells and fall upon the bottom of the sea ; about the middle of the month of Thishri (*i.e.*, in October), some people dive with the assistance of ropes, collect these reptiles from the bottom and bring them up with them, after which they are opened and the pearls taken out.”*

He visited Wasit, Basrah, and Susa in Khuzistan, which was then inhabited by 7,000 Jews. From Susa he went through Luristan to Rudbar, and thus to Hamadan and Qazvin, whence he returned to the south, visiting Kish (or Qais) and Qatif, as already remarked, on his way to India.

Coming to the thirteenth century, the period of the Mongol invasion and the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, we have the voluminous geographical dictionary of Yaqut, a compilation from earlier writers illustrated by the author's own far-extended travels.

In the earlier part of the fourteenth century we have the systematic geography of Abu'l Fida, a Syrian prince ; he, however, never visited Persia, and his work is accordingly of restricted interest to us. His description of Basrah and its canal system is very clear and interesting, but he had obviously very poor information regarding the courses of the Karun and the rivers of Khuzistan and Fars. In his day Ahwaz was the centre of a very extensively irrigated area. “On its borders,” he writes, “are to be found delightful spots and plains of immense extent, planted with sugar-cane and other crops.”

Of the same date are the travels of Ibn Batutah, the Berber (A.D. 1355), who rivalled Marco Polo in the extent of his voyages. His book is written in Arabic. He visited Dhufar by sea, and sailed thence up the Gulf of Oman into the Persian Gulf, touching at Masira, Sur, Kalhat, and other places in Oman, and later at Hormuz, Bandar Abbas, then known as Jeraun, whence he travelled to Lar, and Khunj, returning to Siraf, the modern Tahiri, and there embarked for Qatif, on the Arabian side. He gives an interesting account of the pearl fisheries,† not, however, free from exaggeration, as will be seen from the following quotation :

“Divers differ from each other in the time they are able to remain under water. Some can stay one or two hours, or even longer. When the oysters are opened,” he says, “pieces of flesh are found inside, which are detached with a knife ; as soon as they are exposed to the air they harden and change into pearls.”

Taxation was heavy in those days—one-fifth to the Sultan ; then, as now, the industry was run by merchants, who financed the divers, who were generally in debt to them.

* “The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela.” Asher. Two vols., 1840.

† “Voyages of Ibn Batuta.” French translation of DeFrémery and Sanguinetti. Paris, 1914.

From Qatif, Batuta went to Hasa and thence to Mecca, and passes out of our area. His contemporary, Hamdullah Mustawfi Qasvini, wrote in Persian the *Nuzhat-al-Qulub*, a description of the Mongol kingdom of Iran (including at that time Mesopotamia), which shows the condition of the country after the Mongol settlement. He also wrote the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, which often contains geographical notes of great importance. Both text and translation of the former work have been published by the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Fund.* He gives many picturesque details regarding the various towns and villages of Southern Persia; of some places he writes that "most of the people are brigands, highwaymen, and footpads," of others that "they are silly and stupid by nature," of other places, again, "the population are distinguished for piety and honesty." The existence of these categories suggests either a simplicity of mind, which the rest of the narrative belies, or unpleasant personal experiences, though it does not seem that the author travelled very extensively.

Hamdullah Mustawfi is followed by Hafiz Abru (A.D. 1417) and Ali of Yazd (1425), whose history of Timur is a classic. At this point another European narrative is available, the first since that of Benjamin of Tudela, written by Friar Odoric. I make no reference to Marco Polo, as his stately peregrinations were confined mostly to Northern Persia, and scarcely come into the region dealt with in this paper. Lastly, for the settlement after the conquest of Timur, the works of two Turkish authors have to be mentioned, one Hajji Khaldun, who wrote the *Jihan Numah*, or universal geography (A.D. 1600), and Abu'l Ghazi, the Khwarazm Prince, who wrote the "History of the Turks and Mongols" (A.D. 1604).

At the end of the fifteenth century (1471-74), two Venetian merchants, Josafa Barbaro and Ambrosio Contarini, visited the Gulf,† passing through Adana, Urfa, Mardin, Sert, Vastan (six leagues south of Van), Khoi, Tabriz, Sultaniyah, Gulpaigan, Isfahan, Yazd, and Shiraz, to Ormuz. Of Shiraz, Barbaro writes: "It hath a nombre of excellent faire churches and good houses trymed with musaico and other goodly ornaments; and may conteigne cc^ml houses or p'adventure more. In which city is very sure dwelling wthout any disturbance."

Josafa Barbaro was sent with the Ambassador of Asim Beg, the King of Persia, and virtually held the same rank himself; he was joined later by Ambrosio Contarini, who went in 1473 as Venetian Ambassador to Asim Beg's successor, Uzun Hasan, and followed a more northerly route through the Caucasus to Tabriz, Qum, Kashan, and Isfahan. He likewise was favourably impressed with what he saw, and says:

* G. Le Strange's Translation. Luzac and Co., 1919.

† "Travels to Tana and Persia." Hakluyt Society, 1873.

“There are fruit of all kinds, and of better quality than I have seen or tasted anywhere. . . . The Persians are well behaved and of gentle manners, and by their conduct appear to like the Christians. While in Persia we did not suffer a single outrage. The Persian women are dressed in a very becoming manner, and surpass the men both in their dress and in their riding. Both women and men are handsome and well made. The Persians dress well; they are good horsemen and ride the best horses they have. They are a very pompous nation, and their camels are so well caparisoned that it is a pleasure to look at them.”

In the same year (1471) another Venetian, Caterino Zeno, visited the Court of Uzun Hasan, and was despatched by the latter to Europe to endeavour to enlist European sympathy and aid against the Turks, and left on record a short account of his somewhat unsuccessful diplomatic negotiations. He speaks very highly of the Persian soldiery, which he describes as :

“all good soldiers, the flower of the Persian people, as the Kings of Persia are not accustomed to give pay on the occasion of war but to a standing force. Thus it is that Persian gentlemen, to be well brought up, pay great attention to horsemanship, and when necessity calls, go willingly to war and bring with them, according to their means, a certain number of servants as well armed and mounted as themselves; if Persian soldiery were paid, as is the Turkish, there is no doubt but that it would be far superior to that of the Ottoman princes. This thing has been observed by all those who have had anything to do with both nations.”

It is convenient here to refer to a shorter historical sketch of King Uzun Hasan by an Italian, Giovan Maria Angiolello, dated about 1520, and to the brief narrative of Vincentio d'Alessandri (A.D. 1591) the last of the Venetian Ambassadors to the Persian Court. The latter, too, has little but good to report of Shah Ismail's government and people. Of the army he says :

“They are generally men of fine aspect, robust, well made, of great courage, and very warlike. . . . Their arms also are superior and better tempered than those of any other nation. . . . The horses are so well trained and are so good and handsome that there is now no need to have them brought from other countries. . . . The reverence and love of the people for the King . . . are incredible, as they worship him not as a King, but as a god, on account of his descent from the line of Ali, the great object of their veneration. . . . Not only in the neighbouring cities can one observe these signs of reverence, but also in the distant towns and places.”

The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in A.D. 1497 and the opening up of trade with India and the East by the Portuguese thirty years later heralded a new era; the commercial pre-eminence of Portugal in the sixteenth century is attested by the appearance in our bibliography of a number of Portuguese narrations

from the pens of Faria y Sousa,* the younger Albuquerque,† Duarte Barbosa,‡ Pedro Teixeira,§ and others, whose narrations are without exception of much interest and historic value.

They are followed by a batch of letters, pamphlets, and "relations" from the pens of British master mariners and merchants—John Newbery, Ralph Fitch, John Nieuhoff, and others—bent on opening up trade routes to Ormuz, Gombrun, Balsara, and other ports. Before this time, as a recent writer has remarked, our heroes—common soldiers and seamen—were for the most part unable to write, while subsequent to the eighteenth century the pall of elementary education has descended, so that they are now unable to write for other reasons. The intervening centuries form an agreeable interval between two illiteracies, during which the rank and file pipe up here and there with surprising spirit, and make remarks that would not have occurred to admirals, or that the latter at least would not have recorded.||

The seventeenth century is the great era at once of Persian grandeur and of additions in almost every European tongue to the literature of travel. A succession of instructed visitors on diplomatic missions, or drawn to the country by commercial interests, missionary zeal, or by a taste for exploration—the first fruits in the case of England of the wonderful expansion of natural interests and vision under Elizabeth—have bequeathed to us a series of works of extraordinary interest and dealing with every aspect of national life in Persia. In their pages we find a contemporary record of the habits and customs of the Persian people, set down with an accuracy which, except for the immortal "Hajji Baba," had scarcely any parallel until the last ten years or so, when Sir P. M. Sykes, Colonel D. C. Phillott, and a few lady missionaries, notably Mrs. C. Colliver Rice, have thrown a flood of light upon various aspects of Persian manners and customs. The narratives are notably free from any trace of religious prejudice or racial arrogance, although the authors are at no pains to avoid religious matters or to hide their own convictions.

The brothers Sherley,¶ the first of a succession of embassies who flocked to the Court of Shah Abbas at Isfahan, mostly by way of the Persian Gulf, recorded their experiences in a modest volume which

* "History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese." Faria y Sousa. Translated by Captain John Stevens. London, 1695.

† "The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque." 4 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1884.

‡ "The Book of Duarte Barbosa." 2 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1918.

§ "The Travels of Pedro Teixeira." Hakluyt Society, 1902.

|| *Nation and Athenæum*, October 4, 1924, p. 22.

¶ "Sir Anthony Sherley: His Relation of his Travels into Persia, the Dangers and Distresses which befel him in his passage, both by sea and land, and his strange and unexpected Deliverances, his magnificent Entertainment in Persia, his honourable employment there-hence, as Embassadour to the Princes of Christendome." London, 1613.

went through several editions before its place in public favour was taken by later narrations.

The Sherleys, Shirleys, or Scherleys were an ancient family connected with some of the best blood of England, having branches in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Sussex. Of the latter the representative in the middle of the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Sherley of Winston, who married Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Anthony, and Robert, "a leash of brethren severally eminent," as Fuller* terms them. Sir Thomas, the eldest of the three, was the latest in making any public reputation for himself, "men's activity not always observing the method of their register," as the quaint old author just quoted observes, and who further remarks, with reference to the successes of the two younger members of the family instigating Sir Thomas to endeavour to distinguish himself :

"As the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so the achievements of his two younger brothers gave an alarm unto his spirit. He was ashamed to see them worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered upon the stalk he grew on."

Sir Thomas accordingly equipped three vessels, and collected a body of 500 military adventurers, apparently of the most worthless description, with whom he sailed on his strange and questionable enterprise in the latter end of 1601. He was captured and held to ransom at Constantinople, where for nearly three years he was confined in a loathsome dungeon in the Seven Towers, fed only on bread and water, heavily chained, frequently put in the public stocks, twice ordered out for execution, and subjected to every possible hardship. The English Ambassador at the Porte, Sir Paul Pindar, was earnestly solicited to interfere on his behalf, "but prisons are like graves, where a man, though alive, is nevertheless barred from the regard or respect of any," and it was not until December, 1605, that he was ransomed.

He was in trouble again twelve months later, having been committed to the Tower on a charge of intriguing to obtain the traffic of Constantinople for Venice and the Florentine States, but apparently he was speedily released. In "Dalrymple's Memorials" there is a petition from him to King James dated January, 1615, representing his own and his father's past services and his ruined condition, in which he states that his father, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device for making of baronets, which brought to your Majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000, for which he was promised by the late Lord Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, a good recompense which he never had." Of his subsequent career we have no further trace; but we find, in

* T. Fuller, "The History of the Worthies of England." 1840.

Gough's "Camden," that his son rebuilt the church of Stanton Harold, as set forth in the following inscription :

"In the year 1653,
When all things sacred throughout the Nation
Were either demolished or profaned,
Sir Robert Sherley, Bart., founded this Church :
Whose singular praise it is to have done
The best things in the worst of times."

Anthony Sherley, the second son, was born in 1565 and educated at Oxford. Before he was of age he commenced his career in the wars in the Lower Countries, the usual field for the enterprising youth of that period. In 1586 he held a command in the famous battle of Zutphen, and subsequently accompanied his great friend and patron the Earl of Essex when he was sent to the assistance of Henry IV. of France, who bestowed on him the Order of St. Michael, his acceptance of which extremely displeased Queen Elizabeth, who observed that, "as a virtuous woman ought to look on none but her husband, so a subject ought not to cast his eyes on any other Sovereign than him God hath set over him. I will not have my sheep marked with a strange brand, nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd."

For this breach of allegiance Sir Anthony, on his return to England in 1593, was committed to the Tower, but was speedily released, and in the following year contracted a marriage which appears to have proved an unhappy one, for he immediately commenced arrangements for a new adventure and, in a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, dated in November 1595, the former writes: "Sir Anthony Sherley goes forward on his voyage very well furnished, led by the strange fortune of his marriage to undertake any course that may occupy his mind from thinking of her vainest words."

Into this venture—an attack upon the Spanish island of St. Thomé—we cannot here follow him; the details are enshrined in the pages of Hakluyt. He was unsuccessful in this and other ventures and, after many hardships and after visiting Newfoundland, he returned home in 1590, only to leave again at the end of the year under the auspices of the Earl of Essex to fight for the illegitimate son of the Duke of Ferrara against the Vatican. He was accompanied by his younger brother Robert, then little more than seventeen years of age. To quote his own words: "I had my brother with me, a young gentleman whose affection to me had only led him to that disaster, and the working of his own virtue, desiring in the beginning of his best years to inable himself to those things which his good mind raised his thoughts unto. I also had five and twentie others; gentlemen for the most part, the rest such as had served me long; only carried with their loves to me into the course of my fortune."

Before he reached Italy he heard that his client had made terms with the Pope, so he repaired to Venice, apparently with the idea of undertaking some expedition into Turkey, for he represents himself "not willing to returne and turne such a voyce as was raised at my going to nothing."

Here he obtained information that Shah Abbas was extremely jealous of the power of Turkey and well inclined to enter upon hostilities with his rival; and, hearing also that the Persian monarch was of a gallant and liberal disposition, he determined to proceed to his Court, to endeavour to induce him to enter into a combination with the Emperor of Germany against Turkey.

The party had a tedious passage of five-and-twenty days to Zante. One of the passengers, a Cypriot, made use of disrespectful language regarding Queen Elizabeth, which, being reported to Sir Anthony, "not only moved with dutiful zeal which a subject oweth to his prince, but even with that respect which every gentleman oweth to a lady," ordered one of the meanest of his men to give him the bastinado, which he did right soundly.

After many vicissitudes, travelling via Aleppo and down the Euphrates, the party reached Baghdad, where they were detained. Escaping by a clever ruse, they made their way via Mendeli, Karman-shah, and Hamadan to Qazvin, where they resolved to await the arrival of Shah Abbas. They were well received by all classes but, as Sir Anthony states, "more by the opinion which they had that the King would take satisfaction by us, than by their own honours, being an ill people in themselves, being only good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience unto him."

He was warmly welcomed by the Shah and royally entertained; he had not been long at Court before a Turkish embassy arrived, bearing gifts. Sir Anthony happened to fall sick at this juncture but, during his severe indisposition, the Shah was a constant attendant by his sick-bed, and in these friendly visits Sir Anthony was probably enabled to bring forward arguments and inducements which it might not have been prudent or easy to have dwelt upon publicly. In the event, the Turkish Ambassador was dismissed, while preparations were made to send Sir Anthony as Envoy Extraordinary from the Shah to the Pope, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Spain, proposing a league against the general enemy.

At Sir Anthony's suggestion, the Shah organized his army—a regular force about 20,000 strong—under the general title of *Ghulams* or *Kurchis*, composed both of cavalry and infantry; the latter equipped with firearms, and specially termed *Tufangchis*.

His mission to Europe was fruitless, and we cannot here follow further the fortunes of this notable soldier of fortune and worthy

upholder of the title of English gentleman; we must return to notice the fortunes of the younger brother, Robert Sherley, who had been left along with several others with Shah Abbas at Isfahan. The Shah was true to his word, and treated them all with extreme kindness and liberality. They devoted all their energies to the organization of the Persian army, with such success that, as Purchas observes, "The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian World, quaketh of a Sherley fever and gives hopes of approaching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherleian arts of war, and he which before knew not the use of ordnance hath now 500 pieces of brasse, and 60,000 musketers; so that they which at hand with the sword were before dreadfull to the Turkes, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian arts are growne terrible."*

Shah Abbas attacked and defeated the Turks in 1603 near Tabriz. Robert Sherley was *Topchi Bashi*, or Master-General of the Ordnance, and "so valiantly besterred himself that the Persians gave him a crown of laurel for the victory; for being armed and made ready for the fight, taking a pole-axe in his hand, he himself gave first such an honourable attempt, and so amazed and repulsed the enemy, that his soldiers, imitating his courage, put all the foes to the edge of the sword."

A second campaign followed in 1605, and the Turks were again defeated with immense loss, 25,545 heads being laid at the feet of the Shah after the action, in which Robert Sherley again rendered good service in the field, receiving three wounds "as a triple testimonie of his love and service to Christendom. . . . Catching a strong staff and pulling down his beaver, and putting spurs to his horse, he furiously rushed upon the enemy, his soldiers followed with such desperate resolution that the Turks were amazed at his valour, for he ran without stop through the troops, and like a lion, massacred whom he met."

Two hundred years later a military mission accompanied Sir John Malcolm to Persia to assist in organizing the Persian army, and commanded units for several years. Officers of this mission, notable among whom were Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson, formed a not less high opinion of the Persian fighting men than did the Sherley brothers; their opinions have been confirmed in ample measure by those British officers who commanded the South Persian Rifles during and after the Great War, and my own opinion is that no country in the Middle East

* *Calcutta Review*, March, 1856. Rev. John Cartwright, who was in Persia whilst Robert Sherley was there, and published an account of his voyage under the title of "The Preachers Travels," speaks of the Persian troops as very superior to the Turks, and "by good right very highly to be esteemed. For the Turkish horseman is not to be compared with the Persian man-at-arms, who comes into the field armed with a strong cuirasse, a sure headpiece, and a good target" (*i.e.*, shield).

contains better fighting material than Persia ; only leaders, skilled in war and trusted by their men, are required. Men with the instinct and capacity for leadership and war abound, and only need training and equipment to be as formidable a force as exists in Asia.

Robert Sherley's conduct was fully appreciated. The Shah gratified him "not in titles of honour and honourable employments alone, but in rewards, *This man's bread is baked for sixtie years* being the formal words of his Royall Charter to him."* He also gave him in marriage a daughter of a Circassian chief named Ismail Khanza, relative of his own wife. This lady, who was a Christian and bore the name of Theresa,† was an excellent and faithful wife and bore him a child, to which Shah Abbas, though a Mohamedan, was godfather. The child did not survive, but a second son was born in London in 1611, to whom the Queen and the Prince of Wales stood sponsors, the boy being christened Henry, after his royal godfather.

Sir Robert Sherley died in 1627 at Qazvin, and, according to Herbert, "Wanting a fitter place of burial we laid him under the threshold of his own door, without further noise or ceremony." Sir Dodmore Cotton, a second Ambassador, followed him to the grave within the year. Sir Robert's wife, Theresa, ultimately found her way to Rome and there ended her life in a convent.

The inimitable Sir Thomas Herbert, who accompanied the Ambassador, Sir Dodmore Cotton, wrote, on his return from India, a book ‡ which, for literary charm, shrewd observation and amusing candour, has no equal in its period. On his return to England, Herbert rejoined the Court of Charles I. and was in attendance on his royal master during his last days, accompanying him to the very scaffold. Doubtless he solaced that unfortunate monarch's last hours with tales of things he had seen and done in Persia and Arabia.

In 1614, D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa was despatched by King Philip III. of Spain, "Son of Bloody Mary's not inconsolable widower," as Ambassador to the Court of Shah Abbas ; his "Commentaries" have been preserved, and are of great interest. They were fully described by Mr. Wratislaw in a most entertaining article § in *Blackwood*.

Another notable traveller of the seventeenth century is Pietro della Valle. He passed down the Gulf on his way to London after extensive travels in Persia and Mesopotamia, recording his experiences as he went in a series of letters which have lost none of their charm with the

* Purchas, vol. ii., p. 1806.

† See "Friendship's Offering," edited by Robert Hervey, London, 1826, p. 253, for an article on this subject by Jane Porter, sister of Sir R. Ker Porter. See also "These were Muses," Mona Wilson, 1924, for a sketch of her life.

‡ "A Relation of Some Yeares Travaile." London, 1634.

§ "Diary of an Embassy." Wratislaw, *Blackwood's Magazine*, October, 1924.

lapse of time. It was at Minab, a few miles east of Bandar Abbas, that he lost his wife, a Baghdad Christian; he carried her embalmed corpse with him on his travels, until on his return to Rome four years later he buried her remains in the family tomb. His second wife was also a lady of the country. From his matrimonial experiences and those of one, at all events, of the Sherley brothers, it would seem that "mixed marriages" were in those days less imperilled by incompatibility of education and temperament and custom than to-day; it is certain that they were not frowned on by society or Government either in Europe or the East. In this respect, as in many others, the world was perhaps a happier and less bigoted place in the sixteenth and seventeenth century than in the twentieth, and we have something to learn from our forbears, for whose religious prejudices we have substituted racial prejudices no less unreasonable and perhaps more dangerous to peace and goodwill.

In conclusion, I should like to place on record my belief that, notwithstanding the classic researches of Professor E. G. Browne and the monumental works of Curzon and later of Sykes, there is still a great field for those who will study the records of British policy in Persia in an historical spirit. Of material for such researches there is no lack; it is in our power, and it is our duty, to learn from and to profit by the mistakes of past generations. If we do so, we may look forward with confidence to the future, bearing in mind that, if we lower our standard in history, we cannot uphold it in our national life and international relations. *Magna est veritas, prevalet.*

Lastly, whilst ample facilities exist in England for the study of Persian literature and thought, it is less easy for a student to gain from lectures or from existing books an insight into the mainsprings of Persian character and an appreciation of the Persian outlook on affairs. It is the business of those whom we send to Persia to learn to understand Persian character; the amusement, contempt, or even repulsion which human observers, wedded to their own ways of life, are apt to feel for a mode of life which differs vitally from their own, gives way, on deeper acquaintance, to a measure of sympathetic understanding. There is a real need for more books which will encourage this tendency without drifting into apologetics. Meanwhile, the study of the literature of travel is an important aid in this direction which it is the duty of this Society to foster.

A KURDISH NEWSPAPER : "ROZH-I-KURDISTAN"

BY MAJOR C. J. EDMONDS

It is now generally conceded that the Kurdish language is not merely a dialect of Persian, but a remarkably pure Aryan tongue with a distinct individuality. Nevertheless, before the war Kurdish was not ordinarily written; only poetry had to any extent been committed to writing, and even so Kurdish verse was regarded much as dialect poetry is regarded in Europe.

This, like so many other things, was changed by the war, when both sides set to work to fan the flames of a new nationalism among the subject races of enemy Governments. The Turkish Empire was most vulnerable to such propaganda in its Arab and Kurdish elements. The effects on the Arabs are well known, and are attested to-day by the three infant kingdoms of Hijaz, Iraq, and Trans-Jordan. The results in Kurdistan are less familiar, and, in any case, seem likely to be soon forgotten.

The Treaty of Sèvres, Article 64, reads as follows :

"If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas. The detailed provisions for such renunciation will form the subject of a separate agreement between the principal Allied Powers and Turkey. If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the principal Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has hitherto been included in the Mosul Vilayet."

This dream of an independent Kurdistan was destined not to be fulfilled. In the northern country, the area defined in Article 62 of the treaty, the idea had taken no shape before the Turkish recovery under Mustafa Kemal relegated it to the limbo of forgotten things. In Persia the Kurdish rebellion under Simko, which had wrested the whole of the border districts from Dilman to Bana from Government authority, attempted to give itself a nationalist complexion (though the treaty, of course, only affected the Turkish provinces), but collapsed in

August, 1922, before the Persian military revival that dates from Saiyid Zia-ud-Din's *coup d'état* of February, 1921. Only in Kurdistan in Iraq did a Kurdish state nearly materialize ; it failed because of the overweening conceit and mad ambition of the instrument chosen to form it.

The armistice of November, 1918, found British troops in occupation of the line of Turkoman towns, Mandali, Khaniqin, Kifri, Kirkuk, Altun Keupri, Arbil, along the great high-road that runs parallel to the foot-hills of Zagros and roughly divides Kurds from Arabs. British policy then was to avoid commitments in the hills by setting up a semi-autonomous Kurdish province, and a certain Shaikh Mahmud, the head of a Sulaimani family, with a great reputation for sanctity, was chosen to be head of it. Eventually, for a variety of reasons, the scheme was much restricted, and the borders of the Kurdish province virtually coincided with the old Turkish *liwa* of Sulaimani plus the *caza* of Rania.

One of the devices adopted by the British officers in Kurdish territory for consolidating Kurdish national sentiment was the introduction of Kurdish as the written official language in place of the Turkish of Government offices and the Persian of private correspondence. Gradually a set style was evolved, but at first even native officials found great difficulty in expressing themselves, and one of them once complained to the writer : " The British Government is famous throughout the world for its justice and mercy to the weak ; why does it make an exception in our case and commit the abominable tyranny of making us write our own language ? "

The South Kurdistan experiment was not six months old before Shaikh Mahmud, resenting the restraints placed upon him by his advisers, rose and imprisoned the British personnel in Sulaimani. An expedition, the defeat, capture, and exile of the Shaikh, followed, and the Sulaimani division (as it was called) was brought into line with the rest of the occupied territories of Iraq and administered by British political officers. In 1920, however, the division was not included in King Faisal's Arab kingdom, but remained under direct British administration until September, 1922, when, in consequence of Turkish infiltration and a series of tribal risings, it was evacuated. Shaikh Mahmud, an exile in Kuwait, was brought back, presumably with the idea of reviving the Kurdish nationalist movement as a counter to Turkish propaganda. The second experiment was no more successful than the first. Within a month Mahmud was in communication with the Turks then established in Rania, and whom he sought to use as a lever and then discard. He claimed for himself all the Kurdish districts in mandated territory down to the Jabal Hamrin, including Kirkuk, Arbil, and even Mosul itself. In November, 1922, he assumed the title of King of Kurdistan.

It was in these circumstances that this newspaper, the *Rozh-i-*

Kurdistan, appeared. It is consequently of some literary and historical interest.

The *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* (the *Sun or Day of Kurdistan*) was the successor of an earlier weekly, *Bang-i-Kurdistan* (the *Call of Kurdistan*), which had commenced publication on August 2nd, 1922, just a month before the British evacuation.* The founder and editor was Hajji Mustafa Pasha, an ardent Kurdish nationalist with pro-British sympathies. He fell foul of Shaikh Mahmud, soon after this person's return, and was dismissed at the beginning of October, when his paper had reached its thirteenth number.

The first number of the *Rozh* appeared on 25th Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 1341 (15th November, 1922), with the following foreword :

“ ‘CRY OF KURDISTAN’—‘DAY OF KURDISTAN.’

“The concessionaire of the newspaper *Cry of Kurdistan*, Hajji Mustafa Pasha, has resigned owing to the pressure of his official duties. The publication of that paper was indeed a good omen for the Kurds and Kurdistan—the *Cry of Kurdistan* heralded the Day. Owing to this resignation the concession and office of the *Day of Kurdistan* have, under this new name, been granted to me by decree of His Majesty the King of Kurdistan, may his glory endure. Yes, the result of the Cry that greets the dawn is the Day. That Cry was a cry that was uttered for a morning of happiness. This Day is the day when (to God be the praise) the noble Kurdish people have attained their happiness and independence through the zeal and pious activity of His Majesty. May God bless this day and the “*Day of Kurdistan*” for the whole Kurdish nation.

“Responsible Editor,
“M. NURI.”

The paper, which is printed on folded foolscap, is described as an “official, political, literary, and social periodical, published weekly, price per copy one anna; subscription, one rupee per quarter; postage abroad extra.” It appeared every Thursday from 15th November, 1922, to 24th January, 1923, missing only Thursday, 29th November. Number 11 was issued three days late on Saturday, 3rd February, after which the paper appeared each Saturday up to Number 15 of 3rd March, 1923, the last issue. Number 7 is wrongly dated 3rd December instead of 3rd January. Number 12 contains a notice to the effect that owing to losses the subscription is raised to one and a half rupees per quarter.

The principal qualification of the editor, Muhammad Nuri, was his relationship to Shaikh Mahmud's second wife. The son of a Sulaimani tobacco merchant, he was brought up as a theological student. In 1918 he adopted the more lucrative profession of secret service agent to a foreign consul in Persia, and subsequently held minor posts in the Sulaimani municipality.

* See *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. X., Part I., 1923: “Evacuation of Kurdistan,” by E. B. Soane, R.G.E.

Of the leading and political articles Nuri is responsible for the greatest number; nine signed and probably two more unsigned articles are from his pen. Most of his contributions appear to be translations from old Turkish books on social subjects—*e.g.*, "Nationality," "The Survival of the Fittest," "The Cure for Poverty and Oppression," "A Moral from Adversity"; there is even an article on the lessons of the Franco-Prussian War.

More original is the work of Arif Saib, who has four articles in the earlier numbers, but ceased to write after his appointment to the post of "Second Secretary in the Royal Chancery," announced in No. 7. The unfortunate royal secretary was foully murdered by the order and in the presence of his master a few months later.

The following extract, taken from No. 1, is a fair sample of his style, and will also serve to illustrate the Kurdish case as argued in Sulaimani. The article is an answer to one appearing in an Arabic newspaper of Baghdad:

" . . . It talks of Kurdistan as if it were part of Iraq, and calls it the Liwa of Sulaimani, because it has close commercial and economic relations with Baghdad. It calls the Cabinet of Kurdistan by the name of 'Provincial Administrative Council.' These remarks are most deplorable. It is unbelievable that any enlightened person could be so unjust or inexact. We never expected our great and friendly neighbour to trample under foot all our thousand-year-old rights and the good relations of these two governments and peoples, or . . . to violate our frontiers. . . . The formation of a Government of Kurdistan offers a hundred thousand benefits for Iraq; nay, the continued existence of Iraq can only be achieved through the continuance of the Government of Kurdistan. . . . History and geography bear ample witness that the Kurdish people have always had an individuality in the world and have always established their nationhood by practical proofs. If they were not greater, they certainly were not less than their likes in education, crafts, commerce, human rights, civilization, lands, population, etc. . . . The law and principle of self-determination are strongly impressed on the mind and soul of every individual of the nation. In the blessings of rights and frontiers, which have been justly allotted by the League of Nations, we, too, have our share. To preserve this share we shall make all necessary sacrifices with our moral and material being. . . . We submit with all pride that we are a clean and fearless people. We are not slaves, but free. . . . Now, to God a hundred thanks, our night has turned to day, and . . . a great head and leader, like the King of Kurdistan, King Mahmud I., has, as if by the miracle of the Messiah, been brought to life again for us. . . . The sacred aim of His Excellency the King of Kurdistan has ever been the protection of the rights and natural frontiers of Kurdistan and the maintenance of brotherly goodwill with our neighbours."

Other articles emphasized that the Kurdish people have been settled in their present habitat east of the Tigris for four thousand years, and have survived the rise and fall of many imperial races—

Chaldeans, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Mongols, Turks. Kurdistan has also produced many heroes—Saladdin, Karim Khan Zand, King Mahmud I.

The Mosul issue at Lausanne begins to attract attention in Number 6 (27th December, 1922), which contains two separate articles on the subject by Nuri. He writes :

"As the population of Mosul is generally Kurdish, why should the recovery or retention of this vilayet be demanded by outside peoples. The Turks, Arabs, and Assyrians base their claims on the presence of a small number of their people. . . . The demand we make of the Lausanne Conference is not the protection of a minority; it is the vindication of the right to live of a great independent people with a country of its own."

And again :

"Kurdistan. When an educated person pronounces this word he does not mean only this zone of Sulaimani, but a broad, geographical region, and he thinks of a united, numerous Kurdish people. The natural frontiers of this country . . . are clear."

It should perhaps be mentioned here that the Kurds outside Sulaimani, and many within it, never admitted the right of Mahmud of Sulaimani to speak for more than his own immediate circle.

Several numbers of the *Rozh* have verses, but of no particular merit. One frequent contributor, Rafiq Hilmi, prefers Turkish, but most are in Kurdish. The following three examples will suffice to give an idea of the method of the Kurdish poets of Sulaimani at this time.

1. From a poem by Ali Kemal in No. 3 :

"To-day our country is the envy of the meadows of Paradise ;
Its evening is like the bright morning of prosperity ;
Its season is ever spring ; its night is glorious day ;
All is pleasure, all is mirth, all is gladness, all is joy ;
Strive we all with heart and soul ;
Now is the time for effort, not for lazing.
O noble youth of our country, ye wise men,
It is the time for effort and the end is Mahmud (= laudable)."

2. From a contribution by Shaikh Nuri Baba Ali in No. 10 :

"When the countenance of Kaka Ahmad's grandson shone forth like
the sun
It caused a light to shine on the land and people.
A sun has risen in the Kurdish firmament
Which is a credit to the world, if ye have understanding.
Our country prospers, like Ghazna, with a Sultan who is Mahmud ;
So prosper Sulaimani and its lands, O Lord.
Ho! thou second Joseph. Ho! thou third Umar.
The universe hath not seen thy like ; in truth thou art a good king.
For clemency thou art without compare, a Hatim Tai in generosity art
thou.
In the balance of justice thou art without equal, and no speech can
exaggerate thy goodness."

3. From a poem contributed to No. 14 from prison by Ahmad Beg Jaf, son of the celebrated Lady Adila of Halabja :

" Zephyr, take this my petition of faithful and humble duty and good wishes

To the King of the whole region of Sulaimani.

Say, ' May I be thy sacrifice, O Saladdin son of Ayyub,

Who art an Ali in the strength of thy hand, in beauty a second Joseph.

Praise God, we have shaken off the grip of the unbeliever ;

With that hand and blade and zeal thou art the Lion of God.'

After these respectful greetings say to the King of the World,

' What is Ahmad's crime that he has been thrown into prison?

If perchance any fault have been proved against him,

Pardon him of thy kindness, for thou only art the Lord of favour.' "

The *Rozh* throws but little light on internal events, but it will not be without interest to examine such news-items as do appear.

From No. 1 (November, 1922) we learn that His Majesty has generously returned to the treasury ten thousand rupees of the salary allotted to him by the Council of Ministers of Kurdistan, and has offered to supplement deficiencies from his private purse. The salary actually allotted to himself by Mahmud was Rs. 30,000 a month, while the expenses of his establishment were paid from municipal funds. At this time money was plentiful, for nearly all the tobacco consumed in Iraq is grown in the Sulaimani *liwa* ; the whole year's crop was in bond in the town, and was being taxed by Mahmud to the extent of a *lac* of rupees a month before release. The time was soon to come when income was barely sufficient to pay its first charge, the royal salary.

Number 3 contains a royal *irada* appointing three aides-de-camp to the King. One is an officer, but the other two are Kurdish tribal chiefs of the neighbouring *liwa* of Kirkuk. The appointments indicate Mahmud's policy of interference in the Kurdish districts outside the Sulaimani sphere, a challenge which ultimately brought him into conflict with Government.

In December Shaikh Mahmud's flag is hoisted in Halabja (No. 4) and Chamchemal (No. 5), and early in January at Rania (No. 7). These are the headquarter towns of the administrative subdivisions of Sulaimani, and occupation was then in each case a legitimate move. The move to Rania brought him into direct contact with the Turkish bands still hanging about between that place and Rowanduz, and had important consequences. The troops used were the old British-trained Sulaimani levy.

Number 5 has an obituary notice of Jemal Beg, murdered by two " unknown men." Jemal was an ex-Turkish officer of exceptional enlightenment, who had not hesitated to criticize Mahmud's methods. The murder, arranged by Mahmud himself, was merely an incident in an appalling reign of terror in Sulaimani at this time.

Number 6 chronicles the arrival of a number of tribal leaders from the Kirkuk *liwa*, another step in the campaign of encroachment.

On 3rd January (No. 7) Mahmud offers thanks to the British Government for the gift of independence. Actually a joint pronouncement had been made by the British and Iraq authorities agreeing to the principle of a Kurdish administration in the Sulaimani *liwa*.

A new development is indicated by the reproduction in the same number of correspondence between Mahmud and Simko, whose activities in Persian Kurdistan and collapse have already been noticed, and who had drifted down looking for help against the Turks, the chief authors, in his view, of his downfall. The upshot of the correspondence is that Mahmud refuses co-operation. But, a few days later, on January 8th, the "doughty champion of Kurdistan, His Excellency Ismail Aga Simko," arrives in Sulaimani (No. 8), and is received with a parade of troops and a salute of seven guns; the day is proclaimed a public holiday.

From references in Nos. 11 and 15 we learn that several deputations have made journeys to Baghdad "to settle the matter of the independence of Kurdistan."

Early in February Fattah Effendi Yuzbashi arrives from Angora (No. 12). This was the beginning of the end. Encouraged by the promises of support brought from the Turks by his brother-in-law, Mahmud finally threw off all restraint and set to work to stir up revolt in the Kurdish districts of the Kirkuk *liwa*. Numbers 13 and 14 are dull and colourless, but from No. 15 (3rd March, 1923) we feel that something has gone wrong. The leading article is an apologia for the self-sacrificing King, Mahmud I., and an appeal for unity; dissensions have broken out. And then, two pages on, a plaintive paragraph: "We looked to the favour of the English Government for the formation of a Kurdish Government, and always tried to preserve the friendship of the English Government; but, alas! it now threatens our down-trodden people. We do not understand what it means. We cannot make things out." The reference is to orders issued to Mahmud to proceed to Baghdad to explain his conduct. He disobeyed, but left the town, with his levies and the treasury, to make his headquarters in the gorges and caves of the Surdash region north-west of Sulaimani.

The *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* comes to a sudden end with his flight, but even from the caves of Jasana publicity is not neglected. On 8th March appears, on a half-sheet of foolscap, the first issue of a new organ, *Banq-i-Haqq* (the *Call of Right*), still "an official, political, literary, and social periodical," but "printed at General Headquarters of the army of Kurdistan." It is confined to a single article, a proclamation of *Jihad*, or war for the faith. Even the name conveys a subtle appeal to religious fanaticism, for *Haqq*, the Right, is the mystic's name for

God. Number 2 consisted of a similar diatribe, but was never printed. The manuscript fell later into the hands of the present writer ; it had been returned by the printer, with an endorsement to the effect that articles were to be signed by the author and countersigned by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and King of Kurdistan.

Number 3, of 12th April, also a half-sheet of foolscap, contains only instructions and a set of rules, signed by Mahmud, for the formation of a committee of national defence. This was the last issue.*

* A complete collection of *Rozh-i-Kurdistan* and *Bang-i-Haqq* has been sent to the Cambridge University Library.

REVIEWS

FOREIGN BOOKS

MIT FELDMARSCHALL VON DER GOLTZ PASCHA IN MESOPOTAMIEN UND PERSIEN. By his late General Staff Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hans v. Kiesling. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche, publishers.

The name of von der Goltz requires no introduction to English—particularly military—readers. His well-known military publications and his activities, which extended over many years, in the improvement and reorganization of the Turkish army had gained for him a world-wide reputation long before the outbreak of the Great War.

Lieutenant-Colonel von Kiesling hopes that this book will serve to keep alive a remembrance of the German Field-Marshal who strove and planned for his country under the burning sun of Mesopotamia and laid down his life there in the execution of his duty, and also that it may serve at the same time to throw light on events which, although they did not take place at the focus of the mighty conflict, still were of great importance for the general course of the war. The book certainly fulfils both its objects.

The account of the manner in which von der Goltz, already in his seventy-third year, started off from Constantinople on the tedious journey of over 1,500 miles to Baghdad, and of the ardour and self-sacrifice with which he carried out his duties there, can excite nothing but respect and admiration for this illustrious and war-worn veteran. The history of German diplomacy in the Middle East both before and during the war, the story of the fights in Iraq up to the fall of Kut in April, 1916, the activities of the Germans in Persia and Afghanistan, are all recorded in a manner which is as full of interest as it is for the most part impartial and broadminded.

The outbreak of war found von der Goltz in retirement. He had celebrated his fifty years' military jubilee in 1911 and retired in 1913. Notwithstanding his age, he longed for an active command at the front, and was by no means satisfied when the position of Governor-General in Belgium was entrusted to him after the first victorious battles of the German army. He left Brussels of his own accord because he did not consider right the measures laid down for the treatment of the Belgians.

When Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers it naturally followed that von der Goltz was sent to Constantinople, where his long service in the Turkish army had gained for him the confidence and respect of the entire nation. He knew intimately the important

leaders in Turkey, and was especially esteemed by the Young Turks in the Government. At first he was attached to the headquarters of the Sultan, but was soon entrusted with the command of the first Turkish army, whose rôle was to protect Constantinople against a Russian attack from the Bosphorus, and at the same time to cover the right flank of the Dardanelles front against an attack from the Gulf of Saros. Then came the successful and rapid advance of the English in Mesopotamia, which the Turks alone seemed unable to repel. Towards the end of 1915 von der Goltz was appointed to command all the forces in Iraq and Persia, thus obtaining his long-desired active command at the front. It is clear from such despatches of the Field-Marshal as are quoted that he fully realized the grave difficulties of his task, and the personal dangers which awaited him. Still nothing could deter him.

The journey to Baghdad is described in detail, thus emphasizing the trials with which the Turkish forces had to contend owing to their lengthy and very imperfect line of communication. Incidentally the author observes that he could never understand why the Entente did not deal a blow, based on Cyprus, at the vital point of the line of communication in the neighbourhood of Tarsus-Adana, where a successful thrust, which in his opinion could never have been resisted, would have simultaneously paralyzed all German-Turkish operations in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Persia.

A chapter of especial interest is devoted to the Field-Marshal's share in the operations which led to the fall of Kut. It may confidently be asserted that his experience and ability were invaluable to the Turks, who without his assistance would never have succeeded in resisting the advance of the British, and in capturing Townshend's force at Kut.

Von der Goltz reached the scene of operations at a critical time just after the battle of Ctesiphon on November 23. Notwithstanding the arrival of a fresh Armenian division under Halil Bey on the day of the battle, Nureddin, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief, had considered himself beaten, and "on the evening of the 23rd had commenced his retreat to Baghdad, when he heard through plundering Arabs that the English had also fallen back." He turned his army round and followed up the English to Kut-el-Amara, but the fact that the English retirement on this occasion was not seriously molested is fully explained by the delay caused by his intercepted retreat.

On December 12 von der Goltz reached Kut-el-Amara and took over command of the operations. Nureddin was of opinion that he had only to deal with the remnants of Townshend's force. He was an impetuous leader, and after two unsuccessful attempts to take the place by storm wished to repeat his efforts. Von der Goltz, however, soon discovered from a personal reconnaissance that the whole of

Townshend's force had remained in Kut, and at once formed the correct conclusion that Townshend was deliberately holding Kut as a *point d'appui* for future operations. He ordered Nureddin to desist from all further attacks as too dangerous.

The Field-Marshal had gained his first experience of fighting in the Austrian war of 1866, when, as an infantry leader, he was wounded at the battle of Trautenau. Some of his experiences in this war and in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 had been embodied in his book "The Conduct of War," where he wrote as follows: "Stubborn assailants readily yield to the temptation, especially in local fights, of making great efforts to gain some objective, the attainment of which is not worth the sacrifice. The attack may thus cause a waste of troops. Even success will often be so dearly bought, particularly against the terrible firearms of modern times, that the general situation is thereby made worse rather than better. Pyrrhic victories are the bane of the modern offensive." It may be noted that these remarks were written before the introduction of magazine rifles and machine guns. Von der Goltz must indeed have rejoiced when he discovered that his opponents were all too ready to adopt the very tactics which he had condemned, and to fritter away their forces by unscientific attacks against his well-entrenched positions. When he perceived that the one—and only—well-organized attack was about to be delivered, after weeks of careful sapping, on April 7 against the Felahiyeh position, he wisely withdrew the Turks before the blow fell to the still more formidable Sannaiyat position in rear. No less than three attempts to storm this position in broad daylight were made by the English within the next two weeks, but they all failed owing to lack of time for sufficient preparation. As a result Townshend was compelled to surrender with all his force at Kut on April 29 after a long and brilliant defence, but the gallant Field-Marshal whose brain was chiefly responsible for its fall did not live to see his efforts crowned with victory. He died in Baghdad a victim to spotted typhus on April 19.

No less interesting than the account of the fighting round Kut is the record of German activities in Persia and Afghanistan during the war. The Germans aspired to the creation of a triple alliance of the Mahomedan states of Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and to the disturbance of Great Britain in the most sensitive part of her empire. The scheme proved too ambitious, but was only circumvented after the expenditure of much energy and vast sums of money on the part of the British in those distant countries. At the time of von der Goltz's arrival in the East, German activities in those regions were being rapidly developed. Graf Kanitz had just arrived in Persia, and had succeeded in concluding a treaty with the adventurer Nizam-es-Sultaneh. This treaty is given in full as an appendix, and makes instructive reading. Kermanshah had been occupied as a base for all

German activities in Persia. Factories were opened there for the production of small-arm ammunition, boots, shoes, saddlery, uniforms, and other military equipment. German missions were sent all over Persia, and met with considerable success in stirring up the tribes, especially in South Persia, where the activities of Wassmuss and others were to cause much trouble to the British at Bushire and Shiraz. At one time the Germans almost succeeded in carrying off the young Shah of Persia from Teheran to Kermanshah. They had been promised the assistance of the Persian gendarmerie, commanded by Swedish officers, who for the most part openly espoused the German cause, and for whose devotion a tribute of thanks is recorded in the book.

At the end of 1915 a German mission led by von Hentig and Niedermayer actually reached Kabul in the hope of winning over the Amir of Afghanistan to the side of the Central Powers. This plot also failed, but those who are acquainted with the conditions in Afghanistan will readily agree with the author that the adventurous journey of these gallant Germans may be reckoned among the finest individual feats of the war.

The capture of the German base at Kermanshah by the Russian force under General Baratov at the beginning of 1916 left all these German missions *en l'air*, but did not compel them to cease all their activities for a long time to come.

The book ends with a description of the Field-Marshal's life and surroundings in Baghdad and his last days there. Reference is made to his wonderful energy and the many difficulties with which he had to contend. It is pointed out that the sympathy of the Turks as a nation was never really on the side of the Central Powers, and that the inhabitants of Mesopotamia generally preferred the British to the Turk. Under these circumstances the position of the Field-Marshal was never an easy one, and nobody without his ability, tact, and intimate knowledge of the people could have unravelled the numerous knots which constantly confronted him. After his death the position of the Germans in Mesopotamia became more and more difficult, and the author does not disguise the fact that much of the blame lay with the German officers, who lacked the courtesy and tact of his talented commander, Field-Marshal von der Goltz.

A. M. S. ELSMIE.

L'ISLAM ET LES QUESTIONS MUSULMANES AU POINT DE VUE FRANÇAIS :
Conférence faite au centre des hautes études militaires, le
13 Avril, 1923. Par Général Brémond. Paris : Charles Lavau-
zelle et Cie, Editeurs Militaires.

This is a small pamphlet publishing a lecture which was delivered to military officers. Its object is to attract the attention of the French public to a matter which is held to be of paramount importance to

their very existence as a nation. It is not contended that a vast subject like Mahomedanism can be exhaustively treated within the compass of a lecture, but it was rightly considered that the ear of the public could be reached better by a brief and vivid sketch, such as is contained in a lecture, than by a mass of matter in a weighty volume.

Professor Huvelin, the eminent French authority on the Levant, who only died in June, 1924, has contributed a eulogistic preface to the book. Copious and extremely interesting notes have also been added for the benefit of those who desire further illustration or elucidation of important points in the text.

First, it may be asked, why are questions connected with Islam of such vital importance to the French nation? General Brémont, who is a practical soldier, is firmly convinced that Germany will renew her aggression of 1914 as soon as there is a reasonable prospect of success. At the same time, according to his calculations, France will only be able to place in the field by the year 1940 one French soldier to every three German soldiers. The great increase in disparity is due to the loss in French population occasioned during the years of the late war, when the birth-rate fell enormously. It is quite clear, therefore, that, failing external alliances, which are apt to be uncertain, the balance can only be redressed by the willing and wholehearted assistance of the population in other parts of the Empire. France must chiefly look to Africa and the Near East to supply the deficiency. In these countries the Mahomedan element is predominant. A sound appreciation of Mahomedan questions is therefore of the greatest importance, in order that the services of the 22,000,000 Mahomedans in the French possessions may be employed to the best advantage in the critical times which may be expected in the future.

General Brémont only claims to deal with the subject from the point of view of French interests, but his service of over thirty years in Arabia, the Levant, Africa, and Madagascar—countries situated at or near the heart of Mahomedanism—gives him an experience which adds great weight to the opinions and conclusions which he has formed in the matter. The able and practical summary contained in this pamphlet provides much food for thought and much that is of great interest to the public of other European nations, who, like France, are continually confronted with the solution of similar problems.

The author traces the rise of Mahomedanism from its inception among the Bedouin Arabs through its reign at Damascus and Baghdad under the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs to the times of Turco-Mongol Islam, which were only terminated the other day on the deposition of the Turkish Caliph. The discussion of the latter stages of Mahomedanism leads to an exposition of many fallacies in connection with popular beliefs concerning the Turks. It is pointed out that the idea of a traditional friendship existing between France

and Turkey is pure invention. History shows that Charles I., Charles VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII. were in constant hostility with the Turks, while it is impossible to forget the atrocities committed by the Turks against the French during the late war, or the many outrages inflicted on French residents since the war. The idea that the Turk is an exceptionally fine fighter is also a mistake. Instances are quoted in which large armies of Turks have been defeated by far inferior forces. It is maintained that, in spite of Plevna, Kut-el-Amara, etc., the Turks have owed their successes to the faults of their enemies rather than to their own bravery. Turkey has always had to rely on the non-Musulman element in its population for the production of many of its ablest men. At the present time thousands of Germans are being installed in Turkey to take the places left vacant by the massacred Armenians. Turkey, even though bolstered up by Russia and Germany, cannot last. It is rotten to the core. As soon as the world is re-established, Turkey will crumble away under economic pressure, unless, as appears possible, it places itself under the tutelage of a reconstituted Germany, and accepts a German colonization, protected by Berlin, to replace its vanished Christians.

Having completed a rapid survey of Mahomedanism in general, the author then makes his suggestions with regard to the lines for treatment of the Mahomedan peoples of the French Empire. He recognizes that Mahomedanism, as a creed, creates in its followers an antagonism to the rest of the world. It is a fighting creed. Pan-Islamism, that "political idea of Russian invention and German development, can only be the ally of conquering nations, and can only live by war." Pan-Islamism is, in reality, inimical to the interests of all European nations, who, in the eyes of Musulmans, are all tarred with the same brush. Thus, when the Italians on December 8, 1914, permitted the Naib of the Sultan at Tripoli to proclaim a holy war against the French and their allies, they lost Tripoli, and caused the French to lose the Sahara. When the Spanish are defeated in the Rif, the French have to take precautions in Morocco. When the English have trouble in Egypt, the French have trouble in Tunis.

The author is strongly opposed to any attempt on the part of French officials at fostering or spreading Mahomedanism. His aim would rather be gradually to induce Musulmans to allow their national spirit to take precedence of their religious feelings. He would give every consideration and all possible liberty to Mahomedanism, but not more so than to other religions. He would certainly not encourage in any way the conversion of the fetish-worshipping black people of Africa to Mahomedanism. He points out that, at the time when Pan-Islamic ideas were most flourishing in Germany, one enlightened pro-consul, General von Lettow, the Governor of German East Africa, did not hesitate to stop vigorously the propaganda of Islam in his

dominions: The loyalty of the black people to von Lettow during the course of the five years' war shows that he was right.

General Brémont concludes his valuable lecture by urging his countrymen to look far ahead, and endeavour gradually—but very gradually—to modernize their fellow-subjects in Africa, imbuing them by slow degrees with the French spirit and the French language. He admits that it will be a lengthy task, in the execution of which great tact and much perseverance will be required. He is sure, however, that it is the best method for insuring the loyal co-operation of the inhabitants in the defence of the French Empire in critical times of danger. He also points out that this method was adopted successfully in bygone centuries by the Romans and Arabs on the same ground.

A. M. S. ELSMIE.

ENGLISH BOOKS

THE CALIPHATE. By Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924. 10s. 6d. net.

Sir Thomas Arnold's scholarly work is a timely reminder that, in spite of Angora, the Caliphate remains an ancient Islamic institution, and has not necessarily, or even probably, come to an end because the new Turkish Republic has repudiated it. Perhaps for the ordinary reader the most interesting part of the book is that in which, as the result of long and careful research work in contemporary documents, Sir Thomas shows us how the Ottoman Sultans originally came to assume the title of Caliph. He tears to pieces the generally accepted version that Selim the Grim, the conqueror of Egypt in 1517, wrested it from a descendant of the Baghdad Caliphs who had taken refuge in Cairo and were allowed to wield a shadowy authority under the protection of its Mameluke Sultans. No trace, he says, can be found of any such transfer in the documents of the time, not even in Sultan Selim's letters to his son giving him a detailed account of his achievements in Egypt, nor in the daily records of the Court chroniclers, nor in the works of two Turkish and one Persian historian who were eye-witnesses of the Sultan's victorious progress. Selim is, indeed, known to have carried off a good many sacred relics which were believed to have come down from the days of the Prophet, but he left the heir of the Baghdad Caliphs in possession of such authority as he had previously enjoyed, and, though he removed him afterwards to Constantinople for a short time, he continued to treat him with consideration until he had to shut him up in a castle to put a stop to his shameful extravagance, "especially in buying dancing girls for his amusement." After Selim's death, in 1520, Soliman the Magnificent even allowed Mutawakkil to return to Cairo, and again to play the Caliph there until he also died in 1543. So much for a story first put forward with an air of authority in 1787 and accepted since then without any attempt to test its

accuracy, with the result, Sir Thomas remarks, that it has "passed unchallenged from one historical work to another—Oriental as well as European—and has become a commonplace in the modern propagandist literature of the Mohamedan world in support of the Ottoman claims to the Caliphate."

Our author does not, however, merely destroy a legend. He quotes chapter and verse to show that, long before Selim, the Ottoman Sultans had assumed the title of Caliph, because, having destroyed not only Christian kingdoms and principalities, but also the Arab Empires whose rulers had been originally invested with the Caliphates, they decided that they had the best right to it. They required no title-deeds except the sword of Islam, which they wielded far more effectively than any other Mohamedan potentates of the day.

Perhaps for that very reason, when the Ottoman Empire in its turn fell into decay, its Sultans seldom laid any particular stress on their title of Caliph, and in our own days it was emphasized for the first time by that strange but sinister Sultan, Abdul Hamid II., who in his way might be said to have been something of a genius had he not wrecked his great schemes of Pan-Islamic overlordship, extending far beyond the boundaries of Turkey, by his singular combination of ruthless despotism at home and of craven terror of conspiracies even within his own palace. As to the sensational action of the men of Angora in suddenly abolishing the Turkish Caliphate which they had declared only a year before to be the immutable foundation of Turkish power, Sir Thomas is of opinion that "as a political reality, or as embodying the theories that had lent importance to it in the past, the Caliphate had long been dead, and the Turkish National Assembly had faced the realities of the situation in decreeing its abolition." That may be so, for there have been few signs so far of any resentment amongst the Turkish people for a measure which seemed to strike at all their most ancient religious and historical traditions. But may not the Turkish National Assembly have been merely the subservient interpreter of the will of one of those masterful dictators to whom Oriental nations are apt to bow for just as long as his life or power endures?

VALENTINE CHIROL.

PERSIAN LITERATURE IN MODERN TIMES. By E. G. Browne.
Cambridge University Press. 1924. 35s. net.

Thanks chiefly to the devoted labours of Professor Browne, materials for the study of Persian literature and thought are more readily accessible in English than in any other language (not excepting Persian); and it is owing almost entirely to his writings that these subjects are now studied, and with respect and even reverence, not only by Oriental scholars, but by an ever-widening circle of those whom he has made to realize, as did our seventeenth-century ancestors, that

the West has as much as ever to learn from the East if it will learn its lesson aright. This book, the product, as Professor Browne tells us in the preface, of the labour of a lifetime, has itself the qualities most appropriate to its subject—namely, sympathy, knowledge, and order.

The first quality, which has informed the author's life since he first devoted himself to the studies of which this work is the climax, permeates this work though, with admirable restraint, he has refrained in this volume from any but the barest reference to current political questions. The events of the past decade are disposed of in the sentences—

“To Persia at least the Russian Revolution came as a godsend, while the subsequent withdrawal of Great Britain after the failure of the Anglo-Persian Agreement left her at last more or less mistress in her own house. How far she will be able to make use of the breathing space thus accorded her remains to be seen.”

Only a single paragraph and not a word of comment is devoted to post-war journalism in Persia. Yet in no department of life is more prominently displayed the “inconstancy, fickleness of character, quickly developed weariness, want of perseverance, and recklessness” which a modern Persian writer deplures (p. 488).

It is refreshing to find Morier's famous Hajji Baba stigmatized as “a one-sided portrait, or rather caricature”; the eulogies bestowed in prefatory form on this famous work by Lord Curzon and others should not blind us to the fact that it has done more harm than good to Anglo-Persian relations, and in particular has caused us, in modern times, to underrate the military abilities of the Persian nation. The uniformly favourable testimony of British soldiers of repute, who fought with and in command of Persian troops, such as Sir Robert Sherley, Major H. C. Rawlinson, Shiel, and Lindsay Bethune, has been obscured by the more easily remembered gibes of Hajji Baba.

It is pleasant, too, to note the warm tribute to English missionaries in Persia, “who in sympathy for and understanding of the people amongst whom they work seem to me,” says Professor Browne, “greatly superior to those whose labours lie in other fields” (p. 195). He might have included in this merited encomium their seventeenth-century precursors, the Carmelite and Jesuit missionaries; their teaching, not less than that of Protestant evangelists, has indisputably done much to soften the asperities of Islam in Persia and to restore to the body politic something of the religious tolerance of the Safavi monarchs.

It would be impertinent in the present reviewer, or in anyone else, to praise the amazing erudition and industry displayed by Professor Browne in this, as in previous volumes; we are accustomed, whilst we treasure the achievement, to assume the existence of these qualities in any work from his pen. Ranke, said Lord Acton in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, has taught historians “to be critical, to be

colourless, to be new," and this is clearly what Acton regarded as the ideal for the historians. Judged by this lofty standard, Professor Browne has written good history, and he has sharpened our appetites for more.

Not a little false coin is current in the Persian literary market-place, but it finds no place amongst our author's wares; new cries and old prejudices are for ever thrusting themselves, in specious guise, on the Professor's notice: steeped in the literary traditions and political history of the past, in which new and old alike have their roots, he is not deceived by them. He has justified Lord Acton's fine declaration of belief that the students of to-day can be more impersonal, disinterested, and just than historians of former ages, to whom nevertheless he renders such ample homage. From these undisguised and genuine records we may learn to look with something of remorse upon our past relations with Persia, and to the future with the assured hope of better things.

A reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* of October 23 expresses the hope that Professor Browne may now undertake "a standard history of Persia from the time of the overthrow of the Sasanians by the Muslims, one of the crying needs of the historian of Asia, which he, and he alone, can give us." Members of this Society, however, and many others whose work lies in Persia and with Persians, will perhaps feel, with the present writer, that a more urgent task, and one not less congenial to the author, is a study of modern Persians and some analysis of their national characteristics; for whilst of Persian literature and thought, as already remarked, we know much, of Persian character we know little, though we are aware that Englishmen "get on with" Persians of all classes more easily than with any other Eastern race, and acquire by residence in Persia an affection and respect for its people, their manners and customs, widely though they differ from ours, paralleled only by similar sentiments evoked in Europeans who have made their home in an even older Empire—that of China.

Teheran is now within a fortnight of Cambridge. If Professor Browne could spend another "Year among the Persians" and give us the ripe fruits of his experience in another volume, he would render a notable service to both nations, and might pave the way to an understanding that would make history.

A. T. WILSON.

BEN KENDIM: A RECORD OF EASTERN TRAVEL. By Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert. Edited by Desmond MacCarthy. Illustrated with six maps. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1924. 21s. net.

Aubrey Herbert was often called in Parliament "Member for Turkey." In season and, as some, but not he, thought, out of season,

he would recur to his topic, careless if he wearied the House, or earned the reputation of crying "Wolf!" The reason was that he had entered politics in 1911, just as it became a certainty that the policy of our Foreign Office and our Constantinople Embassy was effectually chilling the Young Turks' desire to throw in their lot with Great Britain, and making them pin their heart on their other sleeve—the one next to Germany. He had been visiting in desultory fashion various Turkish lands since 1904, and after seeing something of Macedonia and Asia Minor, had resided awhile in Constantinople as Honorary Attaché on Sir Nicholas O'Connor's staff. Before that, desirous to see with his own eyes how the much criticized provincial administration of the Turk really governed the ends of the Empire, he had gone off to the Yemen, and by bluff and persistence, and not a little by his own personal charm, got himself and his companion, Mr. Leland Buxton, escorted up to Sana'a—a journey whose description provides one of the most delightful chapters of this book. Failing to obtain permission to ride on to Aden, the pair were escorted back to Hodeida, thence made their way to Bombay (where Aubrey Herbert went into hospital with severe typhoid), and thence again, when he was barely convalescent, into—of all places—the Persian Gulf, and stayed in Bahrein, with the purpose of reaching the Arabian coast and crossing the great Peninsula, as a dozen years later Philby was to do. How Aubrey Herbert tried this enterprise alone, and when he found, after three weeks' inaction in the fort at Ajer, that his Turkish hosts meant him to stay there for ever rather than go a mile inland, stole away at night with no equipment but a bag of Maria Theresa dollars, in order to walk to a distant well, where he hoped to be picked up by some inward-bound caravan or other—this story, with that of his half-healed body's collapse under the weight of the dollars, and his ignominious return, readers of first-hand adventure must see that they do not miss in "Ben Kendim." He got home eventually by way of Baghdad and the desert route to Damascus—then risky enough—and enjoyed a last taste of delightful danger in the desert south of Gaza, when, in defiance of the frontier dispute which had developed in Sinai between Great Britain and Turkey, he tried to pass alone towards Egypt.

At first he was no lover of Turks. Bred in Midlothian tradition, he wrote verses about their cruelty and fanatic barbarism which must have approved themselves to Mr. Gladstone in the shades. But, no Philhellene either, he went to the Near East with heart unpledged. Once among Turks, he began to find in them qualities peculiarly congenial to his own nature, which other Near Easterns rather conspicuously lacked. They were silent sportsmen, and they could show amazing endurance, patience, honesty, and fidelity. He met an Albanian, Riza, and took him into his occasional service and his lasting confidence. He learned Turkish, and, as he himself has said, you never

heartily hate a people whose tongue you speak. Then he began to flogath with Turkish reformers, and to be persuaded that, under their windy idealism, ran a stern purpose and a passionate desire for British friendship and guidance. He met many Christians, Greek and other, and few pleased him. The Turk seemed the one gentleman and the one solid element in the Eastern peoples.

He hailed the Revolution of 1908-09 with a joy only to be equalled by his disappointment when, partly from causes beyond the control of the Young Turks, partly from their Ottomanizing fanaticism, the bloom of its youth too soon faded, and it gave occasion to its enemies at the British Embassy. The welter of resultant conflicting claims in North Albania drew him away, and he began a series of hazardous visits to that distressful land. Probably no Briton now alive has passed at such perilous crises unharmed through so much of forbidden Albania, and none—not even Miss Durham—has written about its people and its politics with such knowledge, such sanity, and such charm. The Albanian chapters of “Ben Kendim” are, even more than the Arabian, just Aubrey Herbert himself; and those who knew the author in life will agree that no better commendation can be given to a reader.

When war broke out he was the first to serve; but when Turkey came in on the enemy's side it hit him hard. But he served against his friends, snatching only, hoping against hope, at any chance of reconciliation. How, in the Gallipoli peninsula, he found himself, during a truce, leading a band of Albanian whilom friends in the field, he tells in “Ben Kendim.” What he does not tell there is that, whenever he was sent with a megaphone into an advanced trench to read proclamations to the enemy, his reading would be followed by a concentrated bombardment of the trench, whence he would return plastered with mud, and, all his love momentarily forgotten, proclaiming the Turks God's own swine! The Peace Conference was a sorer trial to him than the war, and its result the worst of disasters. From Sèvres to Lausanne he cried in the wilderness against the pro-Greek policy of Mr. Lloyd George (how he hated him!) and the Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office, and made more than one effort to bring the Kemalists and the remnant of the Committee of Union and Progress into touch with our diplomacy. One such effort, made with Talaat Pasha in Düsseldorf a few days before the latter's assassination, is the theme of one of the most curiously interesting, and not the least valuable, chapters of his last book.

“Ben Kendim” means in Turkish “I myself.” The book is an autobiography, unfortunately only fragmentary, of a life as full as it could be made, but all too brief. Parts of it only too patently have escaped the author's revising hand; but any and all its shortcomings are insufficient to deprive it of the right to be called one of the most notable books of adventure and of foreign politics that have appeared in our time.

D. G. H.

ANATOLICA. By Harry Charles Luke. London: Macmillan and Co., 1924. 16s. net.

My first acquaintance with Mr. Luke as a writer on the Near East was made through the scholarly medium of the *Quarterly Review* (July, 1922). His article, entitled "Cities of Transcaucasia," made an impression on me which the lapse of some years has been very far from effacing. I still think of it as one of the best articles of that type that I ever read. Matter and style are alike attractive. To say that I read it from start to finish with close attention and genuine pleasure is to express myself mildly. During the course of my travels I thrice did the railway journey between Baku and Batoum, stopping on occasion for some days at Baku, Tiflis, and Batoum, and I further coasted along both the Caspian and Black Sea coasts of the Caucasus. That mere geographical outline Mr. Luke's article filled in with historical, ethnographical, and archæological details, the perusal of which I thoroughly appreciated.

My first introduction to Mr. Luke occupies the last chapter of his "Anatolica." His "introductory" chapter carries me back over a period exceeding forty years, to the time when I first began my study of the Persian language. His "old Turkish scribe" is the "very spit" of my old Persian Mirza. It is forty-three years since I first saw my Mirza seated on the floor of my bungalow in Hyderabad, Sind, and using the nail, not of his little finger, but of his thumb, as far as I remember, for designing on a loose half-sheet of notepaper, resting on his left hand, a perfect and elegant reproduction of Persian in *Naskhi* script. He was a most interesting man, an Ispaháni, well-educated, who in his younger days had served with the Persian Embassy at Constantinople during the Crimean War. His descriptions of the British, French, and Sardinian soldiers and sailors whom he met in the public resorts of the Ottoman capital at that time were curious, and now and again humorous. From Constantinople he had passed on to Cairo, and thence to India. He remained a good friend of mine as long as he lived, and to this day I look back upon his memory with more than pleasure. I preserve among things that I do not part with two specimens of his thumb-nail writing.

At a rough calculation some eighty years would seem to have elapsed between the visits of the Hon. Robert Curzon (later in life the fourteenth Baron Zouche) and of Mr. H. C. Luke to Mount Athos. Perhaps the most startling contrasts between the Mount Athos of the middle of the nineteenth century and the Mount Athos of the early twentieth, are those recorded at page 2. I refrain from quotation. I will merely say that the "holy men" show a perfectly up-to-date aptitude both for science and finance. It is not uninteresting to note that the founder of the first Serbian monarchy retired in 1195 to his monastery at Chilendar, much as Charles V., who may be regarded

as the last great head of the Holy Roman Empire, retired in 1556 to the monastery of Yuste in Estramadura.

Mr. Luke conducts us next to Salonica, Adrianople, and the old Seraglio, and so on to "Le doux pays de Chypre." Our author, I note, does not extend to the old Seraglio that tender tie with the Goddess of Love which he so pointedly associates with the island which Greek legend has handed down to us as the favoured home of that goddess; and yet, surely, Venus was not quite a stranger in the *andarim* of the Sultans.

The Cyprus of to-day, as Mr. Roland Michell set it before us in his lecture some few years ago, we have come to view as a battle-ground of Greek and Moslem rivalry, and as an invaluable point of vantage for Great Britain in the Levant. As to its history, its archæology and its remarkable Gothic architecture, we can but turn to the chroniclers of the Crusades and of the Hospitallers, and to such other monumental works as that of M. Enlart on "L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre" (Paris, 1899), and I would also recommend to the notice of members of the Central Asian Society a delightful little book by Comte Jean de Kergorlay, entitled "Soirs d'Épopée, Rhodes et Chypre" (Paris, 1913).

Chapter VIII. of "Anatolica" brings us to the "Holy Sepulchre," scenes and ceremonies in which we have seen depicted by Mr. Luke in very graphic articles in *The Times*; and in Chapter IX. we are introduced to Petra, a marvel of colouring, which we who have not seen but merely read of it can only depict to ourselves in a most inadequate fashion. Mr. Luke draws his picture of it at p. 150, and the reader must comfort him or herself as best he can with that. After which I will invite him to read another charming book by Comte Jean de Kergorlay entitled "Sites Délaissés d'Orient" (also Paris, 1913), which also describes Petra.

The title "Transcaucasia" brings back so many memories, the struggle for supremacy there between the Persian and Russian monarchies, and later the gallant stand made by the Circassian Shamyl against the overpowering Moscovite might. Laurence Oliphant and James Bryce are well known as travellers in and writers on this part of the world. I have before me James Bryce's account of his ascent of Ararat in 1876, with a frontispiece very like that which illustrates "Anatolica," only showing, as I gather, more foreground. These regions have suffered little less severely than Europe from the internecine struggle started by German ambition in 1914; and, while the Armistice stopped actual fighting in Western Europe in November, 1918, peace has not been even yet established in the Caucasus and among the heterogeneous races to the south of it. Georgia, we know, is still suffering at the hands of the Russian Bolshevist, and the mere mention of Turk, Kurd, Armenian, Assyrian and Arab suggests unrest war, and massacre.

We are indebted to Mr. Luke for a volume which attests at once his competence as scholar and historian and his power of graphic description. The chapters which he devotes to Nicosia and Famagusta in Cyprus, touching as they do now upon the romantic story of the Hospitallers, and again upon the remarkable spread of the Babi or Bahá-i faith, blended with a sketch of Christian and Moslem rule in Cyprus and navigation and commerce in the Mediterranean, may well engage our close attention. Not the least remarkable of the issues of the Great War is the passage of Palestine and Cyprus under British rule.

A. C. YATE.

TRANS-JORDAN: Some Impressions. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine.
London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1924. 12s. net.

Mrs. Steuart Erskine in the account of her month's travel in Trans-Jordan has given us some delightful impressions of a country which, although hitherto little heard of, has recently come to occupy a prominent position in Near Eastern affairs.

If Belgium has been termed the cockpit of Europe, Trans-Jordan may be said to occupy the same unenviable position in Asia. A land of tribes, as Mrs. Erskine tells us, it has been conquered by one nation after another; successive invasions of Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans have swept ruthlessly through the country, each civilization in turn leaving its imprint on the architecture and literature with which it came in contact.

Trans-Jordan is intimately connected with Old Testament history. It was from the summit of Mount Nebo that Moses first surveyed the Promised Land and Gilead, the northern part of Trans-Jordan, where the descendants of Reuben and Gad claimed the first concessions for its cultivation and development. We are also told that Esau sought consolation in Petra after he surrendered his birthright to Jacob, and there is even a legend that Herod took refuge in the same city after the Massacre of the Innocents.

Apart from its archæological interest, Petra, "the rose-red city half as old as time," to which Mrs. Erskine devotes several interesting chapters of her book, possesses a quite indescribable charm of its own. No one who has visited this curious city of temples and cave dwellings will ever forget the wonderful approach through the narrow Siq, or gorge—a cleft which is said to have appeared when Moses struck the rock and caused the waters to gush forth and quench the thirst of the Israelites. As one emerges from the towering walls of Nubian sandstone, the first view of the Khazna Fur'un, or Treasure House of Pharaoh, the sun striking full on the flame-coloured face of the temple with its delicate veining of purple, orange, and green, holds one spell-bound.

Petra must once have been the centre of some of the most important caravan routes of the East. It was occupied successively by the Israelites, the Nabatæns, the Romans and the Crusaders, all of whom have left traces of their influence; but Western civilization seems to have lost touch with Arabia Petræa till 1812, when Burckhardt, disguised as a sheikh, penetrated into the city and made some important discoveries. The road to Petra will undoubtedly be improved in the future, and by providing greater facilities for tourists it may well prove to be one of the most profitable sources of income to the country.

Although Mrs. Erskine has, perhaps wisely, refrained from giving us a critical survey of the existing administration in Trans-Jordan, or from prophesying its political future, she has told us some of the difficulties with which the Government have to contend, chief among which are the question of finance and the Emir's predilection for favouring the lawless part of his community at the expense of the law-abiding. As long as Abdullah adheres to this policy he will find his country used as a convenient dumping ground for the undesirables of the Near East. It has already led him into more than one delicate situation—notably on the occasion when General Gouraud's assailants sought refuge in his hospitable territory. With regard to finance, the natural resources of Trans-Jordan combined with a grant in aid of some £60,000 from the Palestine Government should be enough to keep it going, but until security can be assured to its cultivators there is little hope of making the country a prosperous one.

Trans-Jordan is one of the youngest States in Asia, only having received its political independence in 1922. The Emir Abdullah, who came to the country a year previously, has by no means found his path strewn with roses, and the recent Adwan rebellion and constant menace of Wahabi invasion renders his position in Trans-Jordan a precarious one. His refusal to convene a representative Assembly as provided for in the Declaration of Independence has resulted in an autocratic tyranny which rivals in unpopularity that of the previous Turkish régime.

British influence in Trans-Jordan is only necessary to prevent its interference with neighbouring States. By the terms of the mandate we stand in the position of adviser, but as Mrs. Erskine points out, it is one thing to give advice, and another thing to see that it is carried out. In this connection the recent resignation of Mr. Philby, the British Resident in Trans-Jordan, speaks for itself.

Although originally the separation of Trans-Jordan from the Palestine Administration was considered its one hope of survival as an independent State, its close economic connection with Palestine appears to render a reunion inevitable. Mrs. Erskine quotes the following very pertinent remark of an Arab: "The English are curious people; they have made three States out of this country and have given them

three rulers. But what would you have? They have even divided God into three parts!"

Mrs. Erskine's book contains a great deal of interesting historical information, and, as Lord Raglan comments in his preface, the author has avoided wearisome statistics or enumerating at great length difficulties encountered in her wanderings — pitfalls which the traveller who writes his memoirs avoids only too seldom. The volume, which is illustrated by some excellent photographs, will be welcomed alike by those who have had the good fortune to visit some of the places mentioned, and by those who are contemplating a journey to the land east of Jordan.

A. O. T.

TALES FROM TURKISTAN. By Stor Lob. London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons. 1924. 6s.

In this volume of stories and sketches, some of the best that have been published by the house of Blackwood, the author, whose identity under the nom-de-plume of "Stor Lob" may or may not be known, does not seek to disguise his calling or his opinions regarding several of the problems facing our administrators in the East. Several of the stories (most of which have already appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*) deal with true episodes in the recent history of that most fascinating of eastern countries, Turkistan. The best of these is, perhaps, "The Schooner and the Soviet," in which the author describes the adventures of a junior but very resourceful subaltern and his small party of Punjabis, Turkmen, and Russians in their attempt to carry out one of the many extraordinary and arduous tasks entrusted to our officers during the period of storm and stress which befell the Russian dominions in Central Asia and the surrounding countries after the collapse of the Northern Colossus.

The characters, who are undoubtedly based on actual people, are sympathetically drawn, and the author has succeeded in preserving the very elusive atmosphere of that region of desert and "aoul" with surprising vividness and charm. Although to the general reader the disguising of the names of places by inventions of the author will not in any way mar the interest of the stories, yet to those who have personal experiences of the same area, or who have taken an active interest in events in Central Asia during the past few years, the substitution of Beshkent for Tashkent, and Samarkent for Samarkand, to mention several amongst many, seems hardly necessary.

"The Forbidden Fortress of Khorusan" is an excellent description of the Kelat-i-Nadiri fortress built by Nadir Shah in the mountain fastnesses of north-east Persia, and "An Offensive in Rastam," and "Khuda" vividly describe incidents which took place on the borders of Omar Khayyám's province during the period following the withdrawal of the small British force from Central Asia in 1919.

One of the most capital stories in a book of good yarns is "The Counter-Raiders," in which the scene is changed to an imaginary Northern Indian State. Here the author very skilfully depicts an offensive against frontier tribes under conditions very different from those existing in the past and present, and extremely unlikely to exist in the near future, unless the separation of the Punjab from the rest of India, and the attendant changes in local politics and army affairs that such a change would mean, were actually to take place. There is much food for reflection in this clever story, which is written by one who obviously knows his job and loves his work. Unless the present writer is much mistaken, there are many who share the convictions of "Stor Lob," and his indignation at the treatment meted out to the fighting men who stood by us during the war.

The remaining sketches, "Scythians and Saracens," "Seven Years of War," are of equal excellence, and stand well out of the average "war story" depicting incidents on the Western front.

"In Seven Years of War" the writer is rightfully bitter regarding the neglect of the "powers that be" in their refusal sufficiently to recognize the services of the gallant fighting races of Northern India, and the mawkish and shortsighted policy of handing the destinies of India, and with it the future of those who fought shoulder to shoulder with us in many battles, to the mercies of "a fungus of Orientalized Bureaucracy, a Dravidian wave infiltrating from the eastward, from degenerate Hindustan."

C. H. E.

INDIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. By the Earl of Ronaldshay, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. Constable and Co., London and Bombay, 1924. Price 18s.

The scope of this thoroughly readable book is best described in the author's own words; the aim he set before him being "to bring together vignettes of Indian history; glimpses of Indian architecture and archæology, sketches of the social and industrial economy of her peoples; indications of the modes in which their religious thought has found expression; illustrations of their unceasing war with their environment, particularly in the matter of climate and disease—to construct a mosaic which will present to the man who wishes to know something of this huge and varied land, whose recent history has been bound up so intimately with his own, an intelligible conspectus." Lord Ronaldshay's own power of observation, combined with wide reading and a graceful style, has presented these vignettes in such a way as to give a clear insight into the many and varied problems of India.

FROM CHINA TO HKAMTI LONG. By Captain F. Kingdon Ward.
Edward Arnold and Co. 1924. 18s. net.

This new book, from the facile pen of Captain Kingdon Ward, is a worthy successor to his previous works on those fascinating regions where Tibet, China, and Burma meet.

It records the story of his second attempt to march overland from China to India, an attempt frustrated by sickness when within sight of the borderline and when the goal had been well-nigh reached.

The book is, in point of fact, the record of two separate expeditions. Chapters I. and II. describe a journey from Lashio to Yung Ning in 1921. The remainder of the book is devoted to the author's travels from that place to Hkamti Long, in Upper Burma, and so on to Myitkina and Rangoon, in 1922-23.

The primary object of these journeys, as of the author's previous ones in these regions, was botanical research, in which he has made so lasting a name for himself. To the lay reader lengthy catalogues of scientific names of plants and flowers are apt to become a little wearisome, but the enthusiasm of the writer and the felicitous wording of his descriptions of plant life, of mountain and forest scenery, and of men and things in general are more than sufficient compensation. How picturesque, for instance, are the following gems of word-painting: "In early spring before the snows have melted the forest is a tossing ocean of green combers, dabbled with a surf of rhododendron foaming into blossom"; "out of the tangle appeared birch-trees, whose tattered bark flapped dismally in the wind; while from every branch and twig hung long streamers of pale-green lichen, which swayed to and fro like seaweed in a tideway." Again, how vivid and arresting are passages such as the following: "As we plunged down towards Indo-Malaya, the murmur of the myriad streams which the Irrawaddy gulps greedily down seems to float up to us through the velvet jungle. Down, down we went over the rock-slabs, through bamboo and rhododendron. A trickle of water appeared, and presently rills came sluicing down the mountain scuppers, and the rills grew into becks, and the becks became torrents, and the vast forest flung open its arms to us, hugged us in its merciless embrace, and swallowed us up."

"A soft peace enfolds the world. Doves coo in the jack-fruit trees about the village; mina birds chuckle to one another in the roofs; and the silvery tinkle of bells from the monastery, whose thatched spire peeps up from the palm grove, mingles with the lowing of cattle. A calm-faced monk in yellow robe beats a spinning gong, and the high throbbing note calls the neatly dressed Shan women to evening prayer. And when the sun has dipped down behind the purple ranges bats flit to and fro in the shadows, wheeling through the hut and out again with sure skill." One can almost see the scene. One can almost hear the tinkle of the bells. Let us, however, come back to the actual journeys.

In 1921 Captain Kingdon Ward travelled from Lashio, the terminus of the Northern Shan States Railway, 561 miles from Rangoon, to the Kunlon Ferry over the Salween, and thence, via the Namting Valley, Shunning, and Menghua, to Tali, Yungpeh, and Yung Ning. He thus traversed West-Central Yünnan, from south to north. Unfortunately, the map at the end of the book does not include the first half of this journey—*i.e.*, the portion from Lashio to the Yang-pi-ho.

In 1922 Captain Kingdon Ward again went to Yung Ning, but this time by the familiar route via Bhamo, Teng Yüeh, Tali, and Likiang. After a short side-trip to Muli (on the Litang river) and back, he set out, in June, from Yung Ning on his arduous journey to Burma. A week's march brought him to Likiang. Leaving that place on July 20 he dropped down to the Yangtze at Shihku, and so up the Yangtze Valley and over the "divide" between it and the Mekong to A-tun-tzu and Ya-ka-lo. Here he made two short expeditions into the high snowy range to the west, climbing to 17,000 feet, exploring and collecting plants. He gives the height of the peak of Damyon as about 19,000 feet. A third short side-trip was made to the north-east, as far as the Chiang-ka river, on the road to Ba-tang.

Leaving Ya-ka-lo finally on September 22, the author travelled via A-tun-tzu to Tzu-ku, whence, on October 20, he entered upon the most difficult part of his journey, exchanging pack for human transport at this point, and plunging into the mountain ranges with a minimum of baggage carried by a few mountaineer porters. Seventeen days of strenuous marching over ill-defined mountain and jungle tracks brought the traveller to the head of "the big road" (*i.e.*, the British road from Fort Hertz to the lower Taron river), and one can well imagine the enormous relief it must have been to him to strike it. Thence eleven comparatively easy marches took him to Fort Hertz, the headquarters of the civil administration of the new district of Putao.

After a welcome fortnight's rest among fellow-countrymen, Captain Kingdon Ward again set off northwards towards the sources of the Mali Kha (western branch of the Irrawaddy), and it was on this trip that he was laid low by a severe attack of fever, and was carried back, more dead than alive, to Putao, and so ended his second attempt to get through to India. A further sojourn at Fort Hertz enabled the author to be present at the Christmas "durbar" and the "Putao week," which furnished material for a bright and entertaining chapter and interesting photographs of the surrounding tribesfolk—Shan, Kachin, Lisu, and Mishwi.

The long journey terminated in an uneventful "trek" down the "high-road" to Myitkina, and a railway journey thence to Rangoon, where he embarked for England.

Many interesting points are clearly brought out in this instructive volume—*e.g.*, the general westerly slope of the very crumpled crust of

the earth between the Mekong and the Irrawaddy; the fact of *Marus* being found in the Northern Shan States, so remote from the main habitat of their race, far away in the north along the N'mai Kha; the resuscitation of poppy-growing (for opium); the steady retreat of the glaciers, pointing to a gradual decrease in humidity; the mention of seventy-five varieties of rhododendrons in Burma alone, and the discovery of a leaf of one of them, 2 feet long by 8 inches wide; the curious chorus of the rarely seen "hoolock" gibbons. The present reviewer has heard their weird chorus passing along the sea of tree-tops, almost daily, for weeks on end, without ever catching a glimpse of the shy choristers themselves.

The author has a good deal to say about missionaries and their work, with a distinct partiality for those of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

But few adverse comments and criticisms seem to be called for. The use by the author of unfamiliar words, such as "cwm" and "ghyll" is a little puzzling.

The spelling in the text does not always correspond with that on the map—*e.g.*, Atuntzu, Menghua, Tzuku in the former are shown as Atuntze, Menghwa, and Tzeku in the latter. It is odd that, in a botanical book, no mention should be made of the sugar-cane cultivation and the sugar-presses in the Yangtze Valley about Kinkiangkai. On p. 47 mention is made of an "*iman* mumbling the *muzzein*." *Imam* and *muezzin* are doubtless intended; but even so, that is incorrect. The "*muezzin*" is the *man* who chants the "call to prayer" (*azzan*).

A slip occurs on p. 69. It is, of course, impossible to go by boat down the Yangtze from Chitsung to *Likiang*, seeing that the latter place is at an altitude of 8,000 feet odd, and in the middle of the great loop of the Yangtze, which lies some 2,000 feet lower. The author doubtless means Shihku or Ahsi.

The mention of baboons (on p. 310) is surely a zoological inaccuracy. Is not the habitat of the genus *papio* confined to Africa and Arabia?

Compared with the merits of the book these criticisms are perhaps but trivial, and it may, in brief, be said that while the work will chiefly appeal to the botanist, botany is but the peg on which Captain Kingdon Ward has hung an interesting and variegated narrative of travel amid some of Nature's grandest and wildest scenes, bringing us face to face with some of the most primitive types of mankind.

M. E. W.

ZANZIBAR: AN ACCOUNT OF ITS PEOPLE, INDUSTRIES, AND HISTORY.

Zanzibar: The Local Committee of the British Empire Exhibition. Paper. Pp. xx + 84.

This booklet, prepared for distribution at the British Empire Exhibition, contains sections on the ethnology, trade, agriculture, history,

economic minerals, and native industries and occupations of Zanzibar, written by Government officials for the benefit of visitors to the Exhibition who may desire to increase their knowledge of this small but prosperous Protectorate.

The information contained in this handbook should prove not only of interest to the general public, but also of value to those who wish to study the people of Zanzibar from a particular aspect, as, though necessarily condensed, a considerable amount of reliable information is presented to the reader.

The collection from Zanzibar natives of historical and ethnological facts is rendered difficult by, on the one hand, their somewhat suspicious and timid attitude, and, on the other hand, by their increasing affectation of ignorance of what might be regarded as uncivilized customs. Outside the sultanate, sources of much valuable historical information remain untapped owing to their inaccessibility to the searcher. Both in Portugal and in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf there are possibly many documents of the greatest importance to the historian of the east coast of Africa, quite apart from the better known and frequently quoted authorities, whose observations have been conveniently summarized by Mr. W. H. Ingrams in the historical section of the Zanzibar handbook.

While the effects of Persian intermingling with the oldest Zanzibar stock may be observed in a variety of ways in the customs, proper names, and traditions of the Wahadimu, Watumbatu, and Wapemba, and in the claim of the Washirazi to be descendants of immigrants from Shiraz, very little dependable information is available as to the causes, extent, and period of the settlement.

Some facts may be deduced from the presence of fragments of Chinese and Persian pottery and Oriental beads in considerable quantities in the neighbourhood of ruined buildings and tombs at the old settlements; but the Swahili and Arabic documents referring to the subject frequently appear to be transliterations by ill-educated scribes; they are inaccurate in regard to numbers, and occasionally suggest fabrication with a view to proving a tribal title to property. In this connection may be observed the native chronicler's tendency to overestimate the importance of the events described and inclination to suggest that the only immigration worthy of note was that of his own ancestors.

The conjecture identifying El Masud's Kambula with Mkumbuu in Pemba deserves consideration. Unfortunately, the ruins at Mkumbuu, as elsewhere, have suffered much from erosion and at the hands of bygone builders in search of stone.

Although the sites of the ancient Zanzibar and Pemba settlements indicate the past existence of towns of considerable size, it is doubtful if they were of as great importance as many of the other settlements of Asiatics on the east coast of Africa.

It is obvious that there remains ample scope for further and most interesting investigation into the history of the Asiatic connection with East Africa. A number of ancient coins found in Zanzibar, now being examined at the British Museum, may prove to be of some interest.*

The handbook possesses a most useful and comprehensive bibliography, which greatly adds to its value as a compact work of reference.

It is unfortunate that, possibly owing to anxiety to publish the book in time to permit of its distribution at the Exhibition, it suffers from lack of uniformity of type and a number of typographical errors.

* The British Museum have informed me that the coins I recently submitted to them are of the Kilwa dynasty, Sultan Ali bin Hassan. Kilwa is south of Dar-es-salam. Very little is known of this dynasty, and it has occurred to me that it may be connected with a local legend of an important immigration from "islands in the Persian Gulf." The account of Ormuz, in the Hakluyt Society's translation of Duarte Barbosa, may have some bearing on this legend.

OBITUARY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR LEE STACK, G.B.E., C.M.G.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR LEE STACK, G.B.E., C.M.G., Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, died at Cairo just before midnight, November 20-21, of wounds received on November 19 at the hands of a gang of Egyptian assassins, who fired some twenty-five revolver shots at him and at those accompanying him in a motor-car through the streets of Cairo. The following notes are based (by permission) on the obituary notice which appeared in *The Times* of November 21, 1924 :

Lee Oliver Fitzmaurice Stack, son of Oliver Stack, was born on May 15, 1868. He was educated at Clifton and passed through the R.M.C., Sandhurst, into the army, being commissioned in the Border Regiment on February 11, 1888, as Second Lieutenant. In September, 1889, he became a Lieutenant and in June, 1896, was promoted Captain. In 1898 he accompanied his Battalion to Malta from Aldershot.

In 1899 the outbreak of religious disturbances in Crete necessitated the dispatch of an international force, both naval and military, to restore order in that island. This was the turning-point in Stack's career, for being selected as Staff Officer to the British Military Commissioner and Commander in Crete, he relinquished his somewhat uneventful career in a line regiment and acquired a taste for service in the East which led to his immediate selection for transfer to the Egyptian Army. From July, 1899, when he landed in Egypt, to the day of his death, his services were devoted to that country and to the Sudan. While A.A.G. of the Egyptian Army, in 1902, he commanded a small column in minor operations, which culminated in the re-occupation of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Shortly afterwards he was selected for the post of military and private secretary to the Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate, and in February, 1908, he received the more important and independent appointment of Director of Intelligence.

In 1910 Stack retired from the army and was appointed to the Civil Administration of the Sudan and became Civil Secretary to that Government in 1913. He acquired a profound knowledge of the Sudan, and took the keenest interest in its irrigation and its commercial problems. At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, Stack was at Khartoum, and when Sir Reginald Wingate was summoned to Cairo to succeed Sir H. McMahon as High Commissioner, Stack assumed the office of Sirdar. The appointment was nominally temporary and

carried with it the status of Major-General. During the Nationalist outbreaks at Cairo at the close of the War, Stack maintained peace and order in the Sudan, of which territory he became actual Governor-General, and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army. It was his firm hand and intimate knowledge of all its problems which maintained comparative peace and order in the Sudan throughout the five years from his accession to its control. It is as administrator more than as soldier that his name will be held in reverence. It is by the achievements of men of such character and qualifications that the reputation of the British Empire is maintained all round the world.

APPENDIX

TRANS-JORDAN

(The following remarks by Colonel Bramley were inadvertently omitted from the discussion following Mr. Philby's lecture, Vol. XI., Part IV., p. 296.)

COLONEL BRAMLEY: Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Ladies and Gentlemen, —I have much pleasure in supporting the lecturer with regard to the statements he has made in the matter of the misgovernment of Trans-Jordan under the Emir Abdulla during the period under review. It must, however, be remembered that the power to compel Abdulla to act up to his obligations was vested, jointly, in His Majesty's High Commissioner in Palestine, the Middle East section of the Colonial Office, and the British representative at Amman, all of whom were fully cognizant of the state of affairs described by Mr. Philby. One of the banes of our existence in Palestine during that period was the utter disorder and total want of control over the lawless elements and criminals in Trans-Jordan. It unfortunately went even beyond that. Every outlaw, every criminal, who wished to evade justice, and every Moslem agitator who wanted to escape our attentions in Palestine, were all assured not only safe refuge, but staunch friends and supporters amongst the highest native officials in Amman. Our own jurisdiction ended at the Jordan, and east of that line was safe sanctuary for our worst and most dangerous brigands and other disturbers of the public peace both criminal and political. This state of affairs in Trans-Jordania, as can well be imagined, materially increased our own troubles in respect to the maintenance of public security in Palestine. It was a couple of years in consequence before we succeeded in ridding the country of these miscreants, and then only as they returned from time to time to our own territory. It necessitated not only the maintenance of a proportionately large and expensive police force and gendarmerie, but compelled us to arm considerable numbers of villages, both Jewish and Moslem, which were liable to raid from Trans-Jordan. Nor was this scandalous state of affairs confined to our own mandatory area in Palestine. The French in Syria had every bit as good reason as ourselves to complain of the Emir's misgovernment and collusion with marauding gangs of assassins operating from his country. The dastardly attempt on the life of our gallant ally, General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner in Syria, whilst travelling between Kunetra and Damascus in 1921, was one of the

most deplorable episodes that occurred in the history of these countries since they passed into our mandatory control. It was an outrage engineered and carried out by a well-known gang of pan-Syrians who, after fleeing from Damascus, found refuge under the Emir in Trans-Jordania. We knew perfectly well who the perpetrators were—we even offered to assist the Trans-Jordania police in effecting their arrest. The High Commissioner in Palestine, however, considered it inexpedient to compel the Emir to act up to his obligations, and so the culprits were never apprehended. It was shortly after this that the prominent pan-Syrian refugee in Trans-Jordan referred to by Mr. Philby, and who was wanted by the French on a series of charges in Syria, ventured into Palestine, and was promptly arrested by us and handed over to our Allies—an incident which, as the lecturer has told us—very nearly cost Peake Bey his life. The inaction of the Palestine Government alienated us from all sympathy from our neighbours the French. General Gouraud, who was just then about to pay Sir Herbert Samuel a complimentary visit in return for the latter's previous visit to Syria, cancelled his engagement and refused to visit Palestine so long as this gang remained unaccounted for, and it took a long time to re-establish anything like friendly reciprocation in the matter of border affairs with the French after that. Notoriously dangerous political agitators in Palestine, when things became too hot for them, were always safe the instant they crossed the Allenby Bridge over the Jordan at Jericho, though in one notorious case, at least, the responsibility for such protection rests every bit as much with the British adviser in Amman as with the Emir himself. But in every one of these cases the fact remains that the remedy at all times lay in the hands of the High Commissioner in Palestine and the Middle East section of the Colonial Office, who, for excellent reasons, which we are unable to go into tonight, deemed it advisable to temporize rather than to sternly enforce the Emir's responsibilities, though this was repeatedly advised by district governors and myself as Director of Public Security.

During 1922-23 things continued to go from bad to worse. The Emir and his myrmidons were intensely unpopular both in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, not only because of the suspicions they had aroused amongst their own co-religionists of being partial to Zionist intrigue and money, and for the acceptance by Abdulla of the policy inculcated by the Balfour Declaration, but he was equally hated in Trans-Jordan by his own subjects as a result of his own grasping, rapacious methods of government, which they knew were only possible by reason of the armed support accorded him by the British Government, but for which his faithful subjects would have knocked him off his perch long ago. Towards the end of 1922 there was such distress and unrest in Trans-Jordan caused by the Emir's wholesale commandeering of camels and horses, ostensibly to equip an expedition against the

Wahabis, that it led to a wholesale emigration of the inhabitants of Trans-Jordan into Palestine. The Adwan rebellion in 1923 was the culminating feature of that discontent; and it is with the deepest regret that one feels that armed forces of the British Crown were used in so unjust a cause against a tribe which had always regarded the British as its protector.

As regards the real boundaries of Trans-Jordan and Palestine, I think anybody who has studied the question can come to no other conclusion than that the boundary of this area, taken as a whole, is the desert line east of Trans-Jordan. Every empire which has in the past ruled in this area has always been forced on to that line for its proper protection, and until you can succeed in keeping the nomad Arab back in his own desert, and the local tribes within these boundaries to settle down and take to agriculture, there never can be any peace either in Palestine or Jordania. The Jordan is in any case a false boundary line in whatsoever sense we may look at it—military, fiscal, customs, or for any other purpose. In fact, it is precisely this question of artificial and very irritating territorial boundaries which the French and ourselves between us have now set up throughout Syria and Palestine (which before the war was all one country for purposes of administration, travel, and trade), which has caused much very justifiable annoyance and irritation to the inhabitants of the country, who now find themselves confronted with customs, passports, octroi, and other restrictions directly effecting the well-being and convenience of people who, though living under separate administrations, are all closely connected by kinsmanship or trade. The sooner this can be all re-adjusted the better.

For these reasons Palestine and Trans-Jordan are inseparable, administratively, ethnologically, and economically, and should be under one direct control; but it is absolutely indispensable that for some time to come, at all events, such government be absolutely impartial and purely British in its elements and not in any way tainted with Jewish or other similar influences. The task is not an insuperable one. There is no question of trying to work round or behind the policy laid down in the now celebrated Balfour Declaration. There is no need for that, and there is plenty of room in Palestine and Trans-Jordan for both Jews and Gentiles, who do not aspire too quickly to secure their own individual political ascendancy. All that is wanted for the moment is to set up a strong Government which will command the confidence of the people as being indisputably British in its composition and conducted by practical, efficient, and *experienced* Civil Servants of the Crown who know their business as ordinary civil administrators, and not politicians advised by Jews and flotsam of war in the shape of personnel discarded by a service of "ex-advisers" and chancellory subordinates or even ex-tourist Dragomans from Cairo—whatever influences these gentlemen

may possess in high places at home. The issues in Palestine are too involved and of too great a consequence to the Empire to be allowed to remain in incompetent hands of people who prefer compromise and distortion of facts to the correct solution of political or administrative problems as they arise until such time as the people of Palestine—Jew and Gentile—are in position to manage their own affairs, if such a dream can ever be fulfilled.

It was with special pleasure I heard the speaker give his measure of praise—and well-deserved praise—to his colleague Peake Bey, for I happen to have been the man to pick him out for this special job, and had Peake Bey been allowed to exercise the powers I repeatedly recommended that he should be invested with in Trans-Jordan, not only in regard to the reserve force, but in regard to the command of the civil police as well, but which the Emir would never allow him, you would have heard a good deal less to-night of these troubles in Trans-Jordan and Palestine.

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Approximate Boundary of Iraq as claimed by British before the Council of League of Nations
 Boundary of Mosul Vilayet of Old Turkish Empire - - - -

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Friday, December 12, 1924. The Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E. (Chairman of the Society), presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will ask the Honorary Secretary to make an announcement.

The HON. SECRETARY (Sir Raleigh Egerton): I have to announce to the members of the Central Asian Society that the Council have elected fifteen members. I repeat my usual observation that we shall welcome more.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope you have digested the good advice that has been given to you by the Honorary Secretary. We have met here not only to listen to his wise counsel but to hear a lecture on the Assyrians by Major Bentinck. Major Bentinck's record shows that he has had considerable experience in the Near Eastern countries. He served with his regiment, the 3rd Coldstream Guards, from 1909 to 1911 in Egypt. From 1913 to 1914 he was seconded to the King's African Rifles, and served, I understand, in Somaliland, where he was wounded. Next he was with his regiment in France, and was wounded very early in the war in September, 1914. In 1916 and 1917 he served with the Egyptian army, and between 1917 and 1920 was under the orders of the Foreign Office in Abyssinia. In 1922 and 1923 he commanded a battalion of Assyrians in Mesopotamia; he speaks, therefore, with a great deal of experience of the subject and of the people.

THE ASSYRIANS

Major BENTINCK: Before I begin my lecture I would like to thank those who have helped me. I am most grateful to Sir Edgar Wigram, Squadron-Leader Leacroft, and Captain Barstow, who have most kindly allowed me to use their slides. To another gentleman I am indebted for some very valuable information. I trust I may do justice to the help that they have given me.

I am speaking about the Assyrians as the result of serving with them for twelve months. Since I shall have to speak also of both Kurds and Arabs, I would like to say that I served also in a unit composed of both these peoples. I am saying this merely to emphasize the fact that I am not, so to speak, exclusively pro-Assyrian, without

any knowledge of the other races of Iraq ; I like both Kurd and Arab, and during the fifteen months I served in Iraq, my personal servant was an Arab and my *syce* a Kurd. But when it comes to comparing these three peoples, I state most definitely that the Assyrian, from a military point of view, is infinitely more efficient and, from a moral standpoint, far superior to either Kurd or Arab. These facts are indisputable, and I challenge contradiction !

The Assyrians are Christians—not as the result of English missionaries, but dating back to hundreds of years before St. Augustine appeared in this island. They have maintained their faith in spite of fire and devil worshippers, Zoroastrians and Yezidis, and have met death rather than submit to the teaching of the Moslem prophet.

Who, then, are the Assyrians ? The map shows the district which they occupied and how it lies with regard to other countries—Persia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. It was here that the Assyrians lived in the past, and it is here that they are endeavouring, against heavy odds, to maintain their existence.

Their story starts in early history, about 2000 B.C. The Assyrians of to-day inherit the warlike spirit of their ancestors, and their features strongly resemble those of their forefathers. The earliest known of their great cities was Assur, now called Kalaat Shergat. Later Kalkhi, now known as Nimrud, was founded by Shalmaneser I., probably about 1270 B.C., and later still the Assyrians transferred their capital to Nineveh. Nebur Yunis, opposite Mosul, has been built over the mounds covering its ruins. Under Tiglath Pileser I. (about 1100 B.C.) the Assyrians captured Babylon, but it was under Pul or Tiglath Pileser II. (*i.e.*, from 745 to 600 B.C.) that Assyria reached her greatest strength. From 669 B.C. to 645 B.C. she warred with Elam and captured their capital, Susa. From about 1100 B.C. and at varying intervals Assyria fought the Medes, whose capital was Ecbatana, now called Hamadan, in Persia. For a long time Assyria was successful, but finally, in 600 B.C., the Medes captured Nineveh, and the Assyrian Empire ceased to exist.

Such is the brief history of their remote past. The Assyrians accepted Christianity about the first century, and formed part of the Christian Church which claimed to have been founded by St. Thomas. Its headquarters were at Solencia Ctesiphon, and from this centre missions were sent all over Central Asia, extending from Mesopotamia through Persia into Afghanistan and Tartary and even into China, to Southern India, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf. There is a monument still existing at Sinanfu in Central China, inscribed in Syriac and Chinese, which was set up in A.D. 781. A Christian settlement at Malabar still testifies to their missionary zeal, and the Assyrian Bishop of Malabar was recently in this country. From being known as the Church of the Persian Empire they were later known as the Eastern Syrian Church. This

church is now divided into Nestorians and Chaldeans, the former thus named from a so-called heresy preached by Nestorius, and the latter because they acknowledge the Pope of Rome. The present language of the Assyrians is Syriac, and much resembles the Aramaic spoken by our Lord. It is particularly the so-called Nestorian branch with which I am dealing, for to this branch belong all the hillmen of Tyari, Tkhuma, Jelu, Baz, and Dizan, and it was from these that our own military levies were raised. (Perhaps I should explain that by levies I mean the native troops raised locally from Arabs, Kurds, and Assyrians and commanded by British officers.)

The title of "Marshimun" is held by the Assyrian Patriarch, the Assyrians' temporal and spiritual head. The title became hereditary about two hundred years ago, and it is now confined to one family. The Patriarch is not allowed to eat meat or to marry, and on his death the successor is usually chosen from his unmarried brothers or his nephews. Under the Marshimun are metropolitan bishops, bishops, deacons, and priests. The present Marshimun is about sixteen years old; his father, David, is a senior native officer in the Levies, holding the rank of *rab-chala*—*i.e.*, commander of a thousand. Of his two immediate predecessors, one, Benjamin, was murdered by Simko the Kurd; the other died of consumption in Baquba camp. Their sister, the Lady Surma, was in this country on behalf of the Assyrians a few years ago; she has real power among her people.

Surma's sister married Shlieman, eldest son of Ismail, Malik—*i.e.*, chief—of the Upper Tyari tribe. There is a story told of this old chief which serves to show the chivalry that exists amongst these wild Highlanders. In January, 1907, the Turks sent a company of Kurds through Tyari territory; the men were only half-trained, and so when they met four Assyrians they shot them for fear that they themselves might be attacked. Afraid of their deed, they hurried off to tell the Tyari chief lest their lives should pay forfeit to the clansmen. Crossing the bridge to Ismail's house, they told their story and begged his protection. This he generously gave; the avengers, however, soon arrived to claim their blood, but Ismail kept his promise and refused to deliver the wretched Kurds, going so far as to dare his own men to cross the bridge. The hillmen deliberated until night, and then the Malik, under cover of darkness, accompanied by Shlieman, his eldest son, escorted the Kurds by another road to their destination, Julamerk. So much for the word of an Assyrian.

Before the war the Assyrians were a "millet," or small nation, under the Turks. The "millet" was divided into tribes under their chiefs, and all were under the Patriarch. Actually, the six highland tribes (Upper and Lower Tyari, Tkhuma, Jelu, Baz, and Dizan) were to all intents and purposes independent, never having been subdued by the Turks. The Lowlanders were under Kurdish Aghas and paid

taxes. The Highlanders were largely shepherds, though in some tribes there were good artisans. Their valleys, lying between the mountain ranges, were terraced and cultivated. It is these mountains that the Assyrians love, and little or no value attaches to them from the point of view of agriculture or minerals.

In November, 1914, the Turks sided with the Central Powers. They proclaimed a *jihad*, and by pillaging the Christian villages round Bash Kala, they made it clear what the Christians might expect from them. A force of Kurds and Turks swept down on Urmia from the west, wiping out Mergawar and Tergawar. The mountaineers, however—*i.e.*, the six tribes I have mentioned—remained untouched through the winter of 1914-15. In the spring of 1915, mistrusting the overtures the Turks were making to them, they joined the Russians who had advanced to Urmia. From this date, then, the Assyrians definitely became our allies, and proved a real thorn in the Turkish side. Five weeks later the Russians retreated from Urmia, and the Assyrians were left to fight for their very existence. The outskirts of their mountain districts were pillaged, including their religious centre, Qudshanis, but they held their mountains. It was at this time that the Turks endeavoured to reduce the Assyrians to submission by threatening the life of Hormis, the Marshimun's brother, who was in their country. Benjamin, the Marshimun, however, deeming the lives of his people of more value than that of his brother, refused to submit to the Turkish demand, and Hormis was put to death.

In August, 1915, the Turks, advancing from the south, again attacked the mountaineers. This time they were more successful; the Assyrians, however, still held on to their more unassailable heights, keeping themselves alive by raiding the valleys. Winter forced them to evacuate these fastnesses, and in the late autumn of 1915, about 25,000, including women and children, formed themselves into two columns, and pushed through to Urmia, a feat in itself when one realizes the country through which they had to move.

Here in Urmia, with the help of Russian arms, they waged a successful guerilla warfare against Turk and Kurd until the spring of 1918. Then Simko, Agha of the Shekkak Kurds, proposed to the Marshimun that they should unite against the Turks. Acting against their better judgment, Benjamin, the Marshimun, and David, his brother, went to the house of the Kurdish chief to confer. As they left in all apparent friendliness Kurds from the roof shot down the Marshimun, and David barely escaped with his life; in fact, he lay for some time wounded in the house of an Armenian. So much for the word of a Kurd. I can remember speaking to an Assyrian officer in the Levies about this treacherous affair. "Sir," he said, "if I saw Simko and knew that I should die next, I would kill Simko first."

The position of the Assyrians at Urmia now became untenable, and eventually, with the Agha Petros—an Assyrian—as their leader, they pushed south and, at the cost of some 15,000 lives, got into touch with the British in North-west Persia. They travelled to Mesopotamia by way of Hamadan and Kermanshah, and found shelter in the refugee camp at Baquba.

This is the history of the Assyrians up to the close of the war, and it suffices to show how, like other small peoples, their future became a matter for us, or rather for the Allies to decide. Now came the question of what was to be done about this “our smallest Ally.” As there was no clear policy in Mesopotamia at the time, the question was a very difficult one to answer.

In 1919 the Assyrians were first used in operations against the Kurds under British officers, and at once showed their worth. An attempt in 1920 to repatriate the people failed, largely owing to the Arab rebellion, and a second attempt, under Agha Petros, was equally unsuccessful for want of proper organization. In 1921 a certain number were infiltrated through the Amadia valley, and in 1922 more were settled in villages on the Mosul plain. Later still the hardier ones pushed right through to rebuild their homes in the mountains; of these I shall have more to say presently.

In 1921 the Assyrian Levies were established, and increased in 1922. From this time until now these Levies have proved a very useful force, and their numbers to-day (I am speaking particularly of the Assyrians) must be something like three thousand; they consist of three infantry battalions, one pack battery, and a machine-gun section. They were stationed on the northern frontier of Iraq. Dulip was made the headquarters of the 2nd Assyrian battalion, with outposts at Feish Khabur and at Zakho. There is a beautiful bridge across the Khabur river on which Zakho is situated. It is obviously Roman in origin, although it is called Alexander's bridge. A story is told that for long the builders were unable to persuade the centre arch to hold, and finally, in despair, they vowed that the first living creature to pass should be built into the stonework alive. A lovely Kurdish maiden with two Saluki hounds unwittingly passed by. The centre arch has held ever since. Mosul formed the Levy Brigade headquarters, and here, too, were the headquarters of the 3rd Assyrian battalion, whose outposts were at Mindan and Akra. The 4th Assyrian battalion was stationed in Mosul as well as the Assyrian pack battery, and the 2nd Levy Cavalry Regiment. This latter unit was composed of Kurds and Arabs, and was later amalgamated with the 1st Cavalry Regiment, and stationed at Kirkuk.

The map shows how Iraq is ringed round to the north and east by the Kurdish hills. The Kurds who live here have been, both during and since the war, a continual source of trouble to us. Turkish propa-

ganda has been, I think, to a large extent responsible for this. In the early summer of 1922 the Assyrian troops were used in the Suleimaniya operations with some success; the Commander-in-Chief chose them for special praise. In the autumn of 1922, two Assyrian companies were sent through to Amadia on a punitive expedition against the Kurds, who had raided the place. The Kurds under Fares Agha persuaded Abdul Latif, a townsman of Amadia, to let them into the town. Now Amadia is built on the ridge of a hill which juts out into the valley from the mountain side. There is but one gate, and that only approached by a steep climb. At night the Kurds, scaling the precipitous face of the hill, were hauled up one by one into Abdul's house. Once within the walls, they proceeded to try and master the town, and nearly succeeded in doing so. Mar Surgis, an Assyrian bishop returning from Bewar, heard the firing as he came down the Sapna valley, and with a party of Baz and Jelu Highlanders supported the police in the town and ejected the Kurds. During the operations which followed, these raiders evaded the Levies, although certain Irregulars got into touch with them. To show the toughness of the hillsmen who composed this Levy force, one march started at 12 midnight and finished at 7 p.m., nineteen hours with only two hours' halt, and the following day there were only three sick.

During 1922-23 the Turkish advance on Mosul was always a possibility, and in those winter months Assyrian and Turkish sentries eyed each other across the Khabur river. In the spring of 1923 the Assyrian Levies were withdrawn from the frontier for operations in Eastern Kurdistan. They were concentrated as a brigade at Erbil, the ancient Arbila, where Alexander the Great once overthrew the forces of Darius the Persian. The objective was Rowanduz, a town about forty miles west of the Persian frontier, within Iraq and since 1920 a nest of Turkish intrigue; it was occupied by the Turks under Euz de Mir, a Turk. The Turkish commander sent flamboyant messages as to how, rather than surrender the town, the defenders would fight to the last man. How pitifully he failed to substantiate his challenge will be shown. An Imperial column marched to Rowanduz by a parallel route to that followed by the Levies and, while the former crossed the Bajan Pass to the south-west of the objective, the latter pushed due east through the Rowanduz Gorge. The country was eminently suited for defence, for it consisted of successive ranges of lofty ridges, notably Baba-Chikchik and the Spilik Dagh. The latter position was especially formidable, and was fortified by an underfeature crowned with stone *sangars*. A night march and an attack at dawn were planned and executed, but Kurd and Turk had melted away. Rowanduz Gorge could have been held by a mere handful of men. It is seven miles long and down it four torrents join, cutting through precipitous walls which tower thousands of feet above. A track clings

to the rocky mountain side, and along this path the army marched. The town had been evacuated by Euz de Mir, and Rowanduz was occupied and has been held by us ever since.

The behaviour of the Assyrians left little to be desired. Coming as they did from the fever-stricken plain of Mosul, their fitness was wonderful and the percentage of sick incredibly small. I can see them now, as we wormed our way through those Kurdish hills, piqueting the heights as they came, scaling the steep sides at a run. I can hear their shouts of mirth as they rushed through some icy torrent, and when the night closed down at the end of a weary day arms would be linked and, in the firelight, song and dance would while away the time they awaited their evening meal.

The Assyrians have their faults. Who have not? But, curbed and disciplined, one can want no finer fighting material. This year, at Kirkuk, their copybook was badly smudged, though, I would like to say, not as badly as some might think.

And now we come to the final scene, staged last September. The setting of the story, the Hakiari mountains. To trace the whole length of the northern frontier of Iraq would take too long and is moreover unnecessary; sufficient to say that coming from the north-east the frontier line strikes the Hazil river and follows this stream south to its junction with the Khabur river, when it turns due west along the course of this tributary until it joins the Tigris. This valley of the Khabur and Hazil is overlooked by Zakho post. Away to the north-east of Zakho lay the uncontrolled Assyrian highlands. The story (it was told in *The Times*) is as follows:

The Vali of Julamerk, contrary to British advice, entered the Assyrian district to collect tribute from a Kurd at Chal. He was captured by Assyrians, but speedily released, and explanations given by ourselves. However, the Turks organized a punitive expedition of two columns, and, since their natural route by Julamerk was difficult, one column was sent by way of the Khabur valley and moved from Jezira ibn Omar along the plain below the Zakho post, which since the Rowanduz operations had been held by King Feisal's Arab army. At the junction of the Hazil and Khabur rivers is Dornuk, an Iraq police post on the left bank of the Hazil; the Turkish post is opposite at Kurkit. The Turks crossed the Hazil river at Rubanki, which lies to the north of Dornuk and on the same side of the river. Here they were in British territory. Our Air Force bombed them and they retired across the river. With reinforcements from Jezira they advanced again. This time we held our hand, referring the matter to the League of Nations.

Meanwhile, what of the Assyrians, who we nominally protect and three thousand of whose fighting men were employed in our Levies? With the loss of these men, who as I have shown had been withdrawn from the frontier, the Assyrians, mostly old men, women, and children,

proved an easy prey to the Turks. Some 6,000 to 8,000 refugees were driven down through Amadia into Iraq from the villages they had only recently rebuilt. Was this necessary? Here at Amadia the flood was stemmed by a handful of Assyrian Levies under a British officer, and an irregular force was formed which stopped the Turkish advance. The Assyrian hillmen, stiffened by this force, drove back the Turks. On one occasion a native Bishop, dressed in a lounge coat and Kurdish trousers, himself successfully led an assault on a Turkish position.

There is much talk about the frontier and its *status quo*, but what of the human lives and wrecked homes? Does their status count for nothing?

A certain gentleman stated that we had done a lot for the Assyrians but they had done little for themselves. I do not know much about that—perhaps they have not done much for themselves, but one thing I do know, and that is that they have done a great deal for us. During the war they certainly played a part, but I think their use has been even greater since the war. During 1922-23-24 they made it possible by their loyalty and reliability for us to reduce our ground forces in Iraq. In the Suleimaniya, Amadia, and Rowanduz operations they were actively engaged to everybody's satisfaction, and during 1922-23 they held the frontier against the threatened Kemalist offensive.

What now of the future of these Hakiari Highlanders, this virile Christian race whose history I have tried to describe to you?

There is the Mosul plain, on which many have been settled. What does it offer? Fever certainly. It is the worst fever area in all Iraq—99 to 100 per cent. positive tests were obtained in almost every one of its villages. For ten months I lived on this plain and saw its ravages amongst the civilian population and my own Assyrian soldiers. In many villages 100 per cent. were suffering from fever, and in 1921 as many as 25 per cent. died in three months. I have seen the almost incredible change in health when the Assyrian Levies moved to the hills. I submit that if the Assyrians are to be settled on the plain, their extermination will be just as effective as it would be under the Turk, and one of the oldest races in history will cease to exist.

No. To my mind the future of the Assyrians, if they are to have a future, lies inseparable from their hills—the mountains on which they have lived for generations—their ancient home. Surely justice will be done to these Highlanders, this remnant of an historic race. Barren and inhospitable their land may be, rugged and rude their snow-capped heights, humble is the desire which throbs insistently from them, "O give us back our hills, our torrents and our rocks."

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Our lecturer has given us a thorough insight into the country of the Assyrians; he has described them as a virile race who have done a

great deal for us, and I think we shall all acknowledge that is a very true description. Now the Central Asian Society has taken up this question of the Assyrians, we have published papers on it at various times, and I would ask all the members of the Society who are here to-day, if they want to study the question, to look up the previous papers on the subject. Take, for instance, "The Assyrian Adventure of 1920," by Lieut.-Colonel Cunliffe Owen, in the *Journal* at the beginning of 1923. Then we have a second paper, "The Assyrian Chaldeans," by Major Rynd, which gives us some further information about them; and our lecturer to-day gave us a short paper on the subject at the beginning of this year. He has now supplemented that by the very interesting lecture we have just heard. If there are any here who take an interest in these people and are not members of the Society, I can only say I hope they will join the Society, and study these previous papers, which I am sure will be of great interest to them. The question of these Assyrians, I think we must all acknowledge, is one vital to our mandated territory in Iraq, and of extreme importance to ourselves. These men have fought for us, and look to us to protect them, and it is our duty, I think, to do so. On the map we have seen the territory which they have re-occupied, and from which they have now been driven. It is a sad story. I think we ought to understand that when we are talking of the Assyrians, we are talking mainly of the Nestorians. These Nestorians, I gather, are what we may call the Protestant portion of the race, while the Chaldeans are the Roman Catholic portion. These latter give allegiance to the Pope of Rome and belong to the Roman Church. Another section of them is described in a previous paper as Jacobites, who are subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. Major Rynd, in his article, further says that the Devil worshippers—known as the Yezidis—are also claimed as belonging to this race; but that they left the Christian fold very early and relapsed into paganism. It is a curious thing, in this very room two or three weeks ago, I was listening to a lecture by Lord Thomson on his recent experience with the Air Force in Mesopotamia; and he described to us that when he was inspecting a battalion of these Assyrians he came to a company which struck him as different from the rest; and when he asked who they were he was told they were devil worshippers. I asked him to explain why the devil worshippers should be specially joined up with the Christians, but he could not give an answer to that. I do not know whether our lecturer can tell us how many companies of these devil worshippers there are among the Assyrian battalions, and why they were specially selected for enrolment amongst them.

The LECTURER: I am not sure, but they were being raised as I left.

Sir CHARLES YATE: They seem to get on well together, and I hope they will continue to do so. There is not the slightest doubt the

Assyrians are good soldiers, and I think upon those good soldiers who are garrisoning the frontier the stability of the Iraq Government largely depends. I should mention that these levies are paid for by the British Government, not by the Iraq Government: all the levies are under British officers, and paid for by the British Government. The Arab army, which is paid for by the Iraq Government, consists of Arabs only, and has no British officers. I believe they are mostly town Arabs, and I do not think we can call them great soldiers—from what I have heard they are mainly useful as police. I think it is necessary that the frontier should be garrisoned by this virile race of Assyrians if the frontier is to be held at all. If the Assyrians are disbanded it is impossible to say what will happen to the Iraq Government. I do not know what the opinion of the lecturer is on that subject, but I think I am right in saying that while the Assyrian Levies were on this frontier the Turks did not advance. When the Assyrian Levies were withdrawn, then it was that the Turks advanced. I believe the Assyrian Levies have a good name all over the country as good fighting men. (Applause.) The question of the future of this people is of real importance to us: we ought not to desert them. The frontier has been shown on the map this afternoon. First, there is the old Turkish frontier of the Mosul vilayet, then the portion occupied by the Assyrians, and beyond it Julamerk gives the present Turkish frontier. I think it most important we should insist on retaining the hills now occupied by the Assyrians. We must have that, as a buffer state we may call it, to divide the Turks from the Arabs, and I hope and trust that as the question is being now decided by the League of Nations, a decision will be given in our favour. If the League does not give a decision in our favour, I think it will be a very bad thing indeed for the Iraq Government.

We must thank our lecturer for bringing the case of these unfortunate people to our notice, and I can only hope that the Government, who have now placed the matter in the hands of the League of Nations, will be able to obtain the satisfactory decision that we should hope for.

Sir EDGAR WIGRAM: I feel there are likely to be several people in the room whose information about the Assyrians is of more recent date and better grounded than mine. The points I want to emphasize are rather obvious, and my only excuse for mentioning them is that I think they may be so obvious as to be overlooked. Some have been mentioned by the lecturer. The first point is that nobody except the Assyrians wants the Hakiari valleys as a residence. Nobody else in his senses would want them, and the only reason why the Assyrians want them is simply because they happen to be their own. Born mountaineers, as the Assyrians are, can only live in a mountain country. It is no use at all offering them an alternative home in Mesopotamia, Canada, or Australia; they would simply disperse and

die out. The Assyrians, as has been mentioned, fought on our side during the war; they came in early of their own free will on the invitation of the Russians. We endorsed that invitation afterwards by our conduct and used their services. They did very good service; I have heard from many other officers besides Major Bentinck that really they formed the most reliable of the Mesopotamian Levies. We have rewarded them to some extent—perhaps over-lavishly in the way of doles and subsidies—but the one thing they want we have so far withheld; and they ask with some show of reason what is the use of our friendship if we cannot restore to them the one thing they value and put them back into their own territories, which are the only corner of the world in which they can possibly live. The opposition to their return comes not from the Kurds who live with them, but from the Turks, and the only reason why the Turks want the Assyrian valleys is, I am convinced, that they think in the future those valleys will form outposts from which they will be able to menace Mosul. Certainly Mesopotamia will have no chance of development unless Mosul and the line of railway are protected from interference from the mountains, and the Assyrians in their valleys north of Mosul will be able to secure a most important and vulnerable point of the frontier—that north of Mosul—because neither Kurd nor Turk will care to meddle with the Assyrians if they know they are going to have any backing at all from behind. The frontier now being drawn by the Commission appointed by the League of Nations will, I trust, give to the Assyrians their own valleys, which really belong to them; and I hope it will also be a clear and easily recognizable line. Rivers are really no good as frontiers in that country; both sides of a river valley make one self-contained entity. The real frontiers are the mountain ridges which separate the valleys, and which no one crosses unless he feels obliged. (Hear, hear.) The delimitation of such a frontier would be exceedingly rough travelling for the Commission, but it is the only frontier which would be of practicable use. Of course the Commission will have one temptation—that of following the line of least resistance and showing undue favour to the party which is likely to make most fuss; and we shall also, as mandatories of Iraq, have another temptation later—the temptation of trusting too much to the signatures on a scrap of paper, and not avenging violations of the frontier as promptly as we ought to do. But I feel confident that if justice is done to the Assyrians, and they are placed back in their own valleys, they will be able with very little backing to maintain their own ground against the Turks.

Mr. BUXTON: I do not wish to add anything to the discussion, because the points I desired to emphasize have already been put forward both by Major Bentinck and the subsequent speakers. I would only like to say that it was my own experience—and one of the

most interesting experiences that I have had—to be a prisoner of the Agha Simko, who was referred to in the lecture as the treacherous slayer of Mar Shimun. The Agha Simko was an exceedingly brave, handsome, but bloodthirsty ruffian, who betrayed the Patriarch after giving him hospitality under his own roof. My experiences in the northern part of this territory, between Urmia and Van, lead me to confirm what has been said about the fine qualities of the Assyrian people, and I feel that all of us can be nothing but conscience-stricken on this subject regarding the way we have betrayed these brave allies of ours. I cannot understand why it was, if our Government had not made up its mind to hold that country, that the Assyrians were ever permitted to go back to their mountains. It seems to me utterly shameful to have allowed these people to go back to their hills, and then, just as soon as they have rebuilt their villages, to withdraw. Therefore I hope that the Society and everyone present will do what they can to arouse public opinion, so that when the question of the Iraq frontier is being discussed, as no doubt it will be further discussed by the public and Press, everything possible may be done to press the claims of these people. There are no doubt other considerations which will have to be taken into account—the need for economy, etc.—and there will be a strong temptation to throw the whole responsibility on to the Iraq Government, but we must not leave the country without providing security for this little people.

The CHAIRMAN: I will say a few words before I close the proceedings. I thought the case for the Assyrians was stated succinctly and clearly by Sir Edgar Wigram, and no doubt their case is a very unfortunate and very hard one. Unfortunately, it often happens that when the whole world is being reshaped, these smaller peoples, however interesting their historical traditions may be, are forgotten among the larger questions pressing on the Foreign Offices and Chancellories of Europe. The problem is difficult. These people do not want to be placed under the Government of Iraq or that of the Turk. The alternative of some home elsewhere is to my mind very hopeless indeed; we have had a great and bitter experience in the transfer of populations that has recently taken place between Turkey and Greece. (Hear, hear.) Those who are familiar with what went on at that time are not very anxious to repeat the experiment. But I should say the case is even worse for the transfer of the Assyrians. In the case of the Greeks and Turks they were being exchanged into countries where they would live amongst their own countrymen, so that that case was simpler; to take away the Assyrians, and put them in some other part of the world, where they would have no natural affinities, either racial or social, with the people of the country, would be a hopeless task. I am not going into all the difficult questions that would be raised by that problem; one can only hope that, now the boundary is being

delimited by the Mosul Commission, under the auspices of the League of Nations, some possible way will be found for making provision for this people. I have now to thank our lecturer not only for his lecture, but also for the very interesting slides he gave us. I am infantile enough to be able to learn a good deal through the eyes as well as through the ears. It is a form of education I always appreciate. I enjoyed the lecture, and I think we are very much indebted to Major Bentinck for coming here this afternoon and giving us so interesting a picture on the geographical aspect of the country. He plunged into early history, and took us back as far as 1300 B.C. He told us something of the historical side of the Assyrians, their position as an ancient nation and a Christian nation, their division into different religious sects ; and also he gave from his own experience a view of their value as fighting men, and the capacity they have shown as soldiers. I am bound to say that I think most races of the world show well as soldiers when they are trained and led by British officers. (Hear, hear.) On your behalf I venture to tender the very hearty thanks of the Society to Major Bentinck. (Applause.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, on Friday, January 16, 1925, when the Right Hon. Viscount Peel presided at a lecture on "Turkey To-day" by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. M. Cornwall, C.B.E.

Before the lecture commenced the Chairman asked Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, Hon. Secretary, to announce the number of members newly elected.

The HON. SECRETARY (Sir Raleigh Egerton) : Ladies and Gentlemen, members of the Central Asian Society,—I have to inform you that we have elected eighteen new members since our last meeting. We have to thank two or three of our members—I will not mention them by name—for great energy in recruiting, and if a few other members would join in the task of recruiting members, we should very soon reach the thousand that we aim at.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have met here to-day to listen to a paper on "Turkey To-day" by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. M. Cornwall, C.B.E. Colonel Cornwall, in spite of his youthful appearance, has had a long and distinguished military career already. He is especially qualified also by his experience to speak to us on the subject of Turkey. He went out in January, 1920, to Turkey with a brigade of the Royal Field Artillery, and then in April, 1920, he was appointed to the command of the British troops at Chanak. In August, 1921, he was appointed Intelligence Officer to General Sir Charles Harington in Constantinople until the evacuation of the British forces in October, 1923. He remained in Constantinople after the evacuation in order to study Turkey and the Turks. In July, 1924, he was appointed British Delegate on the Commission to delimit the demilitarized zone in Thrace, on which work he is still employed. We therefore have an officer who has very great knowledge of Turkey and Turkish methods, and we look forward with very great pleasure to his lecture. I will call on Colonel Cornwall to give his lecture.

TURKEY TO-DAY

It is with some diffidence that I venture to-day to address the Central Asian Society, for I must confess that I have never been in Central Asia. My excuse is that I have recently travelled in Central Asia Minor, and by all accounts there is considerable similarity geographically between the steppe lands watered by the Oxus and the upland plateau of Anatolia. Ethnographically, too, Turkey forms the final habitat of those Turanian nomads who wandered between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries from the Tarim Basin to the banks of the Maritza. When you cross the Bosphorus and climb up 3,000 feet into the hinterland of Anatolia, you find yourself in the midst of a primitive people and a backward civilization which is truly Asiatic.

It is well-known history, which I need not recapitulate, how the Ottoman Empire rose to its zenith and declined; how from the sixteenth century onwards the outlying and less Ottomanized portions of Suleiman's great empire fell away from the ever-weakening grip of the Padishahs in Constantinople. This centrifugal process continued steadily until it culminated in the Balkan War of 1912 and the Great War, when Turkey proper was finally shorn of her non-Turkish dependencies in the West and in the East.

After the Great War, when the Peace Treaties were being leisurely debated in 1919 and 1920, the Allies unfortunately failed to agree as to the terms to be imposed on the defeated Turkish nation, and the Allied forces remained for a whole year in occupation of Constantinople before the intentions of their Governments were announced. This delay and indecision both exasperated the Turks and indicated to them the political divergences in the Allied camp. The Turk has always proved a past master at exploiting such a situation to his own advantage.

The Allies had also in May, 1919, had recourse to the unfortunate expedient of letting the Greek army loose on Asia Minor without either effective support or adequate control.

The result was that thousands of exasperated Turks flocked to the standard of revolt raised by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, first at Sivas and then at Angora. So ended 1919.

In January, 1920, the National Pact was formulated by the Turkish Parliament at Constantinople, which then dissolved.

The Turkish Nationalist forces, at first an ill-equipped rabble, succeeded in resisting or evading the Greek army, and Mustafa Kemal strengthened his position by intriguing first with the Soviets and then with some of the Allies.

EVENTS OF 1921.

March: Treaties with Afghanistan and Soviet Russia.

August: Greek offensive; Sakaria battle.

October: Treaty of Kars. Treaty with M. Franklin-Bouillon.

EVENTS OF 1922.

Then followed nine months' stalemate, during which the Turks went on quietly consolidating their political and military position. The Greeks meanwhile indulged in political intrigues, while the Allies looked on and did nothing.

In July the Greeks made a false move; Mustafa Kemal swiftly took advantage of it, and by the end of August the Greek army was driven back, a beaten rabble, to the Ægean Sea.

Events then followed rapidly.

September: The burning of Smyrna.

October: The Mudania Armistice.

November: The flight of the Sultan.

Then began the Lausanne Conference, which dragged on until July, 1923, followed in October by the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies, and the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Finally, in March, 1924, came the expulsion of the Caliph and of all the imperial family and the abolition of the Caliphate.

During the month that followed the defeat of the Greek army in August, 1922, 850,000 Ottoman Greeks abandoned their homes in Anatolia and fled to Greece. I want to begin by clearing up a popular misconception on this subject; the Ottoman Greeks are rather less Greeks than the Americans are English. They are the remnants of the original inhabitants of Anatolia—call them Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, what you will—whom Xenophon called "Barbarians" in the fifth century B.C., whom Alexander conquered and Hellenized in the fourth century B.C., and whom St. Paul converted to Christianity. They are of mixed blood, and since the Christian era began they have been subjected to wave after wave of Mongol and Turkish invasion, in spite of which they have tenaciously maintained the speech that Alexander left them and the faith they got from St. Paul; with them must be reckoned the thriving Greek colonists along the Ægean coast, who were more nearly the descendants of the early Ionian settlers.

When the Greek débâcle took place in August, 1922, there were roughly one and a half million of these so-called Greeks in Asia Minor. Some 850,000 having fled for safety to Greece in the first rush, the problem of the remainder became a difficult one; in fact, it was of such importance to both Greece and Turkey that the two countries

settled the matter out of court by a special convention signed by M. Venizelos and Ismet Pasha at Lausanne on January 30, 1923. According to this convention, all Ottoman Greeks in Turkey (except those domiciled in Constantinople) were to be transferred to Greece, while all Moslems in Greece (except the inhabitants of Western Thrace) were to be sent in exchange to Turkey. This exchange began in May, 1923, and was practically completed by the end of 1924. It has involved much individual hardship and suffering, but will probably in the end prove to be the most effectual solution of the thorny problem of Christian minorities in Turkey. Since the convention was signed some 500,000 Ottoman Greeks have been exchanged for approximately 350,000 Moslems from Greece. But if we include in the reckoning the 850,000 Ottoman Greeks who fled to Greece in 1922, we see that Turkey has suffered since the war a net loss of 1,000,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the Armenians and other Christian sects who have fled the country. This loss has meant a corresponding gain to the population of Greece. The pre-war population of the territories which now constitute Turkey was about 14,000,000 ; it is now something approaching 8,000,000. As the present infant mortality in Turkey is admitted to be 80 per cent., and the birth-rate is declining, we can look forward to a day in the near future when the population of Turkey will not be more than 7,000,000. The population of Greece is over 6,000,000.

But a still more important factor is the economic loss to Turkey involved by the exchange. Nearly all the trade and commerce of the country was in the hands of the Greeks and Armenians. More especially was it the Ottoman Greeks who wove the carpets, produced the silk, and packed the figs, which formed the staple industries of Turkey. To-day in Anatolia it is almost impossible to get your boots mended.

One can to a certain extent sympathize with the ideals of patriots who wish to prevent their country being exploited by foreigners and mean to keep Turkey for the Turks, but one can only look with sorrow at the results, for instead of improving their country the Turks are bringing about its economic ruin. The interior of Anatolia, once the richest satrapy of the Roman Empire, now resembles a desert. Eastern Thrace, formerly a flourishing province, which as recently as 1912 had a population of 650,000 farmers and merchants, now numbers barely 200,000, and its fertile soil is going back to the condition of a steppe region. I recently visited the little town of Midia on the Black Sea, which before the Balkan War was a prosperous fishing centre and had a population of 9,000, 8,000 of whom were Christians. The town is now in ruins, and a starved-looking population of 600 Turks eke out a miserable existence by burning charcoal. Last spring my wife and I did a journey of over 1,200 miles through Anatolia. From Brusa we went eastward by road as far as the Anatolian Railway, and then took

the train to Eregli, via Eskishehr, Afun Qara Hisar, and Konia, after making a very interesting *détour* into the hills north of Afun to visit the Phrygian Monuments and the old Royal Road, which led eastward from the sea to the old Hittite capital in Cappadocia. From Eregli we took the road again and traversed the Taurus Mountains by the famous Cilician Gates. We then turned north and crossed the central plateau via Nigde, Qaisari, Yozgad, Chorum, and Amasia, reaching the Black Sea at Samsun. In the course of our wanderings we visited the centre of the silk industry, several carpet-weaving districts, and Turkey's richest silver-mine and coal-field. Everything we saw confirmed the impression that Turkey has committed economic suicide by expelling her Christian population. Everywhere land is falling into uncultivation, railways are few and badly organized, and the roads built during the war by the Germans, Russians, and Greeks are now tumbling to pieces.

A visit to Angora, the new capital of the Turkish Republic, does not afford much more food for optimism. It is a typical Anatolian town of some 30,000 inhabitants, situated at a height of nearly 3,000 feet above sea-level at the eastern edge of an extensive marshy plain. It is 360 miles from Constantinople, and forms the terminus of the railway, though this is now being pushed eastward towards Sivas. One can now travel to Angora in comparative comfort, though the journey is painfully slow, and takes twenty-five hours from Haidar Pasha. The climate of Angora presents few amenities; in summer it is afflicted by drought, dust, flies, and malaria; in winter it is swept by cold blizzards and becomes a quagmire of mud. The drainage, sanitary arrangements, and hotel accommodation are all equally indifferent. The water-supply is also defective, and as the town is situated on the edge of a malaria-breeding marsh, difficult to drain, it is most unhealthy. The only really habitable house is that of the Ottoman Bank manager, the whole of the Christian quarter having been burnt down during the war. Mustafa Kemal and Ismet Pasha have comfortable villas in the village of Chanqaya, three miles south of the town, and new embassies are being built in the same neighbourhood by the Germans and the Russians. Up to the present the Allies maintain their political representatives at Constantinople, being naturally loth to abandon their magnificent embassies there, but the French Government has a semi-official representative at Angora in the person of General Mougin.

The question may be asked why such a remote and insalubrious spot was chosen as the capital of the new Turkey. I believe it was partly for sentimental and partly for practical reasons. To begin with, Angora was the cradle of the Nationalist movement and the seat of the Government as well as General Headquarters during the campaign in Anatolia against the Greeks, whereas ports like Constantinople and Smyrna always were and always will be subject to a good deal of

European influence. Strategically the site of Angora has been of importance since prehistoric times. Its rock fortress closed the defile by which the old "Royal Road" led eastward from Sardis and Phrygia to the Hittite homelands about the River Halys, and it was here that Alexander the Great, after cutting the Gordian knot on the banks of the Sakaria, received the submission of the Paphlagonians.

Angora is still the most central town in Anatolia which is linked by rail with the coast, its only serious rival in this respect being Konia, the old Seljuk capital, now on the Baghdad railway. But Konia is politically suspect; its position as the headquarters of the Mevlevi dervishes, fanatical supporters of the Caliphate, renders Konia's loyalty to the Kemalist régime more than doubtful. One can still see round the ruins of Ala-ed-din's palace the trenches dug by the troops sent by Mustafa Kemal to suppress the Konia revolt in 1921.

Unfortunately there is intense jealousy and even hostility between Angora and Constantinople. The narrow-minded and short-sighted legislators in the new capital have done everything in their power to belittle and humiliate the proud descendant of Byzantium, even to the extent of restricting the liberty of its press and hampering its commercial prosperity. This is a case of cutting off the supply of golden eggs with a vengeance, for Constantinople comprises all that there is of enlightenment, "intelligenza," and even of public opinion in Turkey. Commercially, Constantinople was once, and could under a progressive administration again become, one of the richest transit ports and emporiums for the world's trade.

I recently asked an intelligent Turkish friend of mine whether the capital could, under the circumstances, be maintained at Angora. "Yes," he replied, "and in the long run Angora may prove to be the best capital for us in spite of its many disadvantages. When the Sultans resided in Constantinople they squandered all the wealth of the country in building palaces on the Bosphorus, and, in consequence, Anatolia was starved and became a wilderness. Now the taxes will be expended in building roads and railways, and in developing the resources of the country." There is much to be said for this argument, and it is probable that Angora will remain the capital, even if the present Government falls. At the same time, it seems wasteful to abandon all the commodious Government buildings and palaces in and around Constantinople, and to go and erect jerry-built ministries in an unhealthy provincial town, which offers no attractions as a residence.

I have paid two visits to Angora—the first in December, 1923, and the second a year later. I cannot say that I was much impressed by the rate of progress in building the new capital, although considerable efforts are being made. Of course the Turks themselves are incapable of supplying the necessary skill and labour. During my first visit the new buildings were being erected by Greek prisoners, guarded by

Turkish soldiers; the work is now being done by Germans and Italians. One meets with a great number of Germans in Angora, many of them of the foreman and mechanic class, and one feels that if the Turks will only let them stay, Angora may some day become a town. The material for the Anatolian railway—supposed to be British-owned—is all being purchased in Germany, and the train in which I travelled to Angora last month was drawn by a locomotive built in Germany in 1924. German economic penetration is now very much in the ascendant, and has this advantage over British trade, that the Turks no longer fear Germany as a land-grabbing world Power. The fact is that the Turks are beginning to realize that, economically, they cannot stand on their own legs. The more intelligent among them are asking why their Government does not follow the example of Japan and invite European technical experts to show them how to develop their backward country on up-to-date lines; such advanced spirits, however, are up against the stubborn opposition of the more xenophobe deputies at Angora, who still think they can run their country without outside help, and who are suspicious of any economic penetration which might lead to financial or political control by a foreign Power. Everywhere one encounters the results of this suspicion; all shop-signs and official letters have to be in Turkish characters, and all Christian employees, even Ottoman subjects, are, in defiance of the Lausanne Treaty, being excluded as far as possible from public services and private business.

One of the few successful pieces of constructive work that I can admire in the new Turkey is the establishment of internal security throughout the country. For centuries brigandage has been endemic, and more than ever so during the past few years, but the Angora Government by means of stern measures has almost completely wiped out this scourge, and to-day one can wander without an escort practically all over Asia Minor. In fact, one can say that life and property are safer in the wilds of Anatolia than in Constantinople, as the gendarmerie which patrols the country districts is far more efficient and less corrupt than the police which is responsible for security in the towns.

I hope that I have been able to paint you a true picture of Turkey as it is to-day, and also to have indicated some of the possibilities of the future. My picture may not agree with all the accounts you have heard or read. Some enthusiastic but misguided optimists come back from a short visit to Turkey with glowing accounts of the Turk, his virtues and his regeneration. I too have many Turkish friends, whose good qualities I sincerely admire. No one who has really made the acquaintance of the Anatolian peasant can help liking him, and both at Angora and in Constantinople one meets many Turks who attract one by their intelligence and charm; and the Turk can be very charming,

especially when he thinks it to his advantage to be so. But as an administrator, even of his own co-religionists, he has his limitations.

I have every sympathy for the ideals of the Turks to-day; so had many friends of Turkey for the ideals of the Young Turk Party in 1908. But I have spent the last five years in Turkey, and whenever anyone tells me that "a new heaven and a new earth" is going to arise on the shores of the Bosphorus, I am reminded of the old Turkish proverb: "*Eski hamam, eski tas,*" which means: "It's the same old bath and the same old bath-bowl."

Colonel STOKES: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Greatly as I enjoyed listening to the lecturer and seeing that excellent series of slides, perhaps Colonel Cornwall will forgive me for saying that I was rather disappointed he did not tell us a little more about the Turkey of to-day, because the Turkey of to-day is a question of very great interest to the British Empire. I think Colonel Cornwall was a little hard in his strictures on the Turks. One has to remember that they were fighting from 1911 to 1922 practically continuously. At the end of that time they found themselves shorn to a great extent of their territory, but still left with Anatolia. One of the things they did was to move their capital to Angora. Who would not? Would any sane man sit in Constantinople, with the Straits open to the British Fleet, or any other Allied Fleet, able to steam up any afternoon and dictate any terms you like? Is that a good position for a capital? Angora has all sorts of difficulties and disadvantages, but what else could they do? Why is Turkey important to the British Empire? If you look at the map you will find that between our Indian Empire and Russia you have got Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and—I am using my words advisedly—I am convinced that it is a matter of vital importance that the friendship of those countries should be with us. It is not a question of our having to go and beg for that friendship. They want our friendship and we want theirs. We can have it for the asking, but we shall not get it so long as we pursue the policy of the last twenty-five years, which has been anti-Islamic. Other Governments have seen fit to send their representatives to Angora, but the British representative sits in Constantinople. Are the social amenities of Kabul so greatly superior to those of Angora that we can send a representative to Kabul and not to Angora? Or is it that the British Foreign Office, defeated in diplomacy by the Turks, is having its revenge in this way? We shall be told the Germans are getting in. I was in Berlin the other day. I am told there are 4,000,000 German intellectuals—say there are only 2,000,000—experts in their different trades, out of jobs. Will not they go to Turkey if they get the chance, and will not Turkey take Germans rather than nationals of any other country? Germany is to all Oriental countries the one Western Power without foreign possessions; "therefore," says the Turk, "we can get her disinterested

friendship." I do not know whether you know what is going on in Germany. One mosque has been built and a second is being built at Berlin. I do not know if you know how many Afghan students are going to Berlin. I have not heard of one in England; and they are going to Paris too. What we want to-day—and it applies to-day more than ever it did—is the friendship of Turkey. Disraeli saw this from the time we took on the Suez Canal. He said that whoever held Constantinople must be the friend of England. I know of no outstanding question which cannot be settled if there is goodwill on our part. That must be the basis of our policy.

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I was very much interested in the lecture, but, like the last speaker, a little disappointed that he did not give us more information about Turkey itself. He gave us some idea as to the present state of affairs, but apparently from his remarks, I should say that there is very little indeed that he can enlighten us upon as regards any development taking place. Practically it is nil. He spoke about the railway from Haidar-Pasha and Eskishehr to Angora, and its extension eastward across country to Sivas—I think that is the place he mentioned—but he did not say whether there was any new development taking place out there. I believe certain nationalities have got concessions in that part, and there is some talk of building a railway from Sivas towards Nisibin and the Baghdad railway. Could the lecturer give us any light upon that subject? I should think that the question of the friendship of Turkey is a very serious one really for this country, and, with him, I am a little surprised that apparently—present company always excepted—the leading lights of different Governments have not seen fit or been wideawake enough to put up some effort towards making a slight advance towards the Turkish people or Government, who, as he said, would be only too anxious to have the friendship of the British Empire. With other nations walking through the back door, as you might say—the last speaker has mentioned some of them—I think it is about time that the British Government woke up to what is taking place, and even if they have to put their pride in their pocket, I think in twenty-five years' time it would pay us; we certainly cannot afford to go on as we are doing now. With respect to India, it is no good talking about danger unless we do something, and then the question of Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, and Turkey in Asia is a serious one for this country; and I hope those who are responsible will take the steps necessary to see that our possessions in India and further east are protected in the way they ought to be.

Mr. BORLEY: Lord Peel, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to point out that this friendship with Turkey is a rather two-edged weapon. I am speaking from some experience, during the last two years, of the French Islamic possessions in Africa. Anyone who has

travelled there will have noticed that the disposition of a very large proportion of the Islamic subjects of the French Government is to regard with a sneer the rather solicitous efforts of that Government to be friendly with Kemal Pasha. Particularly has this been the case since the conclusion of the Franklin-Bouillon agreement. It is the fashion with a great many educated Moors, Tunisians, and Algerians to say, "Yes, Kemal Pasha is the leader of Islam. Our rulers would like to be friendly with Kemal; but he will use their friendship just as long as he likes and no longer." You hear so much of that in North Africa that perhaps the British Empire should be careful.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—On your behalf I offer a word of thanks to the lecturer. He made one observation when he started that he was afraid Turkey was some distance from Central Asia, and therefore his lecture might not fall within the purview of the Central Asian Society. But he need not be under any anxiety from that point of view. In the past, from Central Asia have gone out nearly all the conquering races that have gone west and established kingdoms and empires: I may compare the Central Asian Society to those conquerors.

I heard with regret from Colonel Stokes that he thinks, during the last twenty-five years, our diplomacy has been consistently outwitted by the Turks—if this is so, it is unfortunate.

Colonel STOKES: Not quite that, sir. I said for twenty-five years our policy has been anti-Islamic, and recently the Turks have defeated the British diplomats.

The CHAIRMAN: I thought the expression was confined to the last twenty-five years; but as it is rather more pointed than that, I suppose he refers to the recent Government. There were two points of great interest in the lecture besides the slides: one was the relative populations of the two countries, Greece and Turkey. It has been pointed out by writers of note before now, that in considering the great changes in the different positions of countries, politically, socially, and economically, not sufficient attention has been given to the extraordinary alteration in the relative numbers in the populations of the various countries of Europe, if we compare what they were in the past with what they are to-day. I need not point out the obvious differences in relation to France and Germany. It is remarkable that the great Ottoman Empire should have only six or seven million people, and be actually comparable in point of numbers to the much smaller Greek country, which has now a population of from six to seven millions, and is on this basis almost equal to Turkey. I, like the lecturer, have a good deal of affection for the Turks. I have spent much time with them, know many of them well, and have friends among them; but many think Turkey is making a very dangerous and

hazardous experiment in her decisions during the last few years. I do not know whether sufficient attention is paid to the feeling in other Moslem countries, and what has been the reaction on Turkey and the Turks of doing away with the Sultanate and the Khalifate. It has had a great effect in India, and has damped enthusiasm for Turkey. When I was travelling recently in Morocco, I found that, whereas two or three years ago the name of Kemal Pasha was held up as that of a great national hero among Moslems, from the moment that stunning change took place—and the double abolition of the Sultanate and Khalifate is one of the greatest social changes that has ever taken place in Turkey—from that time forward the name of Kemal Pasha was hardly ever mentioned. Anyone speaking of the relations of the British Empire to Moslem populations should not forget that the situation has been greatly altered by the determination of Turkey to separate itself entirely, so far as it can, from old habits and customs, to substitute another law, and to break, as far as it can politically, with its Moslem past. Turkey has followed a very bold course, because not only has it affected the East by breaking with the habits and customs of the Moslem faith in this way, but it has thrown out something of the same challenge to the West. As the lecturer has told us, it has driven out of those countries all those populations (Greeks and others) who were carrying on the economic life of the country. This is a bold course, but to some observers it has elements of rashness. It resembles in many respects what has happened in the south of Ireland, where the determination of Sinn Fein to be “ourselves alone” has been carried to so extreme a point. I think it is not unnatural that the country, in setting itself up as a more modern country, should roughly and ruthlessly break away from the traditions of the past; but it is obvious that if Turkey is to count in the future, it must open its gates to the Westerner, for it cannot develop its great natural resources entirely by its own help. I myself believe that at some future time there will be a very considerable change in the attitude of Turkey towards external nations and external capital, because it will be found that the position of splendid isolation for practical purposes leaves something to be desired. Colonel Stokes referred to the mosque which is being built at Berlin; that is, in a sense, an old story. Did not the German Emperor, on a famous visit to the East, proclaim himself as a Moslem? I believe, during the war, part of his propaganda in Egypt was that he was a faithful adherent of the Moslem faith. When the Germans were shown the destroyed cathedrals and churches of France and accused of irreligion, he said that was quite possible, because, being a Moslem, he could not be supposed to have any great sympathy with the Christian faith. I noted with interest what the lecturer said about those transfers of populations: he said the population of Greece was going to be increased by something like a million,

both of Ionian Greeks and of others, who, though they spoke the Greek language, could not be considered to be Greeks. I have no doubt in many ways Greece will largely gain from this great influx of population, but I think he will also agree that the economic digesting power of a country like Greece will be a good deal strained for some years to come by having to accommodate a new population, even though in time the country may be largely developed by them. These are all subjects which might carry one very far afield, and I do not think I need really do more than on your behalf give very hearty thanks to our lecturer, not only for the general sketch he has given of affairs in Turkey, but also for the very admirable photographs that he has taken. (Applause.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., on Friday, February 20, 1925, and a lecture was delivered by Brig.-General C. D. Bruce, entitled "Some Thoughts on the Chinese Problem." In the absence of the Right Hon. Viscount Peel, Colonel Sir Charles Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say that Lord Peel is not able to come to-day, owing to his multifarious duties as a Cabinet Minister, and it has fallen to me to introduce to you our lecturer. Brig.-General C. D. Bruce started in the 33rd, the West Riding regiment, and he joined the Chinese regiment at the time it was raised at Shanhai Kwan in 1899. He was severely wounded at Tientsin during the Boxer rebellion in 1900. He then was posted to the command of the Chinese regiment, and served on with it until it was disbanded. One great journey he made was that he tramped all the way from Simla to Peking, a journey right across China, which was, as I think you will all acknowledge, a very great feat in itself. He gave the Central Asian Society a lecture in 1906. After the disbanding of the Chinese regiment he went out again as Chief Commissioner of the International Police at Shanghai, and he served with the police there until the year 1913. After that he went as adviser on police affairs to the Chinese Government, and served with them until the war broke out. After the war he went out again to China in 1919, and finally did not come back until the year following. So I think you will all acknowledge that we have here a man who is a real authority on China, and I look forward with great interest to the lecture he is going to give us. (Applause.)

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CHINESE PROBLEM

BY BRIG.-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

"IF the recent history of the Far East be thrown into the distilling machine the main products are two in number :

- (1) The impressment of the West upon the East.
- (2) The inter-relationship of China and Japan."

These two statements are the foundations upon which the writer from whom I quote bases his investigations into the problems of the Far East.

I think few who have seriously studied these problems are likely to disagree with him. But there are a number of people in this country who are not familiar with Far Eastern problems, yet who are interested in China, Japan, and the future of the Pacific. They would if they could, I believe, take an intelligent interest in the weighty questions concerning all three, questions impatiently biding their time for solution. How weighty few people in this country seem to have time to be aware.

My aim this afternoon is to present—so far as I am able—an intelligible picture of some of these matters. Also to try and indicate general lines of thought which can be followed in endeavouring to understand International developments in the Far East.

I do not propose to confuse your minds with a string of names which few persons can even pronounce correctly—let alone remember. Any day the evening telegrams may be full of China news, of the doings of Changs or Wangs or Tangs, and by dinner-time the ordinary man—or woman—has just begun to differentiate. Comes the next morning's paper in which, to his or her surprise, there is no mention of Chang or Wang or Tang. Instead, a string of fresh names beginning with Wu or Liu or Pu. How can the ordinary mind take any interest in such entirely mythical personalities?

Instead of wasting time, then, in any such fruitless effort let us endeavour to try and understand and to realize this afternoon what this impact of West upon East stands for—what it may mean in future for good or for bitter rivalry to both.

Here is China a vast area, populated by one of the most virile, hard-working and law-abiding races in the world.

What is to become of it?

Is China one of the "has-beens" like Egypt or Persia? Or is she to be—as some of us are inclined to believe—the pivot upon which the future of Asia will turn?

This for the moment is the thought I wish to put into your minds.

It would be futile this afternoon to attempt to make a detailed statement of the numerous issues which unite and culminate in what is commonly known as "the Chinese Problem."

To most Englishmen China is a matter of complete indifference. No one who has not been in China can begin to realize the extraordinary fascination of the country and people. So many-sided is the Chinese character that it affords ample food for deep study to men of all kinds of diverse tastes and professions.

Some four thousand years before our own era began Chinese history was in the making. What food for study is there not in the political systems of a nation such as this, which still flourishes! In art there are European experts to whom early Chinese paintings appeal as much as does any Occidental art. The porcelain of China has never been equalled either in beauty of colouring or in the exquisite skill of its artistic conception. Its literature—though owing to almost insuperable linguistic difficulties it is practically unknown to the rest of the world—contains thoughts in no way inferior to Shakespeare's or Bacon's own (whichever it was who wrote the immortal plays!). Chinese poetry, if it could be adequately translated, has beauty of expression and charm such as we in Europe would delight in.

So much then for one side of Chinese character. There are very many others.

We know that the Chinese were in touch overland with early Roman civilization. Much later but as long ago as the thirteenth century, before Columbus had discovered America or the art of printing had been invented, the first authentic information about China—or Cathay as it was then known—reached Europe.

It was an astounding revelation which Marco Polo and his two nephews brought back to Venice from the Farthest East.

Yule in his fascinating account tells us how three men, dressed in outlandish garb, partly European and partly Asiatic, appeared in the streets of Venice. The three strangers had been absent in the "wild and barbarous countries" of the Far East for more than twenty-four years, and they had long been given up as lost.

In those days—and one might almost say in these—nobody in Europe knew much about the regions in which Marco Polo and his nephews had travelled. It was supposed that the farthest extreme or eastern edge of Cathay ran off into a region of continual darkness, a bog or marsh where all manner of strange beasts, hobgoblins, and monsters roamed and howled. And it is not surprising that when the three travellers came back from that desperately savage country to claim their own, they were laughed to scorn.

But soon the boot was on the other foot. Marco Polo and his

nephews invited a number of their kindred to an entertainment of great splendour. When the hour arrived for sitting down to table, they came forth from their chamber all three clothed in crimson satin fashioned in long robes reaching to the ground. When water for the hands had been served and the guests were set they took off their robes and put on others of crimson damask, while, by their orders, the first suits were being cut up and divided among the servants.

Then after partaking of some of the dishes they went out again and came back in robes of crimson velvet. These too were divided up as before. Then the three hosts assumed dresses of the ordinary fashion worn by the rest of the company.

These proceedings naturally caused much wonder and amazement. But still greater astonishment was to come. After the cloth had been drawn and all the servants ordered to retire from the dining hall, Marco Polo rose from the table and, going into another chamber, brought forth the three shabby dresses of coarse stuff which the travellers had worn when they first arrived in Venice.

Straightway they took sharp knives and began to rip up some of the seams and welts and to take out of them jewels of the greatest value in vast quantities. Rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, diamonds, and emeralds, which had all been stitched up in these dresses in so artful a manner that nobody could have suspected the fact. Now this exhibition of such a huge treasure of jewels and precious stones tumbled out upon the table threw the guests into fresh amazement, quite bewildered and dumbfounded. Then all Venice recognized that in spite of former doubts, these three were in truth the honoured and worthy travellers that they claimed to be, and everyone paid them the greatest reverence.

This, ladies and gentlemen, was Europe's awakening to the possibilities of China. That trade should have fastened the interest of these bold merchants of thirteenth-century Venice upon far Cathay is not to be wondered at. Do we not know of the interest created in London to-day—in high financial circles that is—by any adventurer, no matter how "shabby and coarse" his clothes may be, provided he has in his pocket a concession for a gold or tin mine, or even of some easily accessible coal mines!

PORTUGAL.

In 1517 the Portuguese received permission from the Viceroy to trade at Canton. Macao became the commercial centre in 1537. During the eighteenth century Macao was the chief port for Western trade with China. The cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain in 1842 and the commercial prosperity of that port led to the downfall of Macao.

SPAIN.

Then came the Spaniards in 1575.

HOLLAND.

Holland succeeded Spain and Portugal as an aspirant to Chinese favour in the matter of trade. Embassies to Peking were characterized by a complete acquiescence in all Chinese demands, even as to kow-towing before the Emperor. But these attempts met with no success.

RUSSIA.

Russian agents are recorded to have visited Peking as far back as 1567.

Port Arthur, as you all know, was occupied by a Russian fleet in 1898, after the seizure of Kiaochow by Germany. In 1900, after the Boxer Rising, Manchuria was overrun by Russian troops, and demands were made for a Russian protectorate over Manchuria. Backed by Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, China was able to fend off these demands temporarily, but as Russia refused all Japan's suggestions for a compromise either in Manchuria or Korea, the Russo-Japanese War resulted. What Russia lost and Japan gained at the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905 is also well known to you all. Since the collapse of Imperial Russia that country has even forfeited her extra-territorial privileges in China. Soviet Russia is making a bold bid for re-establishing her former position, but of that I propose to speak later.

FRANCE.

Of French relations with China it is unnecessary to say much. Their Colonial Empire in Indo-China absorbs if it does not justify most of France's Far Eastern interests.

AMERICA.

The only other foreign country which we need take into consideration in this preliminary survey is the United States of America. The first American ships to reach China arrived at Canton in 1784, and from the outset American trade obtained a good footing. With the occupation of the Philippine Islands, after the Spanish-American War, American trade and interests began to revive. They have steadily increased since.

I am afraid, ladies and gentlemen, I may have wearied you with these preliminary references. But it is hardly possible to obtain a clear conception of modern China unless we follow that country's gradual contact with the West.

Be it for better or for worse, it is in how East and West react upon one another that we can best judge not only what the future of China is to be, but that of all Asia, possibly of the whole world.

This violent reaction between East and West is a point many Europeans do not seem to have grasped.

Now let me offer you a few ideas upon the present position of that extraordinary country.

To attempt to prophesy in detail about China is merely to expose one's ignorance of anything connected with that land of paradox. China is a riddle hard to read. On the other hand, there are general lines of thought upon which it is safe to embark without falling into hopeless confusion.

As you are, of course, well aware, the state of China for the last thirteen years (since 1911) has been one of utter chaos. Ever since the substitution of a so-called modern Republic for the age-long, semi-divine monarchy, the state of the country has rapidly gone from bad to worse.

How could any well-balanced mind suppose a change was possible—in a night as it were—from a past stretching back almost to the dawn of history to the latest manifestations of twentieth-century democracy? During the last ten years one Government after another, all equally corrupt and powerless, has risen, fallen, and made way for an equally incompetent successor.

To a certain extent Western nations are responsible for thus forcing the pace. Missionaries, merchants, military adventurers in the shape of agents representing the great European armament-making firms, have vied with one another in expediting the inrush of new ideas. New ideas, entirely new conceptions of life, thrust upon the mentality and customs of a people still for the most part five hundred years behind Europe!

But China herself is equally to blame in that, as a nation and people, she has not only steadfastly declined to accept the honest help proffered her (honest at any rate from England and America), but has fought tooth and nail against the oncoming and irresistible wave of modern progress.

One of the best-known and most responsible leaders of "Young China" has lately written in these words for the benefit of his own countrymen:

"Those of us who have lived in cities, who have come into intimate contact with Western civilization, and who use foreign languages, and have been influenced in our lives and view-points by foreign ideas, sometimes entirely forget the condition of our own country, the fundamental character of the Chinese people, and the fact that the great and vast population of this country is living in a world altogether untouched by these things.

"We talk of progress, of smoke-stacks, of great industries, of higher education, of University degrees, but we forget altogether that, unless we find a golden mean between the ignorance and poverty of the

masses of our people and those highly specialized, somewhat glorified personalities in the large cities, we shall have nothing in our country but misunderstanding and discord.

“The country man and the city man are moving so far apart that they have nothing in common. In the country the old traditional customs of China continue. In the country the morality and the social civilization of China are untouched by any attempt to imitate Western ways. In the city many of those who have even been educated abroad with foreign help are anti-foreign. In the country the laws of hospitality, basic in Chinese ethics, are unbroken except by bandits forced by economic conditions to commit every crime for a bowl of millet. The countryman is not at heart anti-foreign, nor does he desire to mimic the foreigner. He is a Chinese. He wants to remain a Chinese. He has no desire to be anything else.

“Back to the interior should be the slogan of young China. It really means, back to work for the country. It means an end to loose talk, and a renewal of labour. It means an end to false doctrines, to imitating ways we do not understand, to playing at habits and customs which are foreign to our character. It means that China will take her place among the nations of the world strengthened by the sense that the State rests upon the solid foundation of an intelligent and understanding farming class, the backbone of any living civilization.”

Now if only a few such men as the writer of these words were in power to-day in China, there might be signs of a break in the clouds. But instead, an impenetrable fog of incapacity, corruption, jealousy, and self-seeking continues to hang over one of the most productive lands on the face of the earth.

Ever since the war between China and Japan there has been no ostensible reason why China has not succumbed to outside conquest. Her utter lack of national defence, her unwarlike population, her state of national bankruptcy are some of the causes why China would be an easy prey. But, actually, there is one main reason why she retains her individuality.

This is the vast size of the territory to be conquered, and when conquered, organized and governed. Then let us glance for a moment at the initiation by certain Powers of the policy known as the “open door.” So long as the various Powers chiefly concerned (at first these were England, America, Japan, Russia, and Germany) stood upon an equal footing and maintained friendly relations there was some chance that the policy of the “open door” might serve its purpose.

But once this position was radically altered (as has happened), good-

bye to any hope of success to the policy of the "open door." Friends may enter by the same door, enemies prefer another way round.

One of the legacies left by the Great War has been the loss of all extra-territorial rights and privileges in China by Russian, German, and Austrian subjects.

Soviet policy in the Far East to-day is working to close as tight as can be done every door into China to all other nations. In other words, M. Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador, is out to let loose Bolshevism and to subvert Chinese civilization when and wherever his agents can.

I happen to have had the opportunity of meeting M. Karakhan personally after the war in Warsaw, where he was acting as Soviet Minister to Poland. That he is eminently qualified to fulfil his present mission I have no doubt whatever.

German interests in China have, as has been already remarked, entirely changed since the war owing to the loss of extra-territorial privileges by German nationals.

In any case, Germany with no extra-territorial privileges is unlikely now to see eye to eye in China with other European nations who still enjoy these privileges. Questions are now arising in China about which, hitherto, all foreign diplomatists in Peking have agreed unanimously to differ from China. But in future, and for the benefit of their own nationals, both Germany and Austria, and of course Russia, are in certain cases more than likely to side with China against other European nations. Under these conditions, with Russia, Germany, and Japan actual or possible opponents to the policy of the "open door," what chance has it of succeeding?

The question is sometimes asked, "What about 'hands off China'?" This in so many words is what numerous Chinese themselves ardently desire. But "hands off China" is a catchword capable of more than one interpretation.

To the minds of the extremists of "Young China" and its leaders this cry means that foreign nations should give up at once all extra-territorial rights and privileges, abrogate all foreign Treaties, wipe out all China's financial obligations. In fact, accept the China of to-day as a highly civilized nation upon an equal footing with the rest of the world.

This is of course childish; nor would such a policy in any way aid in China's regeneration. Even supposing China could completely isolate herself—as Japan did for nearly two centuries—China might, of course, continue to exist upon Confucian lines; but there could be no progress whatever.

Existence and progress, as we all know, are two very different matters. In this twentieth century, for any nation isolation is ruled out by the universal demand for new international markets. The Chinese, like

the Persians, Koreans, and other Asiatic races, must submit to being modernized, if they will not modernize themselves. I do not believe that it is (necessarily) for their ultimate happiness. But if it is bound to occur, the question arises how can such a transformation take place without disintegrating the backward nations or disturbing the peace of the world? Can a nation which has slumbered remote from modern civilization for thirty centuries be suddenly awakened? Of course it cannot. Unfortunately this is exactly what has happened.

Within the lifetime of all of us here this afternoon China has had to face the inrush of Western civilization to a devastating extent. No nation could assimilate such a surfeit of new ideas unless the masses were eager and responsive to such changes. The Chinese have from time immemorial been exactly the reverse.

This is what really stands in the way of that country's regeneration. Until the masses of the people, those patient, tireless, teeming millions, can be educated little by little up to modern standards, to some national consciousness, the West must just wait as patiently as may be for China to take her place in the comity of nations.

China has for the past twenty years been the spoilt child of Diplomacy—allowed to say and do things which would not for a moment have been tolerated in other equally backward nations.

Had the real state of China been widely known in Europe during this last generation, not half her present difficulties would have arisen.

A well-known authority has voiced what I mean when he said:

“As the dream of world-revolution fades in the West, propaganda concentrates on Asia. From Peking to Canton Bolshevism is working powerfully to rouse Chinese feeling against European or American interference in every shape and form. The Chinese are urged to throw off capitulations like the Turks, and to assert their independent control of the Treaty ports and the Customs tariff.”

That will come some day. Meanwhile, it is part of the whole Far Eastern question, and that is capable of becoming by far the greatest question in the world to-day. Japan, denied outlets in America and Australia, while burning to assert a status of absolute equality with the white nations, strengthens steadily and legitimately from year to year a local position of surpassing power. For Japan it is of life-and-death importance that her supplies of the fundamental raw materials from China shall in all circumstances be secured.

When the smouldering Civil War shot up in flame again more than four months ago, Wu-Pei-fu struck from Peking for the mastery of the region round Shanghai. He was no sooner victorious than his great rival, Chang Tso-lin, marched down upon him from Manchuria and turned the tables. Wu-Pei-fu was deserted by the so-called Christian General Fêng, accused by his opponents of being heavily bribed. Wu-Pei-fu may be “down and out” or may be biding his

time. Chang Tso-lin is nominally dominant. But the Christian General might at any time make a bid for supreme power. Chang Tso-lin more or less overawes Peking from a distance while he keeps in touch with his impregnable Manchurian bases. In close correspondence with him is Sun-yat-sen,* who in the Canton sphere is an apostle of liberty in theory, and a blood-letting pro-Bolshevist tyrant in practice. The political-military combination now in the ascendant is undoubtedly favoured by Japan and by Soviet Russia, whose envoy, Karakhan, is the "star" diplomatist at Peking. Endeavours are being made to reconcile the interests of Japan and Russia, which in some ways are not conflicting. It is well to remember that the lately signed Japanese-Soviet Treaty may entirely revolutionize international conditions in the Far East. This treaty suggests that in future vast forces are likely to escape the control of Europe and the United States.

Before I conclude you may ask: "How, then, can China be helped?" As a child I was often told that "Heaven helps those who help themselves!" I am not at all sure that it is possible to help China if she will not meet Heaven half-way. I am fully aware that to invent a suitable policy is one thing: to carry it out quite another. If there was not this perennial difficulty there would be little need for our Diplomatic Service: incidentally it may be said probably the best Diplomatic Service in the world!

For some years past any hope of unity of action by other nations to put China on her feet has failed. The "XXI. demands" are not forgotten in China. The Washington Conference remains a paper transaction.

But there is no reason why the British Empire should not have—and pursue—a recognized, consistent, sincere policy of its own—a policy which other nations, and particularly China, could understand and—if they so desire—fall in with.

It would be a mistake to change our policy—such as it has been—suddenly. Under present conditions any marked change would at once be misinterpreted by many Chinese minds.

But if, while strictly upholding British Treaty rights in China wherever and whenever these are infringed, we make it plain that this country is still as it has always been China's most disinterested friend. That no matter what aspirations other nations may have in the way of territorial acquisitions or special rights we have none. But solely the desire to trade according to treaty rights, and above all the wish to help the present generation of "Young Chinese." If we can help them to acquire and make use of the best that British civilization has to offer I believe such a policy would not only be understood and welcomed but would be strongly backed by powerful Chinese influences in China.

* Sun-yat-sen has recently died in Peking of cancer.

I am no believer in the Unification-of-present-day-China-by-force idea. The so-called strong man who will reunite and govern all China has yet to be born. Both Chang Tso-lin and Wu-Pei-fu, not to mention others, have made the attempt and failed after unspeakable horrors. Each may wish to unite the eighteen provinces for China, but it is primarily in order that he himself may rule them, and keep the loaves and fishes for his own family and the clique to which he belongs.

My faith is that the future of China lies in the hands of the younger generation.

Immature and unfledged as the rank and file of those who are carrying on the movement may in some ways be, it is the leaders of this movement alone in China who realize the vital necessity for creating a "National, political consciousness" among the millions of their ignorant fellow-countrymen. They are, in a sense, constructive, not, like the militarists, simply destructive. They are carrying on an educational Renaissance such as Europe went through in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By their endeavours an ever-growing, ever-widening stream of public opinion is being created, a "political consciousness" without which China cannot survive as a modern nation.

By their efforts what they call "People's Organizations" are being created wherever they can. These are composed of different interests. For example, a "People's Organization" for business men would be one. For those interested in education another. A third would be an industrial "People's Organization," and so forth. From local "People's Organizations" the next step will be to individual Provincial Organizations, then to groups of Provincial Organizations, finally to some kind of United States of China.

The future of that wonderful land of paradox is a riddle. And there are those who do not want a strong and united China. It is unwise to attempt the rôle of prophet. I left Peking in 1921. But I have a firm faith in the theory that progress can only be achieved by permitting Chinese mentality to develop on its own lines and by virtue of its own psychology.

Mr. ROSE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My only excuse for speaking to-night is that I have just returned from China. I have spent the past year travelling about the country, and have been in touch with many of the leading personalities there, and with the struggles for power among the Tschuns which have attracted so much attention. It has been a very great pleasure to hear General Bruce speak about China in the terms which he has chosen. He has not been there, I believe, for some little time. But his message seems to me up to date, and he has given a clear and accurate idea of conditions in China as they present themselves to the mind of the Englishman there to day. It is as General Bruce has said, extraordinarily difficult to judge the whole position as it affects the national and international

interests of China and her neighbours. The problem seems, perhaps, a little simpler when one is on the spot than when one is in London. But, even here, the big issues stand out fairly clearly. You have a very big country under consideration—a vast area and hundreds of millions of people—and they have been shaken by a revolution which is still working its slow process through the country. That has necessitated a fresh start in regard to at least one thing—the machinery of government. Government-making is naturally a difficult task for any people, and particularly for a people like the Chinese, who have been accustomed to live in their village communities without any close contact with national affairs. They are now struggling, against great difficulties but under the impulse of a new necessity, to build up some sort of national Government for themselves. I doubt whether the Tuchuns, the military leaders of the various conflicting factions, are quite such blunderers and plunderers as they appear from the simple record of their adventures. There is, of course, in China the inevitable muddle and corruption in public affairs which is inseparable from loose administration and experimental policies. But I have known most of the present leaders personally, and my own impression of them is that they are struggling against frightful odds. They have at the moment so little national machinery to work with. That is their main trouble. They are trying to build up a Government, and there is nothing to help them on their way. There seems little prospect of a settled Government in China, in our sense of the word, for many years to come. I think we must face that probability frankly and squarely, and realize that opportunism in government is inevitable until the Chinese themselves, through their own rather leisurely processes, have found their own solution: until they have built up a new machinery of government suitable for their new needs in the world. And so we, in our turn, must learn to live and work with China as we find it. I do not feel pessimistic about the situation, simply because I believe that the present unrest is the first indication of returning life after a period of stagnation, that there is a real movement towards progress, that the Chinese are ultimately a sound people with a very sound outlook on life; and that, although they are inexperienced in politics as we understand them, they are strangely experienced in the art of living. There is one factor in the China of to-day which is, to my mind, of deeper significance than the chaos on the surface. There is a movement on foot to which the Chinese refer as a “renaissance”—and such movements have been not uncommon and of no little importance in their long and evolutionary history. People are a little inclined to laugh at the word, and sometimes, when one has had a good dose of newspaper reading, one feels a little sceptical oneself. But, when one is out there, when one is in daily touch with the Chinese, living with them and working with them on practical problems, one cannot

escape the conviction that something good and something constructive is slowly working its way out of this chaos, and that a new impulse of life is evident in China. A spirit of enthusiasm is in the air. During my early years in China it seemed to me that the Chinese, even the young, were strangely lacking in enthusiasm. They did not seem to care very much about anything. I used to wonder why it was: whether perhaps the country was growing old and the blood of the people running thin. But I know now that that was wrong. The Chinese are still a very vital people. I believe the lack of interest in affairs was largely due to the prevalence of opium-smoking among all classes and all ages of the people, and throughout the country. Things have improved greatly in that respect in recent years, thanks largely to the tireless efforts of Sir John Jordan. Opium is still grown and smoked in considerable quantities, but it has ceased to be fashionable in China. The fact that it has dropped out of the lives of the young men is going to make a vast difference to the next generation of Chinese. These young men are determined, I believe, to make something better of their country. The struggles of the Tutchuns are, in the nature of things, local struggles. Communications are so bad that it is difficult for any individual leader to keep in touch with the whole country. But the renaissance movement is nation-wide, appealing to the young men and the thinking men all over the country, regardless of communications or provincial boundaries, regardless of everything but their determination to see China a Nation, strong, healthy, and independent, and the Chinese a united people. I have been travelling recently in many parts of China, and no matter where I have gone, even in the far interior, I have found the same thoughts at work, the same movement in progress. They are all talking of China as a nation, believing in the future of China as a nation, working for China as a nation. And I have become infected with some of their enthusiasm. It is difficult to know whether we should, whether we can, take any active steps in regard to China just now. General Bruce has put the difficulties before us very clearly. It is doubtful whether we can help them by any action. But the Chinese do look to us for sympathy. They are strangely—what shall I call it?—prone to sympathy, in their political as in their personal relationships. At the moment Russia is playing a very strong card as the friend of China. She has taken the trouble to find out exactly where and how China feels herself aggrieved with her foreign neighbours. The Russian Ambassador is exploiting her grievances, urging China to repudiate her treaties and her foreign obligations, and indicating communist blessings and Russian friendship as the gateway to a new world. I do not think we want to play up to China in that sort of way. But I do think that China is looking to her older friends just now, wishing that they would not feel the need to be so constantly censorious; hoping that, out of their greater experience

in world affairs, they will find some constructive suggestions for her comfort. I agree with General Bruce that to withdraw from China now would be a hopeless policy, a policy of cowardice. What China needs from the West is a policy of courage—tempered with courtesy. I do not believe myself that she wants to get rid of her old treaties, though she asks with some reason that they should be brought more into line with the changed conditions of to-day. The treaties have been, and still are, a great help to her in many ways, something stable in these days of unrest and transition. They set a standard in many things towards which she is striving—towards centralization, efficiency, and good administration. And so great caution must be used in regard to them, in China's interest as well as in our own. I do not under-estimate the present troubles in China—I have been too intimately concerned with them. They are a disaster to Chinese and British interests alike. But they do not represent the whole story in China. And we must keep the whole story in mind if we are to act with sanity and wisdom in our Chinese relationships. New forces are being created, and being loosed, in China. It is not possible for any outside force to oppose them effectively. I think that has been proved by recent history. The sound line seems to be to recognize them, to direct our policy in harmony with all that is best in them, to convince the Chinese that we are at her side, with no desire to interfere or intrude or paralyze progress, but with a sincere desire to play the part of friend.

Mr. Moon: Mr. Chairman,—I should be sorry if I were to take the subject off the high plane on which it was started by General Bruce, and on which it was maintained by the last speaker. I think I should like to echo the words of the last speaker as to the stimulating effect which the words of General Bruce have had on myself, and I am sure on those who have listened to them. The few words I desire to say come from one who has been a sympathizer with China for a good many years. It will be thirty years next August when, in my first long vacation after being elected to the House of Commons, I went to China; and in that capacity, of course, I had the opportunity to meet a good many people. I had the opportunity of an interview with Li Hung Chang in his temple at Peking—he was in effect the Prime Minister—and saw a good many other people who were at work in China at that time. My remarks seem rather scrappy and I shall not be long. In the first place, as to one of the introductory observations of General Bruce, I do wish the Chinese would learn to dispense with the three monosyllables which they seem to think, as a rule, indispensable for their names. Why should not they have surnames, and call themselves like Marshal Feng by one name? We know some of their ancient wise men by single names, like Confucius and Mencius, for example; if they all did that one would have a chance of knowing

where one was. May I refer to a speech I heard by a very brilliant young Chinaman in London lately, Mr. Koo. Mr. Koo represents, I believe, the Chinese Government at the Opium Conference at Geneva, and he has been doing a good deal of speaking in England in his beautiful blue gown. I think he was brought up at St. John's College, Shanghai. He went into the railway service. After that he became head of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., and after that head of the Chinese section of the Student Christian Movement. In that speech—the Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair, and pronounced it to be a “memorable speech by a remarkable man”—he drew a distinction between the view entertained by the Chinese a hundred and fifty years ago and that of more recent times. He referred to the embassy which George III. sent under the management of Lord Macartney about 1780 to try and arrange a commercial treaty with China, and he read in full the reply, in translation, of the Chinese Emperor. The Chinese Emperor said he thought it very polite and decent that the King of England should show his respect to the Chinese by sending an embassy; but China produced everything that any reasonable person wanted, and that they did not want any of our wares. I remember the last words of this polite letter were “Tremble and obey.” Mr. Koo contrasted that with the line taken by the governing body of China—I cannot say what its name was—in 1916; in which they wished to base their new constitution and their policy of the future on Western methods. Perhaps they remembered the words of their old sage Confucius, who, I suppose two thousand years ago, said “The West also has its sages.” I might mention that Mr. Koo after criticizing some things that were done by foreigners in China, expressed a great debt of gratitude to this country for the way in which education and so on had been started and carried on by missionaries. I want to say a word or two about opium: I see Sir John Jordan from time to time. I think it is not wrong to say that he is always very guarded on the subject, and I perhaps have read more about opium in India than opium in China. Apparently the Royal Commission that went to India and reported in 1893 said that in India opium was not taken to excess. I do not think they said it was a very good thing, but some people think that in India it is. I have never heard anyone say that in China. Whether they have a worse quality of opium there, or whether smoking opium is a worse way of taking it than taking it as the Indians do, in the form of a pill, or sucking it, I am not sure; but I think the way in which the Chinese persuaded us to stop our export of opium from India to them, stopping 10 per cent. every year until it came to an end a few years ago (1917), and year by year increasing their production of opium—I think that is scandalous. One knows *The Times* leaders are written on very reliable information, and *The Times* leader within a fortnight said that the Tutchuns pay their forces by collecting opium

and sending it down river to be sold. With all sympathy to the Chinese, I think until they develop some spirit for politics and government, really we cannot leave them alone. We do great things for them—the West does great things for them in the matter of Imperial Maritime Customs, and also in the matter of Salt, and I am sure the missionaries continue to help them most effectively. Therefore, I think, with every wish to help them, they cannot be allowed to drift along alone. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think we are fortunate indeed to-day in having amongst us our well-known Minister to China, Sir John Jordan. I hope he will kindly give us a few words.

Sir JOHN JORDAN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I really did not intend to come to this meeting. I did not intend to come to speak; but, as I have been called upon, I shall make a few remarks. In the first place, I should like to say with what interest I have listened to General Bruce's paper. He is a very old friend, and, on the whole, I am in agreement with what he has said. I am not always in agreement with some of his proposals, but to-night I am entirely so. During the last fortnight I have listened to two or three lectures on China: each lecturer has had a remedy of his own for the country, The first lecture was given at King's College, and the lecturer's idea was that China should be supplied with a new religion—that Confucianism and Taoism were worn out. That would take some time. The next suggestion was that foreign Governments should create a Government for China. That, too, was a task requiring time. I am glad that General Bruce made no definite suggestion for the solution of the China problem. He told us what the situation in China is. I do not think it is very hard to understand. China adopted fourteen or fifteen years ago a republic. This was altogether premature, and far in advance of her political development. It was quite impracticable, and ever since she has been in difficulties. The situation at present, and for some time past, is that we have had Presidents of the Republic who have been elected generally by bribery and have represented nothing at all, and the Parliament has been equally unrepresentative. China has made no successful attempt to assimilate representative institutions, and it will be a long time, I am afraid, before she does. The present President of the Republic calls himself Provisional Executive, and he has the good sense not to consider himself elected at all. The first thing he did was to imprison his predecessor and put him on trial for receiving bribes. (Laughter.) He is a very nice, pleasant old man, who is highly respected and liked. He is a dictator, but with no power to dictate. He has not sufficient prestige in the country, and has no military support at all behind him. How long the régime will last no one can say, but the probability is that it will go the way of its predecessors. All Governments in Peking during the last thirteen years

have been houses built on sand, and have all, in turn, disappeared. The wind and rain of militarism have beaten them down. They last just as long as the military dictator, whoever it may be, who has put them in power can keep his stand against his rivals. The present President is a cautious man, and I think on the whole has been more successful than most of his predecessors. As you all know, about a year ago a very unnecessary war was started round Shanghai. The two richest provinces in China had made a pact between them to maintain amicable relations. They had put that pact before the Consulate Body in Shanghai, and, in my opinion, the foreign powers ought to have insisted on its being observed. It was not observed, and this war was started—quite unnecessarily—as part of the policy of Peking to overawe the provinces. Starting in Shanghai, it went up north, and an attempt was made to get into Manchuria, which, of course, was impossible, because Japanese interests are there supreme. After devastating the whole country, Wu-Pei-fu had to retire, and now the situation is exactly where it was at the beginning. The most marked result has been the destruction of property and the disorganization of the railways. It has had, however, one other result, that apparently the people, and even the militarists, are coming to see that these wars are not much good, and that they had better stop fighting. The indication of that is, I think, what has happened at Shanghai. The first thing the Provisional Government have done is to hand over the arsenal, which has always been a bone of contention to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce—a purely commercial body. I do not know what use they will make of it; the last I heard was that opium was being stored there, labelled “ammunition.” (Laughter.) That is a step in the right direction: opium is at least an improvement on senseless warfare. They have decided to demilitarize, I believe, the whole region of Shanghai. These sordid squabbles among military leaders have gone on too long, and this is the first sign of peace there has been for a long time, and it is hopeful to that extent. No one, however, will predict about China; I hope General Bruce did not refer to me when he asked what was to become of China. I am not one of those angels from whom he expected an answer to the question. General Bruce referred to what is, in my opinion, the most interesting development at the present moment—the Soviet influence; it is an immense problem. I agree with what he said about Karahan; he is a mischievous person, who is doing an immense deal of harm. How to correct that is very difficult. The Chinese are quite naturally using him, as General Bruce has pointed out to us. We made the great mistake, when we made the Peace Treaty in Paris, of depriving Germany of her extra-territorial rights. That was a great blunder. Then Russia had to give up these rights. So that the whole situation now is that there is a distinct cleavage among the foreign

Powers. Up to now, for the last eighty years, since 1842, the guardian of the rights of foreigners in China, with all treaties and privileges, has been the Diplomatic Body in Peking. The solidarity of that body remained intact all those years. That has now gone, and the Russians are urging the Chinese to deprive other nationalities of their extra-territorial rights. That is the problem which confronts us at the present moment. I do not quite agree with what General Bruce has said as regards Japan and the Soviet. I have no great apprehensions on that point. I think it was natural that Japan should enter into that agreement with the Soviet. After all, Japan had a great many outstanding questions which she had to settle. It was almost impossible for her to go on with the close relationships she had with Russia in Manchuria and Saghalien and all those places without having the position regularized in some form or other. I take it that is all Japan meant; she wanted to regularize the position. She succeeded to a very large extent; she got an agreement which gives recognition to her position under the Portsmouth Treaty in Manchuria. That is the essence of the bargain. She could not go on with the Russian railway in the north and the Japanese railway in the south without some arrangement. As far as Soviet propaganda is concerned, I think Japan has more to fear than we have from that. Japan has a very big problem in her own country, a very large Socialist element to guard against, and we may rest assured that she will take very great care that Soviet propaganda does not enter there. Besides that, and more important still, she has Korea, a second Ireland, as a thorn in her side. She cannot for one moment allow Soviet propaganda to enter Korea. I know Korea and the restless nature of the people. It is absolutely essential for Japan to guard against Korea becoming a hotbed of Soviet intrigue. These rumours about an alliance between Russia and Japan and China appear to me to be all moonshine; there is too much divergence of interests to admit of that. I do not think I can add anything of use to the very interesting discussion we have had. I do not agree with all Mr. Rose has said. I think he is inclined to be rather optimistic about China. Perhaps I am too pessimistic. I doubt if the renaissance movement will prove the blessing many people think, and I am afraid these young educated Chinese are really going far too fast. There is the question of extra-territoriality, which General Bruce treated very properly I think. It is a most important issue, and one that one of the Governments in this country will have to deal with some day. Some six months ago it looked as if the Chinese were hoping to get rid of extra-territoriality with the Government then in power in this country. The same thing will doubtless happen again. What is the position? It would be absolutely impossible for trade to go on in China if extra-territoriality were abandoned. I am strongly against any idea of giving it up, or even of making any overtures to

the Chinese, until the Chinese come forward and tell us what they are prepared to substitute for it. That is what we want to know—what are they going to put in place of it? It is not for us to initiate negotiations of this kind. The agreement concluded at Washington four years ago was little more than a repetition of one of twenty years before, and no progress has been made which would justify a fresh departure. We all perfectly well know that in China at the present moment it is absolutely impossible to effect any change of the kind with military leaders all over the country subject to no law but that of force. Only a few days ago I read a statement by the American Minister at Peking, Dr. Schurman, in which he suggested that the change must be gradual, a matter of evolution not revolution. All the foreign courts in China must, he suggested, adopt Chinese law; the Chinese Code should be administered by them all alike. But all these discussions are premature until China has put her house in order and is herself in a position to establish some form of law and order. The Chinese have codes enough, piles of them; but they are not in force. They have an excellent constitution, every word of it; but it is a dead letter. We have millions of property invested there. General Bruce knows better than I do the magnitude of British interests in Shanghai alone, which has a great British community and a Government of its own—one which collects several millions a year in taxation, administers one of the very largest commercial centres in the Far East, and administers it remarkably well; so well that the Chinese, when they get into trouble outside, come flocking in. The difficulty is to keep them out. Some Chinese don't want the abolition of extra-territoriality; some are sensible enough not to want that. I heard a story a year or two ago. A Chinese came to a foreigner and spoke very critically of the Washington agreement as unfair. The foreigner did not understand what he was driving at. In the end the Chinese said, "We shall have no place to escape to if we cannot go to your foreign settlements." That is the situation. (Laughter.) In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, as a person interested in China, I would like to express my pleasure at seeing the Central Asian Society extending its scope to other countries. Central Asia is perhaps not so important as it once was, and you are now including China in your deliberations. We all welcome that. One thing I should like to stress is that the two great countries in Asia which really require attention at the present moment are India and China. Their problems are closely related, and it is a great pity we have probably only one or two men in this country who have had practical administrative experience in both countries. In my view this Society might very well call itself an "All Asia" Society, and embrace those countries as well. (Applause.)

General Sir EDMUND BARROW: Ladies and Gentlemen,—now that the angels have spoken it is rather venturous of me to get up, because

my acquaintance with China is very out of date. Therefore, I am not going to speak at all about my views of China generally, but only make a few remarks regarding things that have been said to-night. We have heard a good deal about Bolshevism, and the effect it may now and in future have on the Chinese people. I rather agree with what has just fallen from Sir John Jordan, that Bolshevism will not have the great influence in China that some of us imagine and perhaps fear. I have long thought that Russian influence in China has been greatly exaggerated by us. The Chinese are quite intelligent enough to know who are their real friends. They certainly don't regard Russia as a real friend. They have suffered a good deal from Russia; I believe that *au fond* they thoroughly dislike the Russians, whereas, on the other hand, they have great confidence in us, and they have good reason for confidence. We have had a succession of great Ministers in Peking, men who knew more about the country before they entered Peking as Ministers than any foreign Ministers of other countries. Then our Consular Service has a great influence in China. The Chinese are well acquainted with the views of the Consular Service. They have a great acquaintance, too, with Europeans, especially Englishmen in the Customs Service, and, above all, they have an immense knowledge of Europeans (I mean western Europeans) as missionaries. They know the good work that has been done. They also know the good work we have done in places like Hong Kong and Shanghai. Recently a university has been started in Hong Kong—I do not know how it is going on—that will, I am sure, have great influence in China; and, altogether, I believe that Western European influence, more especially British influence, is very great in China. I might mention another thing that has a great influence, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank which finances China. I am sure the popularity of Britain and its influence is greater than that which the Bolsheviks might exert either to-day or to-morrow. (Applause.)

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: Mr. Chairman,—It would be presumptuous for me to say anything about China, a country I do not know anything about; but I would like to tell you a story of Confucius, the greatest thinker that China has produced. He was once asked by one of his disciples what were the essentials of a great nation. His reply was that there were three—first, that they should have bread to live on; next, they should have an army to protect them; and third, they should have a Government in which they had confidence. His disciple said, "If you cannot have the three, which can you best dispense with?" Confucius replied, "First the army; in the last resort the people can protect themselves." Then he was asked, "If only two were left, which should go?" He said, "Food. That is not indispensable, because every man has to die sometime. But," he said, "what is really essential is that the people should have confidence in their Government; for unless the

people have confidence in their Government all is lost." That is the position in China to-day. China apparently has ample food. Mercantile credit is good, the country agriculturally is prosperous. Trade is in many ways booming. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank are to-day paying the biggest dividends they have ever paid. As regards an army, China has the biggest armed forces in the world to-day. Every Province has its separate army. All the worse for China! But although she has food and an army, she has not a Government in which the people have confidence. As Sir John Jordan has said, that is the root of her troubles. That is also at the root of our own troubles in India, which if left to drift will relapse into the political anarchy now spreading over China. Until China can succeed in establishing such a Government she will have a sorry time of it.

Sir JAMES LOCKHART said that he, like the previous speakers, had listened with very great pleasure to General Bruce, whom he had known well at Wei-Hei-Wei, when he was commanding that excellent regiment which was afterwards disbanded. He hoped that a similar fate was in store for the troops now so numerous in China, and that, when once they had been disbanded, the excellent theory of Confucius would be carried out and that there would be a Government in which the people would have confidence—such confidence that there would be "plenty to eat and an army big enough for defence only."

Mr. D. MELLOR also thanked General Bruce for his lecture, and said he had heard lately that the Shanghai-Nankin Railway was not working. The Chinese were a sensible people and no doubt would in time get a settled Government again.

Lieut.-General Sir AYLMER HUNTER-WESTON: One point would be very valuable; will Sir John kindly point out a little more fully why the taking away of extra-territoriality would adversely affect foreign trade?

Sir JOHN JORDAN: I understand insurance companies and other business concerns have left Turkey, and I am sure the same thing will happen in China. There will be no security for life or property at all. Take Shanghai for example. What would have happened to Shanghai during the last three or four months had there been no protection in the International Settlement? It is a settlement containing 850,000 Chinese, and perhaps 30,000 foreigners. That settlement is entirely under foreign control. General Bruce was Chief Commissioner of Police. Those police are mostly Sikhs from India, and are under foreign officers. It has got some of the largest public utilities in the world, electrical plant and so on. It is entirely under the protection of foreign Governments. The security under Chinese administration would disappear. I am only taking Shanghai as one example. There are twenty or thirty other places in China of the same kind but of lesser importance. I think something like ten thousand Chinese troops

were interned there the other day. They would have played havoc in the place if they had not been under proper control. They had been fighting intermittently around Shanghai for the last six months. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank has premises there which cost about a million pounds. That is only one instance. Shanghai is an immensely big place with some of the finest buildings to be found anywhere and a trade that extends to all parts of the world. I will give you one similar example of what would happen under Chinese control. The Washington Conference returned, and very properly I think, the Shantung leased territory to China. Japan had retained it under the Peace Treaty, which I think was unfair, and the Washington Treaty returned it to China. Tsing-tao was the port. By all accounts both the port and the railway have since deteriorated immensely. They have had five or six different Governments. I can say definitely that foreigners could not carry on business in China—not at the present time—under Chinese customs and laws. It may come some day. Quite recently there was a case of a Russian who was imprisoned for six months without a trial. He had been arrested and kept in prison all that time, and in the end was released without a trial of any kind. You cannot subject British people to that sort of treatment.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Charles Yate): Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think you will all agree that not only has our lecturer given us a most interesting account of China, but the discussion that has followed on has really been extremely interesting, and brought out a great many points that many of us knew nothing whatever about. The lecturer told us how hopeless the situation would be if China were to take over, for instance, the Customs and Salt duties. We have been shown how impossible it would be for trade to go on if the extra-territorial rights were abolished or curtailed in any way whatsoever; and how necessary it is that our Government should be supported in every way in opposing any infringement of the treaties that we now have with China. One question that has been agitating the world a good deal of late has been the opium question with China. I think I agree with Mr. Moon in the views he expressed, when he told us how India had suffered in helping China to abolish opium, and how futile the sacrifices made by the Government of India had been in that respect. We have seen that lately, during the Opium Conference at Geneva. He said he was not sure why opium was so harmful in China and not so harmful in India. In India—and I have lived amongst the people there for many years—opium is eaten regularly as a febrifuge and for other reasons. Many of the people in various parts of the country could not get on without it. It does no harm. The harm done by opium is in smoking, and by the drugs made from it. There is no smoking amongst the people of India. Sir John Jordan has drawn a parallel between India and China. He told us that China had made an attempt to assimilate Western democratic

methods. I do not know why it is, but our country seems to take a pleasure in inflicting Parliaments and democratic methods upon every country it can think of, and generally with hopeless results. We have seen that the Parliament in China does not seem to be a great success. We have seen the results of the Parliaments we have established in India. We have seen how they have shown nothing but absolute want of responsibility and non-co-operation. In every way that they can make themselves unpleasant they have done so, and I quite agree that to inflict Parliaments on Eastern nations is one of the greatest mistakes we can possibly make. (Applause.) However, ladies and gentlemen, time is getting short ; I can say no more, except to ask you to join with me in thanking our lecturer most heartily for the very instructive address he has given us, and also to thank Sir John Jordan and all the other speakers for the treat they have given us to-night. (Applause.)

ARABIA IN PERSPECTIVE

POLITICAL problems have importance of two kinds: that which is intrinsic, and that which is fictitious. At times a problem of real importance does not receive the attention it deserves; at times the importance of a very small issue is much exaggerated. In the East of to-day there are certain problems, deeply affecting British interests, to which too much consideration and too much weight can hardly be attached; there are others of unimportance which for various reasons have acquired a purely fictitious value. Concentration, not diffusion, is the key-note of policy as well as strategy, but we can hardly effect this concentration if we do not preserve our sense of proportion and discriminate between these two classes of problems. From this point of view, therefore, it is worth while considering briefly the outstanding example of the latter class—Arabia. This desolate peninsula has been allowed to figure as a first-class issue in our Eastern policy; not a little British money has been poured into its deserts; not a little attention has it received from the Press, the public, and the Government. Further, there is the danger that in this atmosphere we may at any moment find ourselves embarked on some costly and ill-advised Arabian adventure. If the mirage which seems to hang over Arabia, and lends its features such a false glamour, can only be swept away by the consideration of a few outstanding facts, the exaggerated importance attached to that country will be dissipated, the attention it now receives can be focussed on the remaining really important issues in the Middle East, and the danger of an “Arabian Nights” adventure will be definitely removed.

Let us first be perfectly clear what we mean by Arabia. Draw a straight line from the head of the Red Sea (to be exact, from the Gulf of Akaba) to the head of the Persian Gulf at Busra. For all practical purposes the vast peninsula that lies south of this line is Arabia, and its inhabitants are Arabs or Arabians. It is a pity that, since there is some loose and misleading phraseology on the subject, the latter archaic term cannot be brought into general use to differentiate between the two. All Arabians are Arabs, but all Arabs are not Arabians.

Having touched on this point, it is not proposed to deal in detail with the internal affairs of the peninsula. It is, in fact, the too meticulous attention paid to these kaleidoscopic and ephemeral changes

that has resulted in a neglect of the basic facts and factors which should guide our Arabian policy, and in an unfortunate inability to "see the wood for the trees." Only by taking as wide a view as possible can a corrective be applied to this myopia.

Let us regain a sense of proportion by applying to Arabia the test of certain "first principles," however platitudinous these principles may appear. What are the main causes which induce a Western Power either to assume the entire government, or protectorate, of an Oriental State, or to consider that in such a State it has any special political or other interests?

These main causes are four in number :

A. *Commercial*.—Where an Oriental State has great commercial possibilities, Western traders have been inevitably attracted to it. Oriental States being generally in a condition of more or less insecurity, the Western Power has had to defend its traders and their interests by armed force. (The flag follows trade at least as often as trade follows the flag.) This intervention little by little leads to an actual assumption of government by the Western Power. India is the classic instance of this.

B. *Political and Strategical*.—Even in the case of an Oriental State without great commercial possibilities, if such a State is situated near the frontiers of a Western Power, and is a possible line of approach to another Power whose intent is believed to be hostile, the first Power is compelled to interest itself to a greater or lesser degree in the affairs of this State. Persia and Afghanistan are good examples of this category with reference to our Indian Empire.

C. *Self-Protective*.—It sometimes happens that a Western Power is compelled to interfere in an Oriental territory (already perhaps politically and strategically important) much more than it has any desire to do by the aggressiveness of the inhabitants of that territory. On the north-west frontier of India, for example, owing to the necessity of continually having to check and punish the attacks of the Pathan tribesmen, we are compelled to undertake very heavy military and political responsibilities which otherwise we could avoid.

D. The fourth is an exceptional cause. In the course of a great struggle, such as the war, a Western Power may, purely with a view to influencing the course of that struggle, actually invade, or politically interest itself in, an Oriental State in whose affairs normally it would have no concern. How long such an occupation or political interest lasts depends entirely on subsequent events. Iraq may be said to come under this heading.

Such are the first principles of Western policy in the East. Let us apply them to Arabia one by one :

A. What commercial value is Arabia to us? Arabia is about one million square miles in area, with a population of between five and six

millions. Persia, by all ordinary standards a sparsely populated country, with an area of 635,000 square miles, has a population of over nine millions, and Afghanistan, with an area of only 240,000 square miles, possesses six millions. A single State in India, and that not the largest—Mysore—has a population equal to the whole of the Arabian peninsula. These figures are given as a standard of comparison. There is not a single river in the peninsula, and the general rainfall is infinitesimal. It is inhabited by a primitive and pastoral people eternally at feud with each other, and has no manufactures or prospect of any. Its trade is insignificant, and shared at least as much by foreign merchants as by British. No accurate statistics are available, but the total exports from the whole of Arabia, excluding goods exported from one port merely to be reimported at another, do not exceed £3,000,000. Such trade as exists, however, is represented by the exports and imports from and to Arabian ports, and can be taken full advantage of by our mercantile marine without our in any way interfering in internal affairs. With these data at his disposal the reader can be left to supply his own answer to the question with which this paragraph began.

B: What political and strategical value is Arabia to us? The Arabian peoples, being entirely without maritime power, can exercise no influence outside their coast-line on the west, south, or east, and a glance at an atlas, and a little reflection, will show that Arabia, for all the fictitious importance that has been assigned to it, is a cul-de-sac (a vast cul-de-sac if you will, but still a cul-de-sac), leading nowhere, and of little importance to us from either a political or strategical point of view. The one first-class strategical point in the whole of the peninsula—Aden—is already in our hands, and its real importance lies, not in anything to do with Arabian affairs, but as a coaling depôt and naval base on an Imperial route. With the disappearance of the Turk from Arabia no other foreign Power has the slightest intention of wasting money or effort in penetrating any part of the country.

C. Does Arabia possess any aggressive military power which can be employed against us? On the west, south, and east is the sea, where, as already stated, the Arabian is powerless. In Arabia itself Aden is the only British possession, and the Yemen tribes are no more capable of being a menace to Aden than they are of being one to Gibraltar! Nor have these tribes any hostile intentions, since many of their supplies come to them through this port. If, of course, at any time, in the Yemen or elsewhere, we pursue an Arabian adventure in the shape of a "forward policy," either by actual occupation of points in the interior, or even by sending there permanent British representatives, the case will be different. We shall have given "hostages to fortune," and will inevitably be dragged into the welter of Arabian politics.

To turn to the north. Here, indeed, Arabia touches two British

mandatory States—Palestine and Iraq—but little of a serious nature is to be feared from the aggressiveness of the Arabian tribes. To begin with, the people of the peninsula lack any kind of cohesion. Many thousands of years ago an unknown writer summed up in graphic language the chief characteristic of the Arabian: “his hand shall be against every man’s, and every man’s hand against him.” And as then, so now. The Bedouin will join his fellows from time to time in a raid, but that is his limit in the way of combined action. Any *sustained* effort for a political object, without foreign assistance in the way of leadership and funds (such as was afforded the Hedjaz forces by us during the war), is beyond him, especially against regular troops such as presumably we shall have to keep in both Palestine and Iraq for some time to come. Last September, for instance, before their invasion of the Hedjaz the Wahabis made a raid on Transjordan. To the assistance of the Emir Abdullah’s forces were sent British armoured cars and aeroplanes, which had no difficulty, suffering little or no casualties themselves, in driving back the raiders with heavy losses. Presumably this has been a sharp and salutary lesson to Ibn Saud and his followers that, however invincible they may be when faced with other Arabians, against regular troops they can accomplish nothing.

To put the matter in a nutshell. We do not want Arabia; no foreign Power threatens us or our interests, such as they are, in that country; the Arabians themselves are in no way a menace to us. How, then, did we ever come to be interested in the peninsula?

To find the answer we must turn to the fourth and exceptional cause (D) noted above. The matter may be put summarily as follows: During the war, in order to strike a blow at the Turks we allied ourselves with the Sharif Hussein of Mecca, to whom we gave the title of King of the Hedjaz. Another of our useful allies was the Emir Ibn Saud of Riad. We were duly grateful for the assistance rendered us by both these princes, and showed our gratitude in a very practical way by paying them and their people extremely well.

This explains the circumstances under which we first became seriously interested in Arabian affairs. It is now, however, six years since the conclusion of the war. How is it that we have still any political interest in that country? Briefly speaking, it may be said that the *fons et origo* of all our Arabian, and most of our Arab, complications lies in what may well be called the “Arabian mirage” of a Pan-Arab kingdom, which was to include the whole of Arabia proper as well as Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. King Hussein himself was to be the ruler of this empire, with his sons as local viceroys. Anything more unpractical could hardly be imagined. In Arabia alone there are three other states just as strong as that of Hedjaz, and one—that of Riad—which, as has been shown, is far stronger, and which has dealt the Pan-Arab scheme its death-blow.

With the definite disappearance of this grandiose idea we have the opportunity of forming a fresh Arabian policy, based on realities and not on dreams. The invasion of the Hedjaz by the Wahabis has, in certain sections of the Press, been pronounced to be an event of international importance, claiming the immediate intervention of Great Britain. Keeping our sense of proportion, we know of course that it is nothing of the sort. It is merely a Bedouin raid on a much larger scale than usual, in no way affecting the "first principles" already considered above, and in no way calling for British interference. Whether Ibn Saud takes a few hundred (or thousand) square miles of desert from Hedjaz, or whether the latter take the same area of sand and scrub from Ibn Saud, in no way affects British interests. "The Wahabis advance to the Red Sea." Well—what of it? Can they threaten our shipping? Ridiculous! Local trade will be temporarily dislocated, but the value of British merchandise involved is far too small to warrant expensive interference, the inhabitants of the interior must have their supplies sooner or later, and matters will adjust themselves. The last Government wisely refused to meddle in Wahabi-Hedjaz affairs. Presumably their successors are pursuing the same masterly inactivity.

"But," will ask the reader, "what of the safety of the Jeddah-Mecca pilgrim route, and what of Mecca itself as the centre of the Mohammedan faith?"

These two important questions are interdependent, and must be dealt with as such. It should be clearly and widely understood that the British Government, more particularly the Indian Government, since it is Indian pilgrims who visit Mecca in large numbers, can assume no responsibility for the pilgrim route. The Indian Government already makes adequate arrangements for the passage of its pilgrims by sea as far as Jeddah. There its responsibility must cease. While our protégé Hussein was King of Hedjaz to some extent we were held responsible by Moslem opinion for his administration, and since he was unable to prevent pilgrims from being plundered by his Bedouin tribes, we shared the resulting odium with him. Hussein has gone and with him the last of our responsibility. The Hedjaz is an entirely independent territory, and must be left to manage or mismanage its affairs in its own way. It is not even a case of Christians ill-treating Mohammedans, where as a great Christian as well as Mohammedan Power we might be compelled to interfere. It is a case purely and simply of Mohammedans ill-treating Mohammedans, and the remedy lies in the hands of whoever may be the *de facto* ruler of the Hedjaz and the great body of Moslem public opinion all over the world. We should be ready at all times to use the resources of diplomacy to ameliorate the lot of the pilgrims; to lend our mediation, for instance,

in any negotiations between outside Moslem influences and the Hedjaz authorities, but not an inch more.

The British Government has very wisely and emphatically stated more than once that in the question of the Khalifa it has no concern; that this is a matter entirely for the Moslems to settle amongst themselves. The same applies to the holy places. We have tried the experiment of maintaining a nominee of ours in possession of Mecca and Medina, and this experiment has disastrously failed. Henceforth the lordship of the sacred towns must be left to whatever Arabian confederation—influenced, we may hope, by enlightened Moslem opinion from outside—can get possession of them.

Nor by this policy of friendly neutrality shall we estrange Mohammedan feeling. On the contrary we shall be doing something to winning it over to our side. The outstanding feature of Moslem public opinion at present, as can be vouched for by those who are in touch with it, is a deep and hostile suspicion of all British intervention, however disinterested this intervention may be, or however excellent its motives. On the occasion of the Wahabi invasion of the Hedjaz, when British assistance on behalf of the latter was thought likely, the Indian Mohammedans issued a strong public protest against any interference from Great Britain, *and this though the great body of Mohammedans in India are on theological grounds strongly opposed to the Wahabi sect.*

We are now in a position to summarize the chief factors on which our New Arabian policy should be based. Arabia, from a cool, dispassionate, and wide point of view, is of little importance to us either commercially, politically, or strategically. The two points in which we are chiefly interested—the Jeddah-Mecca pilgrim route and the possession of the holy places—must be left for Mohammedans to settle in their own way. Any intervention will cause more harm than good. Our Arabian commitments have been brought about by the cherishing of an unpractical dream, a Pan-Arab empire. This scheme has now received its death-blow, and we are free of our self-imposed responsibilities. Our interests in Arabia, such as they are, would be adequately met by our pre-war arrangements. This is to say, a few Consuls in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea ports, with instructions not to interfere in internal political affairs, and a few gunboats for patrolling purposes. No so-called "treaties" are necessary or advisable with any of the Arabian Emirs, none of whom have the stability which is the first essential for treaty-making. The proposed treaty with King Hussein, for instance, was on the point apparently of being ratified just before the Wahabi invasion. Most fortunately it was not signed, otherwise, whatever its actual terms, it might have caused us considerable embarrassment. Round Arabia, whether by land or sea, we have a "steel frame," and any Arabian confederation impinging

on that frame will receive severe and well-merited punishment, as did the Wahabi raiders in Transjordan. But the intrigues, squabbles, and tribal warfare of these confederations amongst themselves are none of our business. With Arabia thus off our hands we can concentrate on the really important problems which face us elsewhere in the Middle East.

It is obvious what our new policy in Arabia must be: complete non-interference in Arabian internal affairs. *Rien faire c'est agir.*

DŪRBĪN.

NOTE.—Since the above was written the Wahabis, as reported in the Press, during the first week of the New Year have made further raids, this time on Iraq in the neighbourhood of Sanawa on the lower Euphrates. As in their previous raid on Transjordan, however, by the action of British aeroplanes they have been driven back with heavy casualties and compelled to abandon the loot taken from Iraqi tribes. This incident would seem to confirm fully the views expressed in this article on the strength of our “steel frame,” and on the bogey of a “Wahabi menace.”

REVIEWS

IN THE HIGH HIMALAYAS. By Hugh Whistler, F.Z.S. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 223, with 155 illustrations and maps. London: Witherby and Co. 1925.

This is a very pleasantly written account of travels in Lahul and parts of Spiti and Kulu, forming the Kulu subdivision of the Kangra District in the Panjab. Mr. Whistler is a naturalist, and his account of the birds and butterflies of the region is valuable as well as interesting. He also shot ibex, bharal, and red and black bears; and gives a good account of the types of Buddhism existing, and of the so-called Hindu gods and goddesses and beliefs which are such a special feature of Kulu. He even deals with the fruit trade, and with the recent introduction of brown trout from Kashmir, and with existing and proposed routes to the Valley, so his volume is one which all travellers to the country should take with them.

Kulu is an example of the sophism that a part is larger than the whole, as with its 6,000 square miles of area it is about three times as large as the rest of the Kangra District. It comprises the upper valleys of the Beas Chinab and Spiti, the main Sutlej affluent. The elevation ranges from 2,500 on the Sutlej and 3,400 on the Beas to over 21,000 feet on the mid-Himalaya range. The average height of habitation is over 9,000 feet in Lahul, and about 11,000 feet in Spiti, and the tract includes fertile valleys, splendid rivers, magnificent forests, glorious mountains, fine sport, any variety of climate that you may prefer, and in fact everything that the heart of an outdoor man or woman can desire. Between the Bara Lacha and Kunzum Passes the ground is often carpeted with edelweiss.

A high official, gazing from the veranda of the old Naggar Castle at the view up the Beas Valley to the Gyephang Lha cone in Lahul, once declared to the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the subdivision that for a view so glorious an officer's salary should be reduced. The Assistant Commissioner, drawing Rs. 500 a month, humbly represented that no doubt the view was superb, but that a man and his wife could not live on view alone, and thought reductions might perhaps begin with the larger salaries of inspecting officers. The present fortunate subdivisional officers draw extra allowances to compensate them for hardship and solitude, so all is well.

As to the fruit trade, Captain Lee of Bandrole was the first to cultivate pears on a considerable scale. The growers in the early eighties of the last century hoped to make money by drying the fruit and exporting it in that form. The Assistant Commissioner in 1882 suggested that he might take a basket-load of apples and of pears to Simla and see what he could do there. The fruit was shown in Mr. Williams's shop below the telegraph office, and the first baskets were at once purchased for Viceregal Lodge at Rs. 40 a maund or about 1s. a lb. For two years baskets were sent in by the coolies kept up for travellers at the stages, and then the Post Office took up the service. The route to Simla, which was impassable for laden mules, was gradually improved and realigned. Road-making became difficult when statute labour was abolished and funds were not available, but by 1913 the main route was in excellent order. The great level road through the Beas gorges from Larji to Mandi and so to Kangra, and eventually by Suket to Ambala, was taken up in 1909, and though work was blocked by the war it is now practically finished to Mandi, as Mr. Whistler points out. This should greatly increase the rush of visitors, and care will have to be taken that the amenities of Kulu are not ruined.

Trout in the Himalayas was a dream of some enthusiasts, who pursued their aim in spite of gibes and failures, and at long last succeeded. The credit is mainly due to Mr. F. J. Mitchell, the Duke of Bedford, and, as far as Kulu goes, Mr. Howell, the Assistant Commissioner, who afterwards became a fisheries expert at the gentle suasion of the then Lieut.-Governor, who had been concerned in the trout experiments.

On only two occasions, so far as is known, has the British Army been called upon to operate in Kulu. The first occasion was when Mr. Knox with some Indian levies intercepted in Spiti some of the mutineers who, after the battle at Trimmu Ghat in Gurdaspur, were trying to find their way to Nepal. Spiti lies in the almost rainless tract beyond the main Himalaya and is really an integral part of Tibet. It was under Kashmir, but when Kashmir was sold for 75 lakhs of rupees to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846, Spiti was specially excluded from the sale in order to give India direct access to the wool of Tibet. The question arose what laws should apply there. The Commissioner in charge of Kangra, Mr. Philip Egerton, went up to Simla and showed the Council photographs of the country and people, which satisfied them that it would be preposterous to apply the complex codes of British India to such a tract, and a special regulation was passed enacting that no laws should apply to Spiti unless specially extended. The Nono was to administer the government with an appeal to the Assistant Commissioner. The whole arrangement was delightfully fluid and anomalous, and on the whole worked well. It was in this strange

remote tract that these mutineers came to their end. Travel there is not easy. Lives are constantly lost in fording the rivers or by the fragile birch twig jhulas breaking. To obviate this, in 1883 timber was cut on the Hamta Pass, which is safer in the winter than the Rhotang, on which on one occasion 112 men were caught in a blizzard and frozen to death. The beams were hauled across the pass on the snow and up the Chandra to the Kunzum Pass and Losar, whence it was floated down to Rangrig, and a good cantilever bridge put up. This lasted for many years; until the Kangra District Board cut the pay, some few rupees a month in the winter, of the man whose duty it was to sweep the snow off. An unusually heavy fall of snow coinciding with the passage of a large flock of sheep wrecked the bridge. With no statutory labour no new wooden bridge could be built, and Spiti had to wait until 1913, when a wire suspension bridge was at last erected at Rangrig.

Travellers may be interested to know that a lady rode over the Bara Lacha to Spiti on July 11, 1882, and that her pony carried her to the very summit of the Ki Gonpa while she was wondering how she could get up the steps. The lamas were less suspicious in those days.

The next occasion when troops went to Kulu was in 1882, when the British Mountain Battery from Jutogh near Simla marched through the tract via Mani Karan and Malana to Naggar, and thence back by the Dulchi Pass to Mandi and Jutogh. It is not quite the case that they were sent to Malana specially—this would have been using a steam hammer to crush a nut. The story, like all connected with Malana, is curious. This village lies at an elevation of nearly 9,000 feet in a side valley cut off by passes of 11,750 feet. The people speak a language of their own containing many archaic Tibetan words. They cannot understand or be understood by the Kulu men. They worship a god named Jamlu, whose connections are mentioned by Mr. Whistler. The whole body of the villagers, some 800 people, are the incarnation of the god, who lives in a large tower-like pinnacle on the main Himalayan range at the head of the valley. The Emperor Akbar even had to placate the god by offerings. Up to 1882, cattle could not walk into Malana, as the only route used was that down the valley to the Parbutti, which for about a mile passed across sheer cliffs on wooden pegs carried on stones and brushwood in places. Calves were carried in on men's backs, and so the people lived. In the winter some headmen of Jamlu descended to Kulu and levied tithes on the subordinate deotas. In the East *omne ignotum pro terrifico*, and consequently Malana was feared by all around. One officer tried to visit it, but on arriving at the bottom of the valley was put into a watermill and had to leave the next morning. Then Malana refused to build its abutment of a bridge on the Parbutti. A bailiff was sent, but was not allowed to enter. Another was sent back with a message that if anyone else

came he would be thrown down the precipice. This was the position in 1882. The available force in the subdivision consisted of some ten police constables at Sultanpur and four in Plach. It is extraordinary how British rule and order is maintained in such tracts as these. They are not always peaceful ; just across the border in the states of Mandi and Seoráj there are periodical risings of the people which cause much trouble. One such is in process at this time in Suket. At this juncture the Assistant Commissioner was asked by the C.O. of the Julogh Battery if he could recommend some difficult high hill country for battery exercises. This was an easy job in Kulu, and the case of Malana leaped to the eye. The result was that villages in other parts who had fines to pay furnished gangs of labourers, and a riding track was made from Naggar through Malana to the Parbutti, a distance of about thirty-five miles over two high passes, in about ten days. The battery arrived in Malana on December 8, 1882, with the loss of two old mules only. Snow threatened, and if a fall had occurred it would have been blocked there until May. The troops marched at 11 a.m. on the 11th and got safely in to Naggar, where all were put up in the old Castle. The Battery-Sergeant-Major no doubt had views on exercises in the high hills, but as usual the mountain gunners were in every respect admirable. Jammu was reduced to reverential submission and explained his collapse by giving out that the Assistant Commissioner was his beloved cousin, and he had committed a most unfortunate mistake in not carrying out instructions at once. Malana is still accessible by road and is part of the tourists' usual round.

But enough of ancient history. If any place deserves the Persian inscription in the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi of "If there is a Paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this," Kulu is that place, and Mr. Whistler's book is an excellent guide to many of the beauties of that Paradise.

L. W. D.

THE BOMBAY CITY POLICE: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH—1672-1916. By G. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., sometime Commissioner of Police, Bombay. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

An interesting record of 240 years of police administration in Bombay city from the pen of the only Indian civilian who held office during that period. The facts that the author is a member of the Indian Civil Service, and that the narrative ends with the termination in 1916 of his own period of office, are features to be borne in mind by the impartial student of history. The whole story of the evolution and gradual development of that fine force from its earliest formation as militia and watchmen to its present-day constitution culminates in an apotheosis of the talented author himself. No less than at least one-third of the 215 pages of print is devoted to this particular period

—the climax being successfully achieved in the pathetic swan-song in the final paragraph, wherein is to be found a moving description of his ultimate breakdown, and the erection to his memory of a bust in the chief Police Office in Bombay.

That his selection by the Government of Bombay to fill this particular post was strongly resented by the regular officers of the Bombay Police is evident from the official protests made at the time, though without success, by a number of such officers, who very naturally objected to be mulcted of one of their very few prize appointments. It was in fact precisely one of those episodes in connection with service in the Indian Police which is so galling to officers of that distinguished and very loyal force, who thus find themselves robbed of their legitimate service prizes by members of the senior service. The practice is one which, except under the most exceptional circumstances, cannot be too emphatically condemned.

Commissioners of the Bombay Police whose names will never be forgotten are men like *Charles Fergett* (1853-1863), the man who saved Bombay during the Mutiny of 1857, and passed into retirement unrewarded and unhonoured; *Sir Frank Souter* (1864-1888), one of the greatest and most famous of the Bombay Presidency police officers, whose son stood up manfully for the rights of his men in 1906, and in consequence did not follow in the footsteps of his distinguished father as a Commissioner of Police in Bombay; *Hartley Kennedy* (1899-1901), or "*Langra Kandi*"—Lame Kennedy, as he was known by his men—and *H. G. Gell* (1902-1909), whose numerous legitimate difficulties and troubles were apparently by no means diminished by comprehensive reform schemes, "initiated by the author himself," who somewhat naïvely pleads that "these would have suffered" in the event of his reversion to his own grade in the Civil Service. As a result Mr. Gell was shoved off the plank to make way for the distinguished author, who then proceeds to devote the rest of the sketch to the work done during his own régime.

Apart from these personal aspects of the case, the narrative is, on the whole, a most interesting one, and worthy of study by police and Civil Service students, and of considerable local value as a connected record of the Bombay City Police Force from 1672 to 1916.

P. B. B.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST. By Vincent A. Smith. Fourth Edition. Revised by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., late of the Indian Civil Service. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 16s. net.

Mr. Edwardes tells us in his preface that the task of revising this standard book for a fourth edition was entrusted to him in accordance with the late Dr. Vincent Smith's own wish. He was furnished with

notes recorded by the author before his death, and has been assisted by reports, papers, and essays on Indian history and antiquities which have appeared in various publications since 1919. This edition, however, bears ample testimony to Mr. Edwardes' own scholarly taste and indefatigable ability. It includes additional notes of interest and value, and contains chronological and other amendments in the texts and appendices of certain chapters. Of the appendices, those relating to Kautilya's "Arthasastra," to the Christians of St. Thomas, to the Sena dynasty, are of particular interest and value.

The book contains some excellent maps and illustrations. It is indispensable to every student of Indian history. Mr. Edwardes and the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated on the service which they have rendered both to those who wish to understand India and to the memory of a great scholar.

H. V. L.

THE EASTERN QUESTION: AN HISTORICAL STUDY IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY. By J. A. R. Marriott. Clarendon Press, Oxford. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$; x + 564 pp. Map. 8s. 6d.

This is a third and revised edition of a work which deserves to be republished. No English writer has produced a more careful and instructive survey of the Eastern Question from the emergence of the Ottoman Turk down to the outbreak of the Great War. One must, however, regret that Mr. Marriott should have been content to bring it very inadequately up to date by means of two short epilogues written at different stages of the momentous crisis through which the Eastern Question has been passing for the last ten years.

There is only one criticism that Mr. Marriott's treatment of his subject invites. He himself calls it "A Study of European Diplomacy," and one ought not perhaps to expect him to handle the Eastern Question from any other point of view. But it leads him to ignore a very important aspect of the question—indeed, a vital one during the last half-century, ever since the Sultan Abdul Hamid infused into it a new religious element by seeking to identify the cause of Turkey with the cause of Islam. Whatever his faults and even crimes may have been, it was no mean mind that conceived the idea of seeking compensation for the temporal disasters which the Ottoman Sultanate had once more suffered as a consequence of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 immediately after his accession by reviving, or rather by asserting as none of his predecessors had asserted it, the quasi-spiritual authority of the Ottoman Caliphate over the Sunni World of Islam, far beyond the boundaries of his diminished empire. Indirectly at least the Pan-Islamic policy, to which he devoted his resourceful brain and indefatigable energy for a quarter of a century, affected constantly and in many different ways the whole international

situation and the relations of all the Great Powers with Turkey and amongst themselves. As Caliph he hoped to play off the religious allegiance which he claimed over all orthodox Mohamedans against the Powers who had large Mohamedan communities amongst their subjects in their overseas dependencies, and whose policy he resented or feared as Sultan. Mr. Marriott quotes William II.'s famous speech at Damascus in 1898, but what was at the back of the German Emperor's mind when he paid that resounding homage to his friend and ally the Sultan as Caliph of 300,000,000 Mohamedans? Prince Bülow has told us in almost as many words that Germany, having few Mohamedans to reckon with in her colonies, could afford to look on benevolently at a Pan-Islamic agitation, which was bound to make trouble for England and France. It was the same idea that induced William II. to land at Tangier in 1905, and talk with one eye on Paris and the other on Fez about the rights of a great Mohamedan people. Germany preferred to let Turkey down during the crisis in 1906, which Mr. Marriott does not mention, when the British Government peremptorily warned Turkey to desist from her encroachments on Egyptian territory in the Sinai Peninsula. But William continued to give encouragement and help to Abdul Hamid in the construction of the Hedjaz Railway, which served not only as a splendid advertisement for Pan-Islamism throughout the Mohamedan world, but was intended also to provide a Turkish land route to the Holy Places free from the pressure of British sea-power in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Does Mr. Marriott fully realize that Pan-Islamism sowed the seeds of the Caliphate agitation in India which played a large part in the final surrender of many of the most legitimate of British war aims at Lausanne?

Mr. Marriott clearly finds some difficulty in reconciling Abdul Hamid's and the Young Turks' systematic policies of massacre with the general attitude of religious tolerance with which he credits the Turk on the strength of the indulgence originally extended by him to the Christian subject races of the Ottoman Empire. But was the conqueror's policy really due to tolerance, and not to an intelligent apprehension of the ruling race's interests? Under Mohamedan law, Mohamedan subjects of the Sultan enjoyed a wholly privileged position, and not least in matters of taxation. Had all the conquered Christians been compelled to embrace Islam, they would have been entitled, too, to claim those privileges, and where would Turkey then have found the hard-working communities *corvéables et taillables à merci* to fill her bottomless exchequer? Just as our author still thinks it worth while to speculate as to whether different methods of diplomacy, even after the outbreak of the Great War, might not have prevented Turkey from throwing in her lot with the Germanic Empires, though the Germans now admit that an offensive alliance between

Germany and Turkey was signed at Constantinople the moment hostilities broke out in Western Europe, so he is inclined to form a rather optimistic estimate of the future of the lay but very militarist Republic now established at Angora, far from "the miasma and corruptions of Constantinople." But he, nevertheless, has his doubts. One's only surprise is that a writer who knows the Turk's history so well, can be content merely to have doubts. Can the leopard be expected to change his spots?

VALENTINE CHIROL.

MESOPOTAMIA CAMPAIGN, 1914-1918. Vol. II. Compiled by Brig.-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.S.C. H.M. Stationery Office. 1924. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xiv + 581. Maps. 21s.

General Moberly has undertaken an almost stupendous task in compiling an official history of the campaign in Mesopotamia, and one which he is carrying out in a clear, masterly way, broad of outlook. The sifting of masses of official documents from which to produce his deeply interesting narrative must, in itself alone, be a work of the greatest labour and patience. His first volume, already out some time, brings the reader from the first landing of the 6th Poona Division and events occurring in that country up to General Townshend's successful battle of Kut el Amara, and the complete occupation of the Basra "Vilayat," following out the original intention of the Government of India. This second volume deals with all the pros and cons relative to the subject of an advance to Baghdad, with General Townshend's difficulties in his move, with the successful battle at Ctesiphon, the tragedy of Kut, and the early actions of the relieving force advancing to extricate the 6th Division. Having had access to all manner of official papers, he has been able to produce a remarkably clear and succinct account of situations and difficulties confronting both the Home Government and that of India, such as most of those on the spot were not aware of, or only imperfectly so. In many interesting details of actions his accounts are both vivid and realistic.

His explanations of all matters leading to the advance on Baghdad, in which many passages in the correspondence between the two Governments and General Nixon are extensively quoted, are clearly set forth, and give a hitherto hardly realized aspect of the reasons for the discussions and the final decision on which the step was taken. Without this clearing up of the subject it is not too much to say that the common belief of those on the spot in those early days rather tended towards the driving force of personal ambition, regardless of the insufficient means to carry it through. Nor was the attitude of Persia and the chances of her drifting into war on the side of the Germans, with consequent danger in Afghanistan, sufficiently appreciated at the

time, and this is ably put forward in the opening chapter of this volume. All, however, did understand the effort needed to achieve a success here as a set-off to the Gallipoli expedition, which was proving itself a failure.

The narrative of General Townshend's advance from Kut and the battle of Ctesiphon on November 22, 1915, is full of interest, the more so in that the author is able to quote from the Turkish war historians showing their view and account of the happenings on that memorable day, the end of which proved General Townshend's misgivings as to the wisdom of the attempt on Baghdad at that time to have been not without foundation, though he and his nobly strove to carry out orders (page 46); and his discussions with General Nixon's Chief of the Staff (General Kembell), in which he points to the paucity of troops, and that these were worn out with over a year of hard campaigning under conditions mostly of great heat.

The lamentable inadequacy of all hospital and ambulance arrangements, as well as of transport both by land and river, is gone into in detail and with explanations, though it seems impossible to define where the fault lay—General Nixon's Staff complaining of the lack of helpfulness of the Indian Marine, while the latter declare the Staff were too sparing in information as to the type of river craft required. That many more light-draught river steamers and tugs had not been provided in the early days of the expedition, though frequently asked for by General Barrett, will never be understood; for the Tigris, with its changes and vicissitudes up to Baghdad, had been known to us for many years. The regrettable scandals which arose on these points during the winter of 1915-16 the author shows to have in no way touched the medical or the transport officers on the spot, who worked heroically throughout at the impossible task of brick-making without straw. General Moberly shows that the anticipated number of casualties to be provided for in the big action to be expected on the way up would be some 2,400, and that hospital and transport arrangements then were hardly sufficient to cope adequately with even that number. When the total casualties at Ctesiphon attained to over 4,500, naturally the chaos, confusion, and delay in passing these back to Amara and Basra became monumental.

Chapter XVII., full of the various messages and instructions passing between Generals Nixon and Townshend, shows in great clarity the need in late November for holding out at Kut—how the troops were utterly exhausted, how a stand there would delay Von der Goltz's advance down the Tigris and possibly also the Shatt el Hai, how the stand was made in the full belief that large reinforcements would arrive in a month's time to relieve him, and how the stand was desirable, as it was impossible to clear back the large reserves of stores and supplies laboriously collected at Kut, which could not be allowed to

fall into the enemy's hands or be destroyed by us, as such could never have been replaced at the same time as the reinforcements were being pushed up.

It seems that General Rimington, in command at Kut while General Townshend was fighting at Ctesiphon, had inveighed against a stand at Kut as being most difficult in which to form a defensive position, declaring it could be too easily turned and contained by a comparatively small force, while a larger one could be detached to hold positions lower down stream and deny approach to a relieving force (page 133). He advocated holding the Es Sinn position instead.

Possibly few know how near General Nixon was to being captured on his way down from Kut just before the investment in early December, when it was found a force of Turks had already cut into the river line of communication near Sheikh Saad and opened fire on his boat and on the barges with wounded, necessitating his Staff officers collecting the only combatants available (120), with which they landed and managed to drive the enemy off. On December 6 General Nixon disbelieved in a likely investment, though three days previously General Townshend reported the place as on the point of being so, and by the 7th he reported his position at Kut had been turned by a hostile division which, crossing the Hai, had occupied the Es Sinn position some five to six miles below, and by another force moving to the north of his entrenchments, which meant the investment was complete. It is shown that after optimistic views as to the holding of Kut and the passing up of large relieving forces which were beginning to reach Basra, on December 6 the General Staff in India began to think the risk of a stand at Kut against strong forces outweighed any advantages, and considered it should be evacuated if possible. It was then too late. Urgent representations had been made to expedite reinforcements for Mesopotamia from France and Egypt, as the outlook not only here but in India was none of the best, and might well become worse if things went against us in this campaign. Anxiety was further accentuated by the news on December 7 that Gallipoli was to be evacuated, which would release large Turkish forces to bring greater pressure against General Nixon, who, it is shown, could not well have been in a position to attempt relieving Kut before the end of January, 1916.

General Aylmer, V.C., now in command of the troops on the Tigris front, was assembling the first arrivals of his coming army corps at Ali Gharbi, and reported anxiously of General Townshend's position in mid-December, where "out of 9,000 men he had over 900 sick and had had over 500 casualties in four days. By December 18 the casualty list had reached 1,100, and at this rate of attrition very early relief is necessary." Four Turkish divisions now surrounded the 6th Poona Division. On the 7th the Turkish G.O.C., Nureddin Pasha, demanded surrender of Kut, and followed this up with two violent attacks, which

being repulsed, he settled down to a regular siege of the place. There is a first-rate account in detail of the Turkish assaults on Townshend's northern defences on December 24 by their recent reinforcements from Anatolia, followed by one of the first move of such troops which had been assembled at Ali Gharbi under General Younghusband, and the battle of Sheikh Saad, January 6 to 9, 1916, which showed what the relieving force was now up against, when General Aylmer reported that "it seemed as if he had the whole Turkish strength opposed to him, except possibly 5,000 to 6,000 before Townshend." It was estimated the enemy fronting us at Sheikh Saad numbered 13,600 with 30 guns, though the Turkish historian puts their strength at 9,000 with large Arab levies, while their 45th Division was besieging Kut.

Space is also given to events on the Euphrates at and near Nasiriyeh at the lower end of the Shatt el Hai, where General Gorringe with a weak brigade was opposed by masses of Arabs in January, and fears were entertained of a Turkish advance down this river.

The 9th January shows the enemy vacating his Sheikh Saad positions, and General Aylmer's force, which had sustained near 4,000 casualties, moves forward. About this time a plan took shape for Townshend to cut his way out, but which General Nixon was averse to allowing, except in desperate extremity. This fighting is followed again by accounts of the enormous difficulty in evacuating casualties with the inadequate means at disposal. The next opposition is at Wadi, a strongly contested battle, both sides losing heavily, after which the British forces find themselves in front of the hostile position of Um el Hanna, which the Turks had elaborately entrenched. Hitherto the fighting had been of an open, above-ground nature, but from now on it develops into trench warfare, rendered doubly difficult by the floods of rain, which turned the country into a vast quagmire.

Meanwhile, the siege of Kut appears to have been turned into a blockade investment, with but little actual fighting and intermittent bombardments, the rising inundations having obliged the enemy to draw further off. During the recent fighting General Aylmer's force had had some 6,000 or more casualties, which reduced his effective strength to 9,000 only, and it was known more hostile reinforcements were on their way down. Clear and detailed accounts are given of the fighting about Um el Hanna, where the British troops were brought to a standstill for a considerable time owing to the strength of the Turkish defence, the bad weather, and the impossibility of making any turning movements by land without transport, and which tied them down to movement by river.

Chapter XXII. is devoted to operations up to March, now under General Sir Percy Lake, who had succeeded General Nixon, and deals with the reorganization of brigades, the improvising of staffs, labour

units, requisitions for more river craft, improvement in communications, the advisability of railway construction, and extension of the port of Basra. He was in hopes of effecting the relief of Kut early, where General Townshend reported he had supplies for twenty two days, but was about to utilize horses and mules for food. Later, however, he reports the finding of concealed supplies of flour, which would carry him on longer. Russian moves in West Persia and Asia Minor are also described, the hope being that their success might relieve Turkish pressure on the Tigris. More reinforcements were now coming up the river, the whole of the 13th Division reaching the front in the beginning of March, and plans were formed for the next advance up both banks against the El Hanna and Es Sinn positions.

And so the narrative reaches the second big effort to relieve Kut and the attack on the Dujaila redoubt at the south end of the Es Sinn entrenchments, about which much controversy raged at the time as to its failure, which was then generally imputed to too rigid an enforcement of the operation orders and the hours at which various moves were to be made. In this operation it was hoped the Kut garrison might be able to co-operate, but this was not possible for the reasons set forth. On March 8 Generals Keary and Kemball attacked the redoubt after a long night march of some fifteen miles, General Younghusband the while containing the enemy in the El Hanna position. The difficulties under which General Kemball's force laboured with a hastily improvised Staff, the members of which only joined late on the 6th and had scant time to get to know each other, the troops, or the coming task, is carefully explained, as also certain disagreements between the commanders. The attack on the redoubt was to have been a surprise, and but for unfortunate delays and a mistake made in locating the depression from which the deployment was to be made, the surprise would have been complete. It was 7 a.m., and both the Dujaila and Sinn Abtar redoubts were clearly visible when the artillery opened, and the confusion observed in the enemy's camp, where all had been quiet, showed that but for the delays mentioned General Kemball's troops would have been in position for the assault before dawn, and might well have captured the entire position. As it was, still further delay occurred in sorting gun waggons, transport, and ambulances which were mixed up with the troops in the limited space in the depression, and it was 8.40 a.m. before the attack could be launched. This gave time for the Turks to strongly reinforce the position from the left bank of the river. Again the Turkish historian is quoted from as to their view of the operation, which adds to the interest of the narrative.

Why at 9.50 a.m., when the 37th Brigade was within easy distance of the east face of the redoubt and reported that it even then appeared but lightly held, which was confirmed by further reconnaissance, the

attack of that and two other brigades not far off was not allowed to be made, is not easy to understand. These waited hour after hour for General Kemball's attack to succeed before they could move, and the golden opportunity had vanished; and at 2.45 p.m. they had to ward off a vigorous counter-attack on their left flank. With General Kemball's troops held up by hostile trenches far in advance of the redoubt, at 4.30 p.m. the 37th and 8th Brigades were sent to the attack. Two lines of trenches were captured after stiff fighting, when a most determined Turkish counter-attack covered by accurate artillery fire, was made, and the troops, whose bombs had given out and who had suffered heavy casualties, had to retire. The whole attack had failed.

Thereafter follows an excellent account of the third attempt to get through to Kut with the successful assaults on the Um el Hanna and Falahiyah positions, which again brought General Aylmer's troops to a standstill in front of the seemingly impregnable entrenchments at Sannayat for nearly a year. More reinforcements reaching the front, the force was now organized into two Army Corps (1st and 3rd), comprising the 3rd, 7th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Divisions, of which the 7th and 13th were disposed on the Tigris left bank, the 3rd and 14th on the right bank, while the 15th Division newly forming was at Nasiriyeh on the Euphrates guarding that flank of the Tigris main force. Four gunboats were now on the river at the front, and the need for more river craft was being attended to, to the extent of being able to pass 300 tons of supplies daily up river, but the real need was for 480 tons. The flood season was now at its height, adding, by inundations, to the many other difficulties.

By April the Kut garrison was in the greatest straits for supplies, and it was believed they could not hold out much longer, Townshend reporting that after April 23, except for meat, he would be entirely dependent on food supplies dropped by aeroplanes. Efforts to break through were redoubled, which led in mid-April to the last attempt in the battle at Beit Issa on the right bank, while Sannayat was again assaulted in vain, success being only attained in the first case when the enemy was driven back to his Es Sinn defences.

The author has some pertinent remarks in Chapter XIX. on the condition of units of the reinforcements from Europe, which he states certainly affected the cohesion of General Aylmer's command. These units, having lost heavily in France, were mostly filled with men of less experience and efficiency, and the older ones among them were by now accustomed in France to the more deliberate methods of attack which were not suited to Mesopotamia. They had also learnt to place more reliance on the co-operation of the guns, which arm was not sufficiently numerous on the Tigris to admit of the same methods as obtained in France. He refers also to the disappointment of both officers and men in being transferred to a "side show," and which seemed to lead to a

feeling of contempt and lack of real interest in what both British and Indian soldiers looked on as a "lower class of fighting." Had there been more experienced Staff and other officers on the Tigris front, such feelings and views could have been nipped in the bud.

The assault on the Sannayat entrenchments on April 23, though well supported by guns on the right bank, failed mainly through the flooded state of the country, and marked the last offensive attempt to relieve Kut, all of which operations are graphically described.

We are now brought to the final effort regarded in the nature of a forlorn hope, to revictual the besieged garrison by running the *Julnar* river steamer through to Kut with 270 tons of supplies. All on board had volunteered for the gallant attempt, which took place at night on April 24 while a heavy bombardment was kept up to distract hostile attention. She got safely past various points where heavy fire was opened on her, and reached a point only four miles from Kut, where she struck a cable which swung her round, grounding her near Magasis fort, where she was captured, half the crew being wounded and one officer killed. It was a most gallant venture, and its failure heralded the end.

The last chapter deals with affairs in Kut: the hopes of relief; the bitter disappointment at the failure at the Dujaila redoubt; the cheering news of the successes at El Hanna and Falahijah, raising hopes afresh only to be dashed out again by the failures at Sannayat and of the *Julnar* episode. Most of the time General Townshend's troops had been subjected to long-range bombardments and rifle fire in varying degrees of intensity, which daily increased the casualty list, and with sickness and short rations the half-starved troops could not be otherwise than despondent. Negotiations with the Turkish commander failing, April 29 saw the surrender of Kut after guns and munitions had been destroyed. With it the gallant 6th (Poona) Division went into captivity with a glory nothing can dim, its units having been the first to land in Mesopotamia in early November, 1914, and who had borne the heat and burden of the campaign and every action (save that at Nasiriyeh in August, 1915) for nearly eighteen months.

The author has compiled numerous appendices, all of which show great labour, and which, together with many excellent maps, help still further in the deep interest evoked by this volume. L. W. S.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN MOSLEM ASIA. By E. Alexander Powell. Pp. 320. Maps. London: John Long, Ltd. 15s. net.

This book is designed to show that since the war there has been a determined effort by Great Britain and France to wrest from the Turks some, if not all, of the spiritual and temporal power which has for

centuries been wielded by successive Sultans of Turkey. The author begins by disclaiming any bias for the Turks or any antagonism towards England. Yet, except for a brief censure of various atrocities by the Turks and a curt recognition of the good effect of Britain's control of nations committed to her charge, no reader of this book could believe the author to be anything but pro-Turk and anti-British. This attitude may be explained by the fact that the author is an American, writing primarily to convince his countrymen that the Turks have been scurvily treated. To show Britain as the villain of the piece would naturally be the surest way to prove to his audience that American sympathies should be on the side of the Turks rather than with the Allies, whose perfidious behaviour since the war ought to alienate every fair-minded citizen of God's own country. Mr. Powell certainly knows the Turks and their country, and his criticisms are generally well-informed. No one who knows the East, and especially the Moslems there, would deny that the Treaty of Sèvres and the Greek invasion of Anatolia were both morally wrong and also inexcusable blunders. For these, as the author rightly points out, Mr. Lloyd George was primarily responsible, though he tactfully omits all mention of any American diplomatic connection with anything done to Turkey since the war. But his pity for the defeated Turk carries Mr. Powell a little too far when he asserts that the lust of conquest and thirst for gain in the form of oil-wells led England to seize and hold Palestine and Mesopotamia. England had at least the warrant of victory in battle to authorize her staying where she had conquered. This is more than can be said for America, who, according to Mr. Powell, insisted on a share of the actual and potential profits in oil provided by Mesopotamia through England's victories. And this attitude of America is accepted by the author as perfectly fair and natural, as his country won the war by a lavish expenditure of men and money, though again Mr. Powell shows his tact by making no mention of the price that help cost, and is still costing, England. It would almost seem that England had not after all the monopoly of greed for actual gain in money, but that America occasionally suffers from the same complaint.

Mr. Powell deals far more tenderly with France's action in Syria and with the Turks generally than he does with England in Palestine and Mesopotamia and Persia. Possibly because the area was more restricted and the opportunity for evil correspondingly less.

The author justly finds much to condemn in England and Russia's dealings with Persia. His account of these affairs would be more valuable and instructive had he not consistently denied to the European Powers the virtues he so generously attributes to the Persians. In Eastern Persia, at least, the mercantile class viewed with alarm the prospect of having to depend on their own Government for the communications provided as war measures by the selfish English, while

the people at large were no less exercised by the withdrawal of protection from brigandage afforded by British troops and British-led levies.

With respect to the spiritual power of the Sultan of Turkey Mr. Powell does not seem to be accurate when he imputes to France and England a plan to set up a puppet Khalifa whom all the Moslem world should acknowledge. In support of this insinuation and of his assertion of unfair dealings by the western Allies with Turkey, the leading Moslem Power, Mr. Powell declares that the people of India were so resentful of England's actions and so solicitous for Turkey that the Moslem agitators, the Ali brothers, formed an alliance with the Hindu Gandhi, presumably to get justice for the Turks. It is clear from this that either Mr. Powell was not in India at the time or he is utterly ignorant of the methods and influence of the Indian political agitation. The Ali brothers carried no weight with considered Moslem opinions in India, while Gandhi, a Hindu, had nothing whatever to do with the Moslem hierarchy or with England's dealings with Turkey, whether from a material or a spiritual point of view. Except, of course when such actions afforded a convenient political slogan.

Mr. Powell's book must command attention from the author's obvious knowledge of his subject and his experience of the countries he deals with. But he would have been far more convincing had he not been so anxious to attract the approval of his American readers by exaggerating the Turkish virtues at the expense of their alleged oppressors.

C. A. SMITH.

THE WORD OF LALLA THE PROPHETESS. Being the sayings of Lal Ded or Lal Diddi of Kashmir (Granny Lal), known also as Laleshwari, Lalla Yogishwari and Lalishri, between A.D. 1300 and 1400. Done into English verse from the *Lalla-Vakyani* or *Lal-Wakhi*, and annotated by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bt., Principal Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1924. 16s. net.

The *Lalla-Vakyani*, edited with translation, notes, and a vocabulary by Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett, appeared in 1920, as Vol. XVII. of the Asiatic Society Monographs. We have not had to wait long for an adaptation addressed to a public less special and more likely, it may be, to appreciate simply as poetry and mysticism the verses of the prophetess of Kashmir. Since the utterance is usually symbolic and replete with open or veiled allusion to the technicalities of a philosophy and a discipline, Sir Richard Temple has provided a full account of both, with a glossary and index which leave nothing to be desired. It was different in the case of Omar Khayyam, where the literary appreciation had the field for a long period all to itself.

Sir Richard Temple, the eminent authority in all departments of

Indian and Burmese popular religion and lore, the editor-proprietor during so many years of the *Indian Antiquary*, the generous benefactor of many institutions of learning and science, is not so well known as an accomplished writer of verse. But folk-lore and poetry have a common root, and it is not at all surprising that Sir Richard has contributed a sentiment and artistry of his own to the interpretation of Lalla's message. His object has been to render her meaning and manner, in general with some amplification; of his fidelity, which is attested by the original editors, the reader has himself in the prose translation, and in Sir Richard's own comments, the apparatus for judging.

Lalla's mysticism was of a Hindu type—that is to say, it was as far as possible from being individual, and consisted in the realization of metaphysical and psychological discriminations worked out previously by a dogmatic school. How far she comprehended the system intellectually would be hard to say. She is not a thinker or an ascetic, but an enthusiastic devotee. Her attitude towards the ultimate principle of things is one of adoration; her goal is absorption in the "void beyond the void," while her practice is orgiastic; she adopts nudity as her uniform and dances ecstatically in public. She had been unhappy in her husband's home, and she also complains occasionally of persecution. The Freudian psychologists would make as short work of her as she, no doubt, would have made of them. Not all Indian Siva-Yoginis are of this type; and a few years ago a traveller was impressed by a short interview with one, devoted to good works, who was quiet and fully dressed and allowed her name to be communicated as *Hārdam Satya* (Heart Truth). But probably it is Lalla's emotional and poetic quality that has made her sayings into household words in Kashmir. Her verses are full of those images and allusions to familiar incidents, occupations, and scenes which awaken idea and sentiment in the minds of the common people. It is an old manner in India (and elsewhere), and characterizes also the moralizings of Kabir and Nanak; but Lalla was a poetess.

The task of reproducing in English verse the effect of these brief obscure poems, their emotion, their technicalities, and their everyday allusions to Oriental traits, is no ordinary one. Sir Richard Temple's rough accentual metre seems to reflect admirably the movement of the original and to be a good carrier of the emotional appeal. In tracking the sense the reader will not be able to dispense with the commentary: even in his own language a mystic's verse demands a willing co-operation. But for those who are prepared to extend with a little labour their range of appreciation Sir Richard's book brings something quite novel, genuine, and of rich savour. We may allow ourselves the pleasure of quoting his version of two of the simpler and more consecutive pieces:

First, I, Lallâ, as a cotton bloom,
 Blithely set forth on the path of life.
 Next came the knocks of the cleanser's room,
 And the hard blows of the carder's wife.
 Gossamer from me a woman spun,
 Twisting me about upon her wheel.
 Then on a loom was I left undone,
 While the kicks of the weaver did I feel.
 Cloth now become, on the washing stone
 Washermen dashed me to their content.
 Whitened me with earths, and skin and bone
 Cleaned they with soaps to my wonderment.
 Tailors then their scissors worked on me,
 Cut me and finished me, piece by piece.
 Garment at last, as a Soul set free
 Found I the Self and obtained Release.
 Hard is the way of the Soul on Earth,
 Ere it may reach to the journey's end.
 Hard is the path of life in each Birth,
 Ere thou canst take the hand of the Friend

And again :

Lo! a Vision is before mine eyes,
 Framed in a halo of thoughts that burn ;
 Up into the Heights, lo! I arise
 Far above the cries of them that spurn.
 Lo! upon the wings of Thought, my steed,
 Into the mists of the evening gold,
 High, and higher, and higher I speed
 Unto the Man, the Self I behold.
 Truth hath covered the nude that is I :
 Girt me about with a flaming sword ;
 Clad me in the ethereal sky,
 Garment of the glory of the Lord.

The long introduction reviews with a masterly completeness, from Indo-Iranian times and even earlier, the development of the ideas at the back of Lalla's religion, and continues the story with an account of the famous Hindu teachers of later times—such as Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Caitanya, Nāmdev, Tukaram, and so on. The Indo-European is credited with a theistic tendency in contrast with the atheism of the Far Eastern peoples, whose leading idea is that of a law or process. We would rather credit the Indo-European with a metaphysical tendency in contrast with the extraordinary unintellectuality, personalism, and passion of the ancient Near East. Indian religion in particular is all about "the self" (or non-self) and the absolute *ens* (or *non-ens*), and the absorption or non-absorption of the former in the latter. It deals in categories and emanations, emulous in subtlety of distinctions; and it is only at later stages that it succeeds in fixing upon a

supreme being with character as definite as those of Krishna or Siva. No reader can fail to learn much from Sir Richard's full and compact account of the whole development and his observations interspersed, or from his detailed exposition of the Saiva doctrine of Kashmir.

There is one further particular in regard to which we would venture to demur. The story of Lalla's acquaintance with a Muhammadan saint (Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani), who visited Kashmir, has encouraged or induced both Sir Richard Temple and the original editors to look for traces of Sufism in her verses. But neither there nor in the very elaborate glossary do we seem to find any serious justification of this; and in perusing, for instance, such a work as the *Kashf al Mahjub* of Al Hujwir (translated by Dr. Nicholson in the *Gibb Memorial Series*) we find ourselves in a quite different world. Here we cannot follow Sir Richard Temple; but it is for our learned colleagues, the editors, that we reserve our disapproval of their terrible suggestion that, in the collocation,

“Shiv or Kêshav, Lotus-Lord or Jin,”

Lalla was capable of a reminiscence, however faint, of a mere “Jinn.”

F. W. THOMAS.

THE VANISHED CITIES OF ARABIA. By Mrs. Steuart Erskine. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. 324. Hutchinson and Co. 25s.

Those who may be under the impression that they are now going to be told all about the departed glories—if there ever were any except shifting sands—of Arabia and its buried cities will be disappointed on reading this book, for it has nothing at all to do with Arabia proper, but deals exclusively with the none the less entrancing story of the vanished cities of Moab, Arabia-Petrea, and the Dead Sea.

The vast amount of history and commercial, military, and political energy and enterprise which has been compressed throughout long ages by Allah into this comparatively small area ever since Moses led his mutinous tribes on to the eastern borders of Palestine, may be fully appreciated from the strenuous efforts made by the talented authoress still further to boil down all this vast and complicated mass of material, both historical and architectural, into a single volume of under 350 pages for modern popular consumption.

The history of these regions is now as complex and as much jumbled up as are the ruins of their once famous cities, fortresses, and emporiums. The story of Moab, of Nabatia, of the Jordan rift and the Asphalt Sea, of the Decapolis, of Arabia-Petrea, of Outre-Jourdain, or the land now known by the more comprehensive title of “Trans-Jordania,” is therefore not one which can very easily be presented in any potted form, and hence the difficulties Mrs. Erskine has so

obviously experienced in endeavouring to present each cameo of her story in a concise, intelligible form. The rapid changes in political situations along this dead highway of commerce—like the complex character of its buildings—has resulted at times in a certain amount of confusion in attempts to sort out and explain not only the sequence of historical events but the styles of architecture as well; and we thus find ourselves suddenly switched off from an intriguing description of the ruins of Petra to some others of not half such interest in Jerusalem and elsewhere, and from what at first promises to be an interesting chapter on the “Desert” and the Bedawin to Sasanid state functions in the Court of Nowsherwan somewhere in Persia—with the result that in the end very little indeed remains to be said about the subject we started on.

Nevertheless, Mrs. Steuart Erskine is to be heartily congratulated on the mass of most interesting information which she has so laboriously collected and presented, on the whole, in a most pleasing and readable form. The book, moreover, appears at a very appropriate time, and should not only be a valuable addition to all libraries, but of special interest to future pilgrims to this most fascinating part of the world, where British control now removes difficulties experienced by previous travellers. There can be no question that Jerash, Amman, Madeba, Kerah, Petra, and the Dead Sea region afford the enterprising traveller an endless variety of pleasure, and even thrills; Mrs. Erskine's book should prove a strong incentive for further exploration therein.

The illustrations deserve a special word of praise. Throughout—except perhaps in the case of the portrait of King Hussein—they show Major Benton Fletcher at his very best, and bring back forcibly to all who have ever seen these wonderful remains a recollection of their surpassing grace and beauty. In most cases he has caught the exact spirit of the scene depicted, and as a collection they are of great value. In particular the two coloured sketches of “Sunrise” and “Sunset” are worthy of special mention. In each he has caught the true, delicate, fleeting gossamer tint which used to hold one entranced as one watched the soft process of transition from one shade to another from that same spot on the Mount of Olives. One can almost see this process in the delicate sketch depicting the “sunset” scene. To those of us who have known this it would be no matter of surprise if the sketch silently and swiftly passed into its next stage of cold steel-grey, and deeper and deeper into the shadows of the walls of Moab, till the rising moon once again lit up that wild, indescribable scene of desolation with its soft tints of grey, and brought the Dead Sea back into life again in all its silvery glory.

P. B. B.

THE RELIGION OF THE MANICHEES. *Donnellan Lectures for 1924.* By F. C. Burkitt, Hon. D.D. (Dubl.) Cambridge: at the University Press. 1925.

In publishing the *Donnellan Lectures*, delivered by him at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1924, Dr. Burkitt has rendered an important service both to scholars and to those who, while disclaiming that title, are yet interested in the history of human thought.

His account of Mani's fantastic attempt to grapple with the problem of the existence of evil, sheds much new light on an interesting development of religious thought from two sources which have but recently been disclosed even to scholars—the original documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and other explorers in Chinese Turkistan, containing the only existing presentation of the doctrines of Mani by his followers, and the late C. W. Mitchell's decipherment of St. Ephraim's refutation of Mani. Before the discovery and publication of these documents, the sole source of our knowledge of a religion which commanded an allegiance so wide as to menace, at different periods, Catholic Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam, and survived a millennium of proscription and persecution only to disappear before the devastating hordes of Chingiz Khan and Timur, was the polemical writings of its enemies; and the question was complicated by the indiscriminate use of the word *Manichee* as a term of abuse for heretics whose imperfectly understood doctrines, even if they owed anything to Mani's system, were certainly not identical with it.

Thus arose the general conception of *Manichæism* as an attempt to fuse various elements of the Zoroastrian and Christian systems, and as a caricature of both religions. St. Ephraim, though a polemical writer, laboured to understand the faith which he condemned, and was at pains to analyze it and trace it to its source, and his view, adopted by Dr. Burkitt, was that Mani was indebted, even for his dualism, to heretical Christianity rather than to Zoroastrianism. Dr. Burkitt has made out his case, for he has shown us that the dualism of Mani is far more closely allied to the views of Marcion and Bardaisan (*Bardessanes*) than to the Zoroastrian system, which is specifically condemned in the formulæ of the Manichees. This condemnation alone, of course, proves nothing, for similarity between creeds breeds neither sympathy nor understanding, but St. Ephraim's account of the origins of Mani's system can hardly be rejected.

The sinfulness and unworthiness of man are familiar themes in most theologies, and their causes, effects, and remedies are discussed in various moods and from various angles, but there is probably no theology so pessimistic as that of Mani. It is difficult to understand the appeal of a system which regarded one of the two elements of which man was believed to be compounded as so hopelessly evil and corrupt that the only remedy for his state was the liberation of the good

element by the extinction of the race. The inevitable consequence of this view was the belief that marriage, or any attempt to propagate a race containing an element of evil of which it could not possibly rid itself, was sinful. The universal practice of a doctrine so opposed to natural instincts was manifestly impossible, and it was modified by the division of those who held it into two classes—the Elect, who professed to live up to the ideal, and the Hearers, weaker brethren who were permitted to live as other men—but even with this relaxation the faith was sufficiently inhuman. Yet it appealed to many, and its appeal was strong enough to enable them to withstand centuries of the bitterest persecution, for nearly all persecuted the Manichees; and if persecution is to attain its end—extermination—it must be severe and unremitting. That end was eventually attained in the West, and the remnant of the Manichees found a home and a measure of toleration in Chinese Turkistan.

It is not difficult to understand the hostility of other faiths to that of Mani. Zoroastrians perhaps regarded it as a gross travesty of their own creed. To both Catholic Christianity and Islam the limitations placed by Mani on the power and majesty of the Supreme Being would appear hideous blasphemy; but it may be doubted whether the persecution which the Manichees encountered everywhere was due exclusively to the *odium theologicum*. Their tenets were sufficiently anti-social to awaken the hostility of the civil power, and when both Church and State are agreed on the necessity for persecution the work is usually well done.

Not the least interesting part of Dr. Burkitt's book is his account of the survival of Manichæism in Chinese Turkistan after its extinction in the West. Our knowledge of this survival is due primarily to such explorers as Sir Aurel Stein, but the results of their discoveries have hitherto been the exclusive property of Oriental scholars. Dr. Burkitt has placed them at the disposal of all.

In only one respect does the printing of the book fall short of the high standard of excellence which the Cambridge University Press has taught us to expect. The initial and medial form of the letter *sigma* is used at the end of four Greek words, instead of the final form, which is not once used. This can hardly be accidental, and the practice, though it may be convenient to the printer, is not pleasing to the eye.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

SURVIVALS OF SASANIAN AND MANICHÆAN ART IN PERSIAN PAINTING.
By Sir Thomas W. Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1924.

In purely Persian art there is no continuous tradition, for the history of the nation precludes it. Islam very effectually stifled pictorial art in all lands on which it imposed itself, and it is very doubtful whether

this art would ever have revived in Persia but for the Persian's ineradicable propensity to heterodoxy, and his determination neither to submit himself in all things to an exotic religion nor to permit that religion to interfere with innocent pleasures.

Sasanian art is separated from that which arose and flourished in the uncongenial atmosphere of Islam by an interval of six centuries. To bridge such a gulf is a formidable task, and there can be few who could perform it so satisfactorily as Sir Thomas Arnold. The materials for his bridge he finds among the followers of a faith which, now extinct, was once a formidable rival to Catholic Christianity, Zoroastrianism, and Islam. The founder and prophet of this faith is now, by a strange freak of fate, remembered in Persia merely as a painter, for Manichæism ever promoted and fostered the art on which Islam frowned, and the Persian tradition lived in the towns of Chinese Turkistan, the only land in which the Manichee was not persecuted.

The beautifully reproduced pictures in this most attractive book not only illustrate, but establish the soundness of Sir Thomas Arnold's view that the traditions of Sasanian art survive in the later pictorial art of Persia, and that their survival was due to the Manichees. Their faith died, regretted by none, but the art which they so carefully cherished lived, and returned to the land of its birth.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

IN THE LAND OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE. By Odette Keun ; translated by H. Jessman. London: At the Bodley Head. Pp. 270; map.

Mademoiselle Odette Keun has given a very interesting account of her experiences in that part of the Caucasus which lies south of the main range of the mountains, and between Tiflis and Poti on the Black Sea. Having travelled in many parts of the Caucasus, I can fully appreciate the hardships which Mlle. Odette experienced in visiting these various mountain clans of Georgians. Without knowledge of the dialects of these tribesmen, she managed to collect many interesting details of the social customs which these people possess, and she gives them to us in plain, unvarnished, and dramatic language. Her powers of description of the scenery, of the hardships of her daily journeyings, and especially of some of those long night ones, are decidedly good, and make very interesting reading. I myself experienced some of those long days on foot, over the roughest of tracks, days which were prolonged far into the night, so I can testify to the remarkable physical prowess and endurance of this good lady. Personally, I would much rather walk these marches than ride them seated on the agonizing saddles which the Caucasians use on their hardy, sure-footed ponies.

I well remember one march of twenty hours at a stretch, topping a pass, and down a long, unending rugged valley, with only an apology for a track. But what a glorious day it was, what magnificent

scenery! We were benighted of course, and I found it difficult to find the track at times, and we did not reach a resting-place till midnight or so, and we just laid down in our blankets without much thought of food.

Another exciting day was crossing a virgin pass from a high bivouac under a rock on the edge of a glacier. An early start before dawn brought us to the summit somewhere about midday, fairly easy going up; but on looking over the other side of the pass, we found it almost sheer precipice and ice slopes before the Neve could be reached. There was nothing for it but to make the attempt. Dead slow progress it was, and down the worst rocks I have almost ever negotiated. For a period we had to cross a stretch which was bombarded by rocks and stones at intervals from above, and only foot by foot could we negotiate this section. One of our party was badly hit and another slightly. The Neve was reached at 700 feet from the summit of the pass, and it took seven hours! But what a relief to be on it and off that awful precipice. But our difficulties were not over by any means, as, when the glacier was reached, we found the fall was very steep and badly crevassed, and we found it was impossible to continue in the dark, so there was nothing for it but to remain till dawn; we were almost frozen to death, and all we had to eat—the five of us—was one small tin of condensed milk—hateful, mawkish stuff, but I never relished anything so much as I did my small share of it!

But I must return to Mlle. Odette's experiences and not my own.

I see she visited the Prince of the Dadishtrillain tribe, and so did I, and the greatest hospitality did we receive in his charming and primitive house, where we had wine and food of the best.

Syanetia, with its numerous villages and their defensible towers, just like those to be found in Waziristan, and overshadowed by the great Ushba—a double-headed peak—will live in my memory till my dying day, a most lovely, charming, and fertile valley.

I could go on writing about the Caucasus for hours, as Mlle. Odette has done. I was fascinated by the country, and she, seemingly, was equally fascinated—a country to visit again and yet again; but, alas! it is now practically closed to the traveller owing to the accursed Bolshevik régime, which has ruined and plunged into chaos every part of that once huge Russian Empire: from the Pacific Ocean to the Germano-Austrian frontier, from the Arctic seas to the border of Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan.

C. H. POWELL,
Major-General.

OBITUARY

LIEUT.-COLONEL PERCY BROOKE BRAMLEY, O.B.E.

LIEUT.-COLONEL PERCY BROOKE BRAMLEY, O.B.E., Indian Police, died suddenly on February 19, in his fifty-eighth year. He was a member of an old Yorkshire family, the son of Colonel Alexander Howe Bramley of the Bengal Staff Corps; he was born in India, where he was privately educated. He entered the police about thirty-seven years ago, and was engaged in the prevention of piracy, the organization of the police services, and the stamping out of brigandage on the borders of Nepal. He was the first police officer to receive the old Kaiser-i-Hind Medal and the King's Police Medal. After the outbreak of war he took up military service, first in India and later in Mesopotamia; he was present at the recapture of Kut from the Turks, and was mentioned in despatches; he was then appointed to be Commandant at Basra and on the lines of communication, and received the Order of the British Empire for his services.

Colonel Bramley was then sent to Jerusalem as Director of Public Security in Palestine. There he spent four years and built up the Palestine Police Force from its very foundations. Not the least of his services was the elimination of highwaymen and bandits, those pests of Palestine. He also captured the notorious Abu Ghoneim. During Colonel Bramley's term of office the Palestine Gendarmerie Force was raised, and later, under Major-General Tudor, the British gendarmerie was reformed for Palestine. It was in connection with this that he came to England, and was received in audience by the King. We may look on him as a typical police officer, whose official life had been spent for the greater part in the more backward countries of the world.

Since his retirement he had interested himself keenly and ably in several branches of public work, and he was a valued and prominent member of various Societies devoted to the study of the East. He married in 1915 Miss Sybil Vaughan Morgan, who with two little daughters survives him.

THE MARQUESS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.

ALL members of the Central Asian Society will share in the deep regret that will be generally felt at the news of Lord Curzon's death. Since the initiation of the Society he has taken a great interest in its affairs, and for the last seven years has been its Honorary President. He has on several occasions made the Presidential Address at the annual dinner. As all members of the Society are aware, he was possibly the greatest living authority on the various subjects in which the Society is interested, and we were fortunate in securing his help and inspiration. This notice is necessarily short as the *Journal* is already in the Press.

March 20, 1925.

NOTICES

Library.—The Council wish to thank Major-General J. A. Douglas for "A Grammar of the Baluchi Language," by Major Walters, a notice of which will be in the next number of the *Journal*.

The following books have been received for review :

- "The Early History of India," by Vincent Smith, C.I.E. (4th edition, revised by S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.). 9" × 5½". Pp. viii + 535. (Oxford University Press. 1924. 16s.)
- "The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia," by Alexander Powell. 9" × 5½". Pp. xi + 320. (John Long, Ltd., London. 1924. 15s.)
- "Survivals of Sasanian and Manichæan Art in Persian Painting," with seventeen illustrations, by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., Litt.D. 9½". Pp. 23. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. 10s. 6d.)
- "The Mesopotamian Campaign," Vol. II., by Brig.-General F. J. Moberly, C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.S.C. Official History of the War Series. 8¾" × 5½". Pp. xiv + 581. Maps and illustrations. (H.M. Stationery Office. 1924. 21s.)
- "The Vanished Cities of Arabia," by Mrs. Steuart Erskine. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. 9½" × 6½". Pp. 324. (Messrs. Hutchinson and Co., London. 1925. 25s.)
- "The Early History of Bengal," by F. J. Monahan, I.C.S., with a preface by Sir John Woodroffe. 8¾" × 5¾" Pp. ix + 248. (Oxford University Press. 1925. 15s.)
- "The Eastern Question: A Study in European Diplomacy," by J. A. R. Marriott (3rd edition, revised). 7¾" × 5". Pp. 564. Maps. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1924. 8s. 6d.)
- "The Challenge of Asia," by Stanley Rice. 7½" × 5". Pp. 256. (John Murray, London. 1925. 7s. 6d.)
- "The Inconstancy of Madam Chuang, and other Stories," translated from the Chinese by E. B. Howell. (Messrs. T. Wernher Laurie, London. 1925.)
- "To Lhasa in Disguise," by W. Montgomery McGovern, Ph.D. 9" × 5¾". Pp. 352. Illustrations. (Messrs. Thornton Butterworth and Co. 1924. 21s.)
- "The Great Betrayal," by E. H. Bierstadt. Pp. xv + 345. 8½". Illustrations. (London. 1925. 15s.)
- "The Religion of the Manichees," Donnellan Lectures for 1924, by F. C. Burkitt, Hon. D.D. (Dublin). (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1925.)

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

JOURNAL

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CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

MY IMPRESSIONS OF A TOUR IN 'IRAQ

BY THE RIGHT HON. LORD THOMSON, C.B.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, on November 21, 1924, when a lecture was given by Lord Thomson. The Viscount Peel presided.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—This evening we have the great pleasure before us of hearing Lord Thomson give his impressions of his tour in 'Iraq. I need not explain to this Society what 'Iraq means, because they all know the origin, no doubt, of that name. Lord Thomson, of course, is very well known to all of us as the Secretary of State for Air in the late Government; but, besides that, he has had a very wide experience indeed. He was an old member of the Royal Engineers who served in the South African War. He was a General Staff officer at the War Office, and, during the late war, he was, among other things, on a special mission to Roumania as military attaché. He served in Egypt, and was also through the advance in Palestine, so he had a very long military experience, besides his experience as Air Minister. Well, he went out on an official tour, and, like all Air Ministers nowadays, he went mainly by air. He flew something like 2,600 or 3,000 miles. In fact, you could hardly have an Air Minister now who could not fly: I shudder to think what would happen if one was unfortunately appointed to that post who did not enjoy pursuing his researches in an aeroplane. We are very fortunate in two ways with regard to Lord Thomson. He went out, of course, with all the full panoply of official experience. He went out also swathed in the close-fitting garments of official reticence. But he now fortunately enjoys that happy release from the burden of official duties which is so dear to the hearts of all politicians—(laughter)—and we draw from that this double advantage, that, while he has all the knowledge, he has now at the same time all the freedom. He knows everything, and he can say everything—or nearly everything, I suppose. He is not hampered by any official reticence, and therefore we expect great interest and great revelations to-night. We all give him a very hearty welcome, and thank him for coming to lecture to us, and look forward with great pleasure to his lecture. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I confess that I speak with a certain amount of diffidence to an audience so

largely composed of experts as this one is. It is perfectly true, as our Chairman has said, that I went out swathed in the panoply of official position, and all the information that could be given to me was given to me, I am sure. But, at the same time, I was singularly inexperienced about the country which I was visiting. I went with an open mind. Mr. Bernard Shaw has described an open mind as an empty one. (Laughter.) I felt rather like Paget, M.P., as I was hurried round place after place in Arabia, told everything there was to know about that place, and then hurried on to another one. Although I enjoy that feeling of irresponsibility to which Lord Peel has referred, I should like to be much more indiscreet than I am going to be—some restraint is needed—because the problem is really rather a delicate one in 'Iraq, and one does have a certain responsibility to one's successors in office. However, I have the honour to speak to you to-night with some of the valour of ignorance, and from a position, if not of greater ease, at any rate of less responsibility. I will just give you, to begin with, a general idea of what that tour consisted of. We went to Alexandria by rail and sea, and from Alexandria to Cairo by rail. It was at Heliopolis that we started to fly, and flew from there direct to Amman, where we spent the night, and where the Emir Abdullah gave us dinner. Next morning we flew straight to Baghdad, arriving from a height of 6,000 feet on the aerodrome within about twenty yards of a guard of honour. I remember coming down from the fresh air 6,000 feet up, through a belt of very hot air, then into dust, and then into something which really felt rather like an oven. I was a little dizzy as I got out of the aeroplane to inspect the guard of honour, and went off as soon as possible to the Residency for tea and a short rest before a large dinner party. I had never visited Baghdad before, and I was much struck by the remark of one person there: it was to the effect that Baghdad was a city of opinions, that there were as many opinions in Baghdad, in fact, as there were hairs in the Prophet's beard. Everybody had an opinion in Baghdad, except, so far as I could make out, the Minister of Finance. He said less than anybody else to me; but it is proverbial how that office cramps the most loquacious people's style. (Laughter.) Next morning I spent at Baghdad inspecting the garrison, and had tea with King Feisal in the afternoon. In the evening there was another dinner party, where I met the air people at a large function that was given by the Air Officer commanding. I there heard a number of views differing somewhat from those I had heard from the political people the night before, and next morning early we started by air for Mosul. There, after some inspections, we had lunch in a pink marble palace built by a tax collector, who had saved the money to build that palace out of a salary of ten pounds a month in the course of seven years. (Laughter.) After lunch I indulged in a short siesta, and later paid a visit to the notables of the city of

Mosul. There they made one welcome to their city, and I made a speech in thanks, and after that I went down to the Arab headquarters, and was similarly greeted by the Arabs, and again made them a speech which not one of them understood. Next day to Zakho on the Turkish frontier in the early morning—a very wonderful flight over a range of mountains. Zakho is a charming little town situated on an island in a river. The Turks were, of course, quite close to us there. The valley running east of Zakho is the one that goes up past Amadia to Rowanduz, and the intention had been to fly back by Amadia and Rowanduz; but the only mishap of the tour occurred just as we left Zakho. A flying wire on the machine I was in snapped, and we had to go back for repairs. These were soon effected, and we then flew to Erbil, the ancient Arbela, where we had lunch with the political officer, went around the city, and flew on that evening to Kirkuk. At Kirkuk we spent the night, inspected the garrison, and next morning flew to Suleimani on the Persian frontier. Suleimani I will refer to later in my remarks. From Suleimani we flew back to Baghdad. From Baghdad, the next day after dinner with King Feisal, we flew back to Amman, once more from Amman back to Ramleh, and we spent the night on the top of the Mount of Olives. Next morning, very early, we flew to Heliopolis, had lunch, flew back from Heliopolis to Aboukir Bay, got into a motor-car, saw some of the members of Zaghoul's Government, and got with a sigh of relief into a ship to get back to England. (Laughter.) Such was the itinerary. My endeavour tonight will be to give you some idea of the impressions that I derived from that somewhat kaleidoscopic experience. There were, of course, three events of outstanding interest just before and during this visit. The first in chronological order was the Wahabi invasion of Trans-Jordan: that had taken place a little time before our arrival. It was an event of outstanding importance—in fact, in its small way, I think the action which took place in the early morning six miles from Amman may be described as one of the small decisive battles of the world; because it proved any amount of things, that small engagement. You have got to imagine something like this—a defenceless town, or practically a defenceless town, like Amman, and without warning of any sort or kind, there suddenly arrives within seven miles of this town a large host of hostile Arabs, who are indiscreet enough to give warning of their approach by burning villages and looting. If they had come on unobserved, it would have been impossible to stop these invaders, they would undoubtedly have captured Amman. They would have burned the place, and might conceivably have overthrown what one may call the dynasty that has been set up by the British Government in Trans-Jordania. In fact, something very serious would have happened, had not, at the shortest possible notice, the aeroplanes at Amman, reinforced by some from Palestine, sallied

forth, followed by armoured motor-cars. I gather from the descriptions that were given me, and the accounts of the prisoners, that the effect of that attack from the air upon those densely-massed Arabs, with their long strings of camels and horses, was something too appalling; that the terror inspired was complete, that the panic which ensued was perfectly ghastly, that several hundred people were killed on the spot by these swift implacable aeroplanes swooping down to within 20 feet of them and strafing them with machine guns and that the aerial attack, followed by the pursuit with armoured motor-cars, caused losses which it is difficult to estimate. Seven hundred are supposed to have been killed, but these were not the only casualties; the Arabs, panic-stricken, fled into the desert, and hundreds more must have died of thirst. Now, all that is very dreadful. It is a most horrible thing. No one wishes to repeat such an experience. No one wishes to glory in it once it has been done; but I think you will agree with me, when I have got a little further with my remarks, that unless some such punishment—as swift, as effective, as implacable, and as terrible—had been applied (if humaner and slower methods had been resorted to), the process of restoring order and making people respect frontiers in Arabia would have been long drawn out, and in the end there would have ensued a great deal more suffering to the people, and a great deal more cost to the taxpayers of this country, and lasting results would not have been achieved. I am inclined to think that the men who took part in that invasion will never take part in another one. There were a great many prisoners taken. Contrary to custom they were not killed: they were given a month's hard labour in Amman and the neighbourhood, building houses, and they were then sent back, all with the same message to their people, telling them what would happen if those frontiers were violated once again. They vowed that when they had been urged to make this offensive, and come these hundreds of miles across the desert to do so, they had been told by their leaders that the aeroplanes might be there, and that the British might be there; but that that would be all right: they would not be used against them. It was high time that fallacies of that kind were uprooted, because it would be quite impossible to maintain, with the small force at our disposal in these parts of the world, law and order and respect for frontiers if such ideas were allowed to permeate the masses of the Arab people.

The second incident—it was in progress while I was out there—was the trouble with the Turks about the north-western frontier of the Mosul vilayet. It is a matter of great satisfaction to everybody that the dispute has been so happily terminated. As I understood the matter, and it was explained to me in homely language on the spot by a great many people, the Turks were out to punish the Assyrian Christians—the Nestorians—for having insulted one of their

Valis or Governors. It was inconvenient for the Turks, as a military operation, to reach the particular locality they aimed at from the north—that is to say, from territory which was indisputably Turkish. The communications were bad, and military bases did not exist in that locality. They, therefore, came in from the west, from one of their military headquarters, Jezirah ; and they knew perfectly well that the greater part of the route which they followed as their line of communications did traverse indisputably British territory, in the sense that it was part of the mandated area of 'Iraq. I used to put to myself the question sometimes out there, "When is bombing not an act of war?"—because, of course, things happen since the world war which, if they had happened before the world war, would have been undoubtedly acts of war. When I arrived there, for example, the Turks had had a very effective bombing applied to them : they accepted it as part of the day's work while they were in this indisputably British zone. I do not think any Turkish soldier on the spot had the least complaint to make about the bombing of his troops while they were in this particular bit of territory. But such is the point of honour and the finesse of definitions, that one may suppose them considering it an act of war if that same bombing had occurred one yard outside the undisputed zone either way. They knew they were guilty of trespass, and were quite prepared to take their gruel for trespassing if caught in the act. This point of view is, I think, perfectly logical and comprehensible. Having done what they wanted to do—namely, got their own back from the people who they assumed, and with some reason, had insulted their Governor, they remained passive even if they did not retire. I think there is every reason to believe that the matter will be settled amicably. It is, of course, a very difficult thing to fix a frontier in a region like that. Administrative officers are inclined to extend their functions : no one quite knows where the frontier is. But I do not suppose we could have got a better commission than that which has been appointed to arbitrate, and certainly one member of it, Count Teleki, should be an expert on frontiers by this time ; because he himself lives inside a sort of jigsaw puzzle of a frontier, and should know something of the difficulties connected with the fixation of all frontiers. How long it will take to arrange this Turkish frontier it would be very difficult to say : some pessimists out there thought it would be years. What I am quite satisfied of is this, that provided we are watchful and vigilant, and provided the inhabitants—and this is more important than the attitude of the Turks—know we are acting in that manner, I do not think there will be any repetition of the trouble in that particular zone. But we have got to exercise unceasing vigilance ; the least carelessness might have the most awful results.

The third incident occurred just after my tour terminated, though it was threatening at the time—I mean the invasion of the Hejaz. Both

King Feisal and the Emir Abdullah talked to me a great deal about it. They were moved naturally by feelings of filial sentiment; they did not like to think their father was being put into such a humiliating position. They prophesied a general upheaval in Arabia, and needless to say they painted Ibn Sa'ud, the invader, in the blackest colours. I think they had some legitimate ground for anxiety as regards what might happen to them. Of course to the Emir Abdullah one could always point out how his frontiers had been guarded when invaded, and how the Wahabis had learned a stern lesson when they tried to violate a frontier which had been fixed and was guarded by the British. King Feisal was not quite so easy to convince as regards his responsibilities. But on the whole I think it may do him and his officers good: I think they will exercise greater zeal in their own preparations for defence than they might otherwise have done. The enemy being, so to speak, at their gates, will make them perhaps more eager in their attempts to make of 'Iraq a self-supporting country.

Before I go any further, I ought to try and give you my own ideas, however guarded, about these races; because really on that depends everything else that I have got to say. I saw a great many Arab troops and, speaking as a soldier, and from what I could gather of their general character, I am inclined to think that it would be an exceedingly difficult matter to make a really good army out of Arabs under Arab officers. There is something nomadic and unruly about these people. They are fine to look at, very picturesque; but without a stiffening of British officers, I personally should be very sorry to confide the destinies of any country to their safe-keeping. They have but one idea really, I imagine, and that is wandering about with occasional looting. It is much more dangerous than if it were their occupation or their means of livelihood. As I understand it, this sort of life to them is a kind of sport; and once a thing becomes a sport with people they will pursue it with far more passion than if it was a means of livelihood; and it is far more difficult to correct. I look forward with the very greatest apprehension to the Arabs being left at any time without a considerable stiffening of British officers—I am now talking of the purely Arab forces. I think it would be a danger, and it is a danger which, so far as I can gather, is apparent to the Arab rulers of 'Iraq. I spoke about the matter with King Feisal on both occasions when I talked with him, and he more or less agreed. Then there are the Kurds. The Kurds struck me as being a very peculiar people. I had always been in the habit, when inspecting, of seeing men who looked straight ahead, and one looked into their eyes to see what sort of men they were. Inspecting a battalion of Kurdish troops was really a most uncanny experience. Not one of them looked at me when I was in front of him, but I became aware, as I passed down the line, of eyes staring sidelong at me. If I lived long in Arabia

I am sure I should have nightmares of those rows of sidelong glittering little eyes. They are people, I gathered from those who know something about them, who are much impressed by what is sometimes called prestige. They like to be on the stronger side; they like, in vulgar parlance, to spot the winner. There are Kurds inside our mandated territory and outside, and one of the anxieties of the future is this undoubtedly, that suppose anything happened to lower our prestige and raise that of the Turks—that was one of the features of this land dispute which people were anxious about—if anything of that kind happened, well, we should not only have a frontier question, we should have an internal question to deal with, which might become an exceedingly grave one. I am sure of this, that while we are holding the mandate in 'Iraq we have got to be ready to deal with some such situation as I have described at short notice; because without doubt there is a tendency to wobble on the part of these Kurds. I am told, and I am quite ready to believe it, that the Kurds prefer us and our rule, or Arab rule backed by us, to that of the Turks; but, at the same time, there must be no slackening so far as I can see, because if that were so, sentiment would go by the board. I was told, for example, that it was quite useless to have a plebiscite of those people. An ordinary Kurd, if you have a plebiscite in his country, will know perfectly well that if he votes against the British, the British will not make reprisals; but if he votes against the Turk, the Turk will. And so on balance he will prefer to vote for the Turk and trust to our good nature. Of course that state of mind complicates the situation very much. I am bound to say, from what I could gather on the spot, and heard from all manner of people—soldiers, political officers and others in a position of responsibility, and merchants and those who knew the country—that was the general view; and it is one of the things of which I made a mental note, and which has continually occurred to my mind since. I foresee it will be one of our problems in 'Iraq as long as we stay there, and after we have gone.

I now come to the Assyrians. I inspected several battalions of Assyrians. They are fierce, fine-looking men. I was told by a very experienced officer out there that the Assyrian battalions were at least as good as most native infantry battalions in India—in fact, one officer there told me he put them nearly as high as Gurkha battalions. They certainly looked splendid. They were smart on parade, and I was told were very good fighters. One company impressed me very much; I think it was at Mosul. I thought they looked even fiercer and more warlike than the others. So much so that I said: "Is not this a different lot?" and I was told that they were Devil worshippers—very devout people who believed that the Devil had got to be conciliated, and were most careful in their worship of their peculiar god. In dealing with this Assyrian question, we British may easily find

ourselves landed in a rather difficult situation with regard to these exacting people. I mean this, that we may let sentiment, especially Christian sentiment, carry us a little too far. Of course we have got to keep our promises to these Assyrians—that is not the point. But they also owe us some obligations. At present they seem to be inclined to impose on our sense of obligation to them. I was told, for example, that they could have put up a better fight than they did on this last occasion, when the Turks came into the valley where they were resettled; but that they did not put up a fight for several reasons. The reason they advanced themselves was that they had to save their wives and families. A somewhat cynical observer up there told me that he thought the reason was that, as a matter of fact, they had not rebuilt their houses or their barns, and that they had very little to lose. In these circumstances they thought they could make considerable capital out of us by retiring promptly; and indeed they hoped possibly that we should not only resettle them on these lands, and give them perhaps a little compensation, but also a guarantee for their future security of a somewhat more pronounced type than they have got already. That is what I mean by people becoming exacting. Let me repeat that there is no one more ready than I am to admit our obligations and our duties with regard to these people, but I have a strong aversion to seeing the tail of the British lion twisted unduly, or the taxpayer made to pay for anything that is not absolutely necessary. (Hear, hear.) The Jews I will refer to briefly only; they are rather outside 'Iraq, though, of course, there are some in Palestine, and, as everybody knows, a great many in Arabia. The Jewish problem is almost insoluble, it seems to me. I was told, when I was staying the night on the Mount of Olives, that the Jews had been given land and had done nothing with it, and that when asked why not, they said: "Oh, we want implements and farmhouses, and cattle before we can start work." These were given, and again nothing happened, and when they were asked why, they said: "Oh, because those accursed Arabs won't do any work." (Laughter.) One gets involved in a sort of vicious circle. It is all part of the problem of this particular part of the world. Before I leave the races I would like to say that the levies that I saw struck me as being magnificent, especially the cavalry regiments. I have never seen a better crowd of men and horses than I saw at Kirkuk the night we arrived there—magnificently handled, well mounted, well drilled—I should say a regiment that could give a good account of itself almost anywhere, and against almost any sort of adversary.

I will now give a brief description of my visit to Suleimani, because, in a way, that illustrates a great deal of what I shall say in the concluding remarks I shall make to you to-night. I did not particularly want to go to Suleimani. I was getting tired, and I thought I would

go straight back to Baghdad ; but, thank goodness, I did go to Suleimani, because it is a thing I shall remember for the rest of my life. To those of you who don't know it, I may say that it is a very beautifully situated little town, which had some years ago, and, indeed, until quite recently, a population of over twenty thousand. It is close to the Persian frontier on the caravan route. Tobacco is grown in the neighbourhood, the fields are rich, and the town used to be prosperous. Some months before our visit the activities of a certain sheikh in the neighbourhood had been such that the majority of the inhabitants of this town had fled ; in fact, the population was reduced to something like seven hundred of the original inhabitants, the remainder were refugees. When one thinks of the sum of human misery represented by twenty odd thousand men, women, and children living as refugees, either in the hills or the camps, one realizes what a terrible state of affairs did exist. Eventually action had to be taken against this sheikh. To put it bluntly, he was bombed ; he cleared out, and he is still living as an outlaw in the mountains. I am not aware what the casualties were exactly—it is very difficult to ascertain—but I can say this with absolute certainty, that they were very slight, and a few houses were destroyed. Within two-and-a-half to three months of that action twelve thousand of these inhabitants had returned. (Applause.) That in itself is an extraordinary result, and when we arrived at Suleimani in the early morning, there were something like a thousand to fifteen hundred people, in addition to the Arab regiment, on the aerodrome to welcome us, and an enthusiastic welcome they gave. It was almost impossible to get along at all, so eagerly did they crowd around. Then, having seen the troops that were actually on the aerodrome, I got on a horse and proceeded to ride round the city bazaar, and to make a regular circuit, led by two policemen, whose particular function was to clear the people out of the way. I will not say that the reception they gave me was what we should call enthusiastic—but there was continuous clapping, much smiling, and occasionally a faint cheer. They were all out ; the bazaar was thronged with people. There was evidently a lot of trade going on. Wares were exposed in abundance. So great was the crowd that, at certain places, one could only proceed at a very slow pace. The general attitude was extraordinarily friendly, and one felt absolutely safe without any protection whatsoever. The people were grateful. We eventually reached the offices of the mayor of the city, and there three deputations came to see me ; I saw each of them separately and alone. With the exception of the interpreter there was no one in the room with those deputations and myself. One deputation consisted of the notables of the city. Their one cry was thanks, gratitude to the British Government for what it had done. They insisted on the interpreter saying repeatedly how grateful they were for what had happened. Another deputation consisted of Arab

sheikhs from the neighbourhood. They were not so grateful, but they were decidedly respectful; and there is no doubt about it that, for the moment anyhow, whatever their real feelings may have been, those fellows felt no doubts whatsoever as to which was the winning side. They had taken great trouble to come. Some had come miles: one old chap told me he had come over thirty-six miles just for the sake of seeing me, and saying what he thought about things. Among other things, he told me that he had never known the situation so satisfactory in his country as it was at that particular moment. They were not like the notables of the city, grateful and dependent, but they were practical people, and accepted the state of affairs as the best arrangement that had yet been reached in regard to that part of Arabia. A third deputation consisted largely of merchants—Persians. They were the most interesting of the lot. I said to them what I had said to all the others—namely, that we British were not in Arabia for our health, or anything we could get out of it, and that we wanted to make Arabia self-supporting and self-contained, if possible. We wanted Arabia to be able to look after its own frontiers. We wanted to leave them to work out their own salvation. At that their jaws dropped perceptibly. I said to them in conclusion that the British Government and the British people desired their welfare and prosperity, and they replied: "If you go away from here we shall be very lucky if we get off with our lives, and we shall certainly be robbed." I do not know what volume of opinion is represented by those Persian merchants, but I should say that a very considerable portion of the taxes collected in Suleimani come from them. I left Suleimani, I must say, more impressed than I can tell you. It was an extraordinary illustration of what prompt and discriminating action will do. In its way it is just as striking as the manner in which the Wahabi invasion of Trans-Jordan was blotted out. Of course all this bombing is dreadful, and has got to be avoided as much as possible. But I submit that one has got to have a sense of proportion in these matters, and cannot let sentiment weigh too much in the balance. One has to remember the misery being inflicted on thousands of innocent people—women and children—while a state of disorder and confusion prevails in that part of Arabia. A very great service was rendered to humanity in what to many will appear a somewhat brutal way, but it was a service all the same.

Now I must not keep you much longer. I am sure there are various experts here who want to ask questions. I just will refer to two more points, and then wind up. Everybody talked oil in Mesopotamia: the impression left on a perfectly open mind was this—oil is the key of the Arabian riddle. If you find oil, and you get oil exploited under an international company—some such company as that which was foreseen when the Anglo-Turk agreement was reached

before the war—all manner of blessings will flow. For example, everybody will be interested in maintaining law and order, everybody. You will get an international backing of the most formidable kind to prevent the destruction of valuable properties. Then, again, the 'Iraq Government will get royalties, and raise taxes sufficient to pay for a very fine Arab army, and that second blessing will enable the country to be properly policed and protected from external foes. Well, there is a great deal in all that, an immense amount. The trouble is that experience does not always point in that direction. I am inclined to think that the first thing that has got to be established in Arabia is security. The Anglo-Turk arrangement, or whatever it is, will admit Italians and French and Americans as well as ourselves. There are sometimes anxious moments in some oilfields a little further east—quite anxious moments there have been in the recent past—and there precisely the conditions I have mentioned exist already. I believe that you have got to have security first, and then—capital. Communications across the desert will require an immense amount of money that would have to be put down first; money for pipe lines and general development, to first find the oil, then extract it, and lastly get it away. I do not deny the possibilities of oil, and I dare say that sooner or later it will be exported; but my feeling is that first things should come first, and I do not believe that oil is the first consideration in this country. Then, again, there is the wheat. Speaking as an amateur in these matters I would certainly be disposed to think there was more money in wheat production in Mesopotamia than there is likely to be for many years to come in oil. But here, again, one has got to face the facts of the situation. To get this unruly Arab population to work, to get the Kurds, and the Assyrians and everybody to work together, to get the roads, and the railways, and the river transport working properly, a great deal of money has to be invested and a great deal of plant has to be put down; and, again, I do not believe that wheat is the first thing to attend to in this matter, but that here again, security is the first consideration. The question is how to achieve security. Well, I believe that a thing like that is only reached gradually. One begins with small things. Travelling about the Arabian desert, and knowing what an enterprising Scotsman has done out there, I am inclined to believe myself that the first thing to be done in 'Iraq, and Arabia generally, in this direction, is to open up the country as a link in Imperial, and, indeed, in world communications. Already a miracle is happening. Mr. Nairn is running a convoy of automobiles across the desert from Baghdad to Damascus, and on to the coast. A great many Arab sheikhs keep Ford cars—they steal our petrol whenever they get a chance. (Laughter.) It is an incredible thing, when one is flying over the desert one sees a thing about the size of a beetle running along: it is a motor-car. To those here

present to-night who knew this country some years back, it must seem little short of a miracle that such things should be. But there they are. And the need for this sort of transportation is very urgent. Mr. Nairn's enterprising effort has been warmly supported by all the inhabitants of Baghdad. It saves people any amount of time getting back to England. I believe that if one begins slowly but surely in that country, one of the first things to do is to have an absolutely clear line of communications from Baghdad, a line of posts—a line of dakh bungalows if you will—right up to Damascus, and to put those communications on a proper basis. And then, from the air point of view, how important! There is an air route right across that desert, magnificently planned, with landing-places about every twenty to twenty-five miles. One morning when we were flying alone we came down from six thousand feet. I had been lolling in the chair, reading and dozing, and suddenly noticed the height register coming down 500 feet at a time, and realized that we were landing. When we reached the ground—the Air Force pilots can land on a handkerchief and as lightly as a feather!—I got out, and asked the two pilots what we were doing, and they pointed to a knob of concrete in the desert. The nose of the machine I was in was about a yard from it. It had a steel cap which they proceeded to unscrew with a key they had brought along, and there was petrol for a refill. A curious spring to bubble in the desert! But there is a route which these lads know perfectly well. You can follow it the whole way along a line of landing-places; it runs up to a place called the Rutbah Wells, where the road branches off to Damascus, and the British route turns practically due west to Amman and Egypt. I believe that route has got infinite possibilities. I would dearly like to develop it, because it seems to have so much importance for the whole of our position in India. When one comes to think of it, if that route was really a civilian route, if people would realize how safe it is to fly, how much more comfortable, how much cleaner and less worrying generally! Then they can save at least eight days in going to Northern India. You get out of the ship at Port Said before entering the Canal. You motor to an aerodrome—you have none of the delays of getting through the Canal and down the Red Sea—you get into a large cabin with doors and windows; a few minutes afterwards you are up in the air. You get up to 6,000 feet. It is neither hot nor cold; it is most exhilarating; and if you start at seven o'clock in the morning you can have your lunch on the edge of the Arabian desert, and take your afternoon tea in Baghdad. (Applause.) Sir Henry Dobbs, the other day, went from London to Baghdad in six days and two hours. He flew straight through from Heliopolis with a short halt at Amman, and he was in his Residency for tea. He was not particularly tired, and he did the long stretch in an open machine. Get that route established; get people using it;

get the mails using it. Some protection will be necessary; provide it, and to that extent you will have done something in the direction of opening up Arabia, making it safe, and establishing the security which is necessary before anything else can happen. I must not go on any further, but what I want to say in conclusion is this: I began by remarking that I did not want to embarrass anybody, however irresponsible my present position, by remarks that I might make. I feel very, very strongly with regard to the question of our position in that country. We made promises to the Arabs and to the Assyrians in return for what they had done for us during the war. Whether those services were worth our promises or not I am not here to discuss. The promises were made, and prestige, I am sure most people here will agree, really is a case of keeping pledges, especially to Eastern races. There it is. We have promised these people protection, and that an independent Arab kingdom should be set up. Now, of course, we can wriggle out of it, there is no question; we could recommend the League of Nations to admit 'Iraq as a member of the League. On that we could clear out of 'Iraq with what some people might think good grace. We are more or less committed to leaving within a period of years. Well, I am not here to discuss that either; but what I do say is this: that if we leave 'Iraq before it is in a position to remain an independent Arab State—before it is in a position to look after itself—we shall not have kept our promises, and what will happen? Well, I do not think anything dramatic is going to happen. I think that, to begin with, there will be confusion and anarchy. It will get worse and worse until the whole situation will become completely chaotic, and then some over-ruling Power will have to come in to restore the situation. In our absence, of course, that Power would be the Turks. It would be for us a rather serious situation, because in an area, which is undoubtedly going to become more and more important with the development of land and air communications, there would be widespread confusion and loss of respect for us as a ruling race. There are many people who, I am sure, will agree with me when I say that it would be most undesirable to have that disorder and that frame of mind on one of the great land-routes to the East so far as our hold on India is concerned. (Hear, hear.) It is from that point of view that I consider this position. I know there are a great many competent and sincere people who are anxious to scuttle out of 'Iraq. Well, I would like them to study the situation even as superficially as I have studied it. They would then realize what it would mean to all these races if we do not keep the promises we have made, or if we evade them in however plausible a fashion. Personally, I feel that the time when 'Iraq will be self-supporting and self-protecting is difficult to calculate. It is indeterminable as far as I can see. I would say that the Air Force in 'Iraq at the present moment is like the cement in a building

which keeps the bricks together. Remove that cement, and all those forces that we have got out there would really be like loose bricks. Whether the Arab will ever become a sufficiently good mechanic, and whether the Arabs will ever produce sufficiently good pilots, I do not know. I think that they might produce the pilots; I have grave doubts whether they have the patience and energy to produce the organization which is by far the most important part of aviation—I mean the organization on the ground. What I do hope will never happen is that we leave our task unfinished, because that would mean a loss of prestige which I think most people will agree is one of the most precious of Britain's assets. (Applause.)

Mr. F. H. SKRINE: I should like to ask Lord Thomson a question with regard to the statement he made concerning the Turkish expedition, which he said was intended to chastise the Nestorians. I have always understood that it was a demonstration against Mosul itself, that the Angora Government claimed the whole vilayet of Mosul, and that if this expedition had not been repulsed with great loss, we should probably have had the whole of northern 'Iraq overrun by the Turks.

The LECTURER: I heard that too—I was told, in fact, that it was a try-on with the Turks; but I should say myself, that from what I could see of the size of the Turkish troops—and they were pretty closely watched—any idea that there was any intention on their part to invade the vilayet of Mosul at that particular time was most improbable. I do not think they were in a position to do so at the time. I am prepared to admit that if they had been allowed to act with impunity there might have been a movement among the Kurds on our side of the frontier, and events might have developed in the line you suggest; but I do not think the original idea was to invade Mosul. I think things will move much more slowly in that region than we some of us think. I do not believe in anything dramatic, or a march on Mosul or Baghdad. I believe it will begin with little actions of that kind, and then a pause, then Mosul, then a long pause and then Baghdad. I see your point. I did hear it of course, but I think the bulk of the evidence was in the direction I have suggested—namely, that it was a punitive expedition.

Colonel P. B. BRAMLEY: May I ask Lord Thomson whether there is any alternative termination to the land-route to begin in the Mediterranean? At present it leads into French territory. It runs into Damascus, and that seems to be a weak point in our line of communication if you wish to maintain an Imperial route to India. Could his lordship mention any route south of that taking us into our own territory?

The LECTURER: I think that a very good point, and it is being worked at already, I understand. The air-route, which is purely

British of course, goes from Baghdad west as far as Rutbah Wells. There, the motor-road, which follows the air-route, branches off to Damascus, and the air-route comes down to Amman. I asked that very question, whether the motor-road could be taken to Amman and then through Palestine ; and I was told that, though there were some bad *wadis* to cross, it could be done. It was feasible for motor-cars ; in fact, our own motor-cars go considerable distances in that direction. I do not know quite how far—I am not well documented—but the thing has been thought of, I am certain.*

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER : There is one point I should like to make a remark on. We are all—whether soldiers, or politicians, or civilians—much enlightened by what Lord Thomson has told us of the conditions under which aeroplanes can be used for repressing internal trouble and repelling invasion. He gave us a clear definition, and he speaks with authority. The position had been obscured in the past, and that obscurity has not been fair to air-officers doing their very difficult duty. I may say it was once my unpleasant duty as a peaceful civilian Governor to ask for the use of aeroplanes to repress civil disturbances. I was in Lahore, and the outbreak was at Gujranwala, a city on the main line of railway to the North-West Frontier, and forty miles from Lahore. A rebellion broke out, organized as part of a general movement in the Central Punjab. The first thing at Gujranwala was that the lines of railway communication on both sides of the town were cut, bridges torn up, telegraphs and telephones simultaneously destroyed. All the Government buildings in the place and the railway station and goods were set on fire. A rebellious mob took possession of the place. There was only a very small force of Indian police there with two British police officers. There were a few British women and children in the station : they had been hurriedly collected into the Treasury—

* “ *Baghdad, May 29 :*

“ Mr. Norman Nairn, accompanied by Wing-Commander Primrose, Chief of Staff, Palestine, has arrived here, having crossed the Syrian Desert with two Cadillac cars from Jerusalem via Amman in thirty-two hours, a distance approximately of 700 miles, compared with 600 miles from Beirut.

“ The route is entirely through British mandated territory, and Mr. Nairn thinks it might become feasible for regular mail convoys if the authorities decided to incur some expenditure in repairing difficult stretches.

“ From Jerusalem the route led through Jericho to Amman, whence the motorists followed the long-ploughed furrow made in 1921 to guide air mail pilots across the desert. Normally the Nairn convoys do not strike the furrow until reaching the Rutba wells, approximately midway between Baghdad and Beirut.

“ Mr. Nairn reports that long stretches of the new track are good, but some sections are difficult, including thirty-five miles through great lava boulders. Very little animal life was seen, but between Kasr el Azrak and Al Jid they encountered eight ostriches, who made off at thirty miles an hour. The motorists gave chase and shot one of the ostriches.

“ The route from Jerusalem is more undulating than the Beirut track, and at times it was necessary to negotiate considerable hills. The route traversed is one of several suggested in recent years for the much-talked-of railway from Baghdad to the Mediterranean.”—*The Times*, May 31, 1925.

all the other Government buildings had been gutted and fired. The rebels were attacking the gaol, their object being to get into the Treasury, murder the few Europeans there, and loot the Treasury. This situation was brought to my notice at Lahore not direct from Gujranwala, but by a message which the Deputy-Commissioner had sent through a station miles away. I at once informed the General Commanding at Lahore. I said: "This is an appalling situation; troops are urgently required. Can you send them?" He said: "I have none to send, and if I had I could not get them there in time." I said: "Have you any aeroplanes?" I knew two had arrived a few days before from Quetta. The General and I had, a day or two before, discussed with the officer commanding the Air Force the conditions under which these aeroplanes could be used, and my advice had been that in repressing outbreaks aeroplanes should not throw bombs on cities or great centres of population, where you could not discriminate, but should use their bombs and machine-guns to disperse rebel or riotous mobs in the same conditions as troops on foot would fire. It was not a matter where I, or even the General, could give orders to the Air Force. I asked the General to send out an aeroplane at once. I told him the situation was most critical, that I was most anxious for the small European population there, and that I did not want the chaos that had begun there to spread. In half an hour an aeroplane was despatched. Within a few hours I heard it coming back. I got a message that the aeroplane had arrived in Gujranwala, had found that the mob had burned the church and Government buildings and were attacking the Treasury, that the aeroplane had descended to a lower level, dropped bombs on the rebel crowds, dispersed them, and restored the situation.

We were not able to get troops in Gujranwala until 10 o'clock that night; the police were powerless, and if the aeroplanes had not arrived there would have been nothing left of the town. The few British officers as well as the women and children would have been massacred. This action of mine was denounced as an atrocity, the General and the Air Force officers were accused of Prussian frightfulness. I am therefore very glad to hear, from Lord Thomson, that aeroplanes can be used either in repressing civil disturbances or repelling rebels in circumstances such as I have described. The action which we, the military authorities and myself took, at Gujranwala was justified by results. (Applause.) And it was upheld by a British Court of Justice. One more matter with reference to Mesopotamia: I entirely agree with Lord Thomson's statement. For the first two years of the war when Mesopotamia was in the hands of the Turks, we were continuously finding in India that a critical situation was growing more acute owing to the fact that Mesopotamia was in hostile hands. From Baghdad German and Turkish bands were continually passing into and stirring

up intrigue in Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan, causing us in the Punjab serious anxiety. The position we took in the Punjab, where we were most exposed to danger, was that Mesopotamia in the war was the outer line of defence for India. That will explain why we were able to raise hundreds of thousands of men in the Punjab—360,000 to be quite accurate and half of them Mohammedans—to go and fight the Turks in Mesopotamia. It was by pointing out that if Mesopotamia remained in hostile hands our safety and security in India were threatened: Our Mohammedans went readily and did splendid service in driving the Turks out of Mesopotamia. Their loyalty and sacrifice will have been in vain if we allow Mesopotamia again to fall into hostile or potentially hostile hands.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE: Might I ask one or two questions of Lord Thomson: he told us that we had given assurances to the Assyrians. I should like to know: are the Assyrians outside the mandated territory of 'Iraq and in Turkish territory, or are they inside the mandated territory?

The LECTURER: That is really the whole crux of the problem. Some of these Assyrians are inside our territory: their main villages are inside our territory. Some of them are out, or some of them are in disputable zones; and I do not quite remember the total number of them—I do not think it runs to more than twenty thousand, or some-like that. I should say seventy-five per cent. of them are in our territory, and we have promised to settle them on their own land. They have been for centuries in this district: I think Amadia is their capital. I am not an expert on the matter, but you can take it for granted that the vast majority are definitely in territory which is part of the mandated area.

Sir CHARLES YATE: Then, unless there is some change in the frontier we should have to split up these people, which would be a very serious question indeed.

The LECTURER: We should have to settle them inside our own Empire.

Sir CHARLES YATE: I was glad to hear Lord Thomson speak highly of the Arab levies. I think the Arab levies are officered by British officers. That is the difference between the Arab levies and the Arab army. Has the Arab army any British officers?

The LECTURER: Not one.

Sir CHARLES YATE: Lord Thomson said that without a stiffening of British officers they would be practically useless. I was rather amused to hear that a company of the Yezidis was included among the Assyrians, the Christian Nestorians. Why should Devil worshippers be specially included amongst the Christians?

The LECTURER: I did include them at first, but I noticed a different expression on their faces. (Laughter.)

Sir CHARLES YATE : As to the question of the route through British territory all the way from Baghdad to the Mediterranean. We heard about that at a lecture the other day, and I understood then that one of the great difficulties was that there was a lava bed of about forty miles wide between the Rutbah Wells and Amman, which made a motor-road across that part very difficult.

The LECTURER : You fly over large basalt rocks. I imagine there is a way of getting through it, but of that I am not sure.

Sir CHARLES YATE : It is possible, then, there may be a route to Haifa without touching French territory. I am very glad, indeed, to hear Lord Thomson say that he thinks there should be no scuttle out of 'Iraq. I think it is most important that we should remain there, and I am very glad to hear him give that opinion.

Colonel BRAMLEY : May I ask Lord Thomson what it costs at present for an ordinary passage, other than an air minister, to travel to Baghdad from Cairo by aeroplane?

The LECTURER : I do not think we have a tariff for ordinary passengers, and I think at the moment it would be very expensive. We have an air-mail, and officials can go by it.

Rai Sahib GANGA RAM WADHWA, M.A. : I am not a member of this Society, but I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude and thankfulness to Lord Thomson on behalf of my service in India and the citizens of India. As he suggested, it is very essential for the safety and law of India that the British hold on India and on Mesopotamia may be kept on. I was going to say, particularly from the economic point of view, that, in addition to the Air Forces and the motor services, it will be necessary to have the route of railway from Constantinople down to Basra ; because, as pointed out very ably by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India, and especially Western India, requires to be in constant touch with the British Empire by the easiest route. For political considerations there should be a direct route from India to Europe, and I would ask if there is any idea of opening up railway communication from Basra to Smyrna at the other end of Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—I do not propose to comment at any length on the paper, because really Lord Thomson in his very interesting description of his experiences has not raised a large number of controversial questions ; in fact, I do not think he has entirely acceded to my invitation to be as indiscreet as possible. (Laughter.) But I was struck by one fact, that two gentlemen like the Lecturer and Sir Charles Yate, who do not exactly agree on all political questions, yet are apparently united in the desire that we should retain our hold in Mesopotamia. (Hear, hear.) It shows, I think, the remarkable unwillingness of the Briton ever to let go of anything on which he has once laid his hands. (Laughter.) I was very much interested to hear—because one has heard it from other members of

the Air Force—of the great humanity of bombing. In fact, it was explained so clearly by Lord Thomson that I believe it would even carry conviction to those persons who are suffering themselves from a deluge of bombs. I was very much struck by the general conclusion of Lord Thomson that was applied to 'Iraq—safety first. It was a proposition I had seen illustrated on all the buses in this town for the last two or three years. It has received fresh illustration from his experiences. But I think I need do no more on this occasion than express on behalf of the Society our great gratitude to Lord Thomson not, I was going to say, for his journey out there, but for having placed his experiences, his impressions—the very interesting impressions that he has received from that journey both of the country and the races inhabiting it and of the work of the Air Force—entirely at the disposal of the Central Asian Society. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

MR. C. P. SKRINE lectured at two consecutive meetings of the Central Asian Society, March 20 and April 24, on the highways of Kashgaria. At the first meeting the chair was taken by the Right Hon. Viscount Peel, and at the subsequent meeting by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

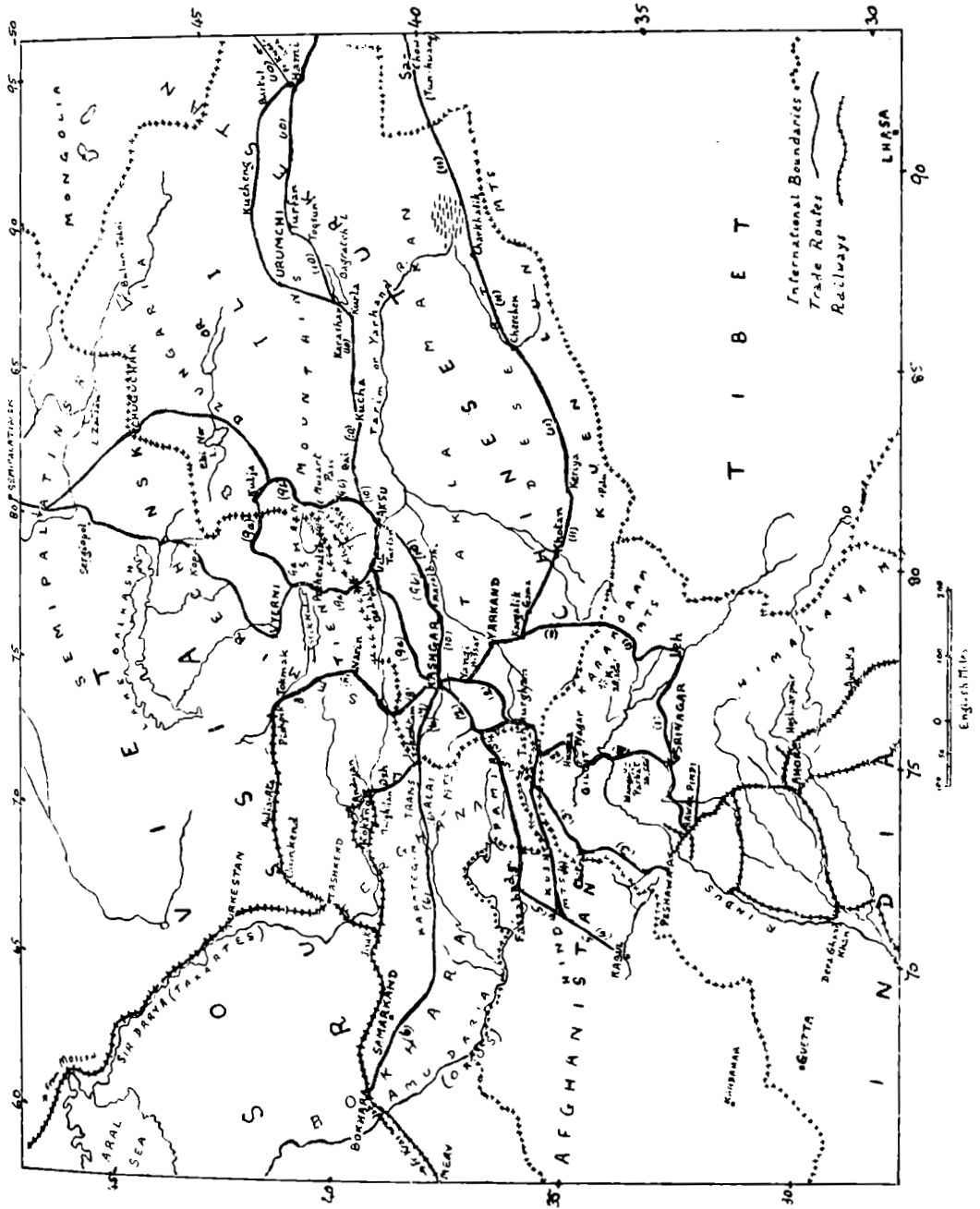
In introducing the Lecturer, Lord PEEL said: Ladies and Gentlemen, —We are going to have the pleasure of hearing a lecture entitled "The Roads to Kashgar," by Mr. C. P. Skrine. I understand there are so many roads leading to Kashgar that it is impossible to deal with them all in the space of one afternoon; this afternoon the Lecturer will more or less confine himself to a description of the roads leading from India to Kashgar. Mr. Skrine himself is a member of the greatest civil service in the world—the Indian Civil Service. (Applause.) He was for a year Political Agent at Baluchistan, another year and a half Vice-Consul at Kerman; then Consul there for a year. He was Under-Secretary in the Department at Delhi for a time, another year and a half in Baluchistan, and, what concerns us most, for two years and a quarter he was Consul-General at Kashgar. He has, I understand, thoroughly travelled over and made his own observations on the roads on which he is going to talk to us. He therefore has very many qualifications, and among others he has got some very good slides, so we look forward to his lectures with great interest. (Applause.)

THE ROADS TO KASHGAR

The country of Kashgaria, with the approaches to which I am concerned this afternoon, comprises the southern portion of the Chinese frontier province of Sinkiang, or, as it is known to the rest of the world, Chinese Turkistan. The large majority of the inhabitants of this country are "Turkis" of mixed Nordic and Mongol stock, and are, by religion, Sunni Muhammadans, speaking an archaic form of the Turkish language known in Europe as "Eastern Turki." Kashgaria is known locally as "Alteshahr" or the Six Cities—*i.e.*, Kashgar, Yangi Hissar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, and Kucha.

"Sinkiang" means "The New Dominion," but the word "new" is used in a relative sense—that is to say, it is new for China, having been conquered by the emperors of the Han Dynasty in the first century B.C. Since that period the Chinese have been many times turned out of the country, by Uighurs and Mongols, by Kalmuk Dzungars and Khokandi

Mussalmans, but they have always reconquered it. Slow but sure, their armies have time after time pushed westward; the might of the Khans of Cathay has, as it were, leant up against the flimsy structures of one Central Asian power after another and has flattened them out as if they had never been. The last occasion on which this happened was



THE ROADS TO KASHGAR.

in 1877, when the eleven-year-old kingdom carved out for himself in Kashgaria by the Khokandi adventurer, Yakub Beg, was overthrown by a Chinese army which had taken four years in coming and had stamped out the great Tungan rebellion in Shensi and Kansu on the way.

This "Drang nach Westen" was fundamental in Chinese imperial

policy, and its origin is not far to seek. The Chinese Empire was well provided with natural frontiers in the shape of some of the greatest mountain ranges of the world, namely (taking them in order from the Sea of Okhotsk to the China Sea), the Yablonoi, the Saian, the Altai, the Tien Shan, the Trans-Alai, the Pamirs, the Karakoram, the Himalaya, and the mountains of the Yunnan border. But nature abhors a vacuum, and it was necessary for China to occupy right up to these mountain barriers or lose their protection. This applied particularly to Sinkiang; for a foreign power, whether Asiatic or European, which occupied Sinkiang would command the vital Kansu-Shensi corridor leading to the heart of Inner China.

Southern Sinkiang, the Far West of China, was therefore of importance to the Celestial Empire chiefly on account of the tremendous natural barriers which surrounded it on three sides and made it a desirable frontier province. The map accompanying this paper shows on a larger scale these barriers and the chief routes by which they may be crossed. Kashgaria is protected from the Indian side by the Kuen Lun and the Karakoram; from Afghanistan by the Pamirs; from Bokhara by the Trans-Alai, and from Russian Turkistan and Semirechia by the Tien Shan. So wild and difficult are these mountain regions that the few tracks which traverse them, along some of which thin trickles of trade connect Kashgar and Yarkand with the rest of the world, are of considerable interest. From the following list of them and of the routes connecting Kashgar with the Chinese railway system it will be seen that these roads fall into certain well-defined groups:

From India :

1. Via Srinagar-Leh-Yarkand.
2. Via Srinagar-Gilgit-Tashkurghan.
3. Via Peshawar-Chitral-Tashkurghan.

From Afghanistan (Kabul) :

4. Via Faizabad (Badakhshan)-Wakhjir (or Kokterek) Pass-Paik-Tashkurghan.
5. Via Faizabad-Shughnan-Great Pamir-Murghabi (Pamirski Post)-Tashkurghan.

From Russian territory :

6. From Bokhara by the Talldik Pass and Irkeshtam.
7. From Andijan (railhead of the Trans-Caspian Railway.)
 - (a) Via Osh and the Terek Pass.
 - (b) Via Uzgend and the Sungek (Suok) Pass.
8. From railhead at Pishpek in Semirechia via Narin and the Turgat (Turug Art) Pass.
9. From Kulja in Dzungaria (Ili).
 - (a) Via Przhevalsk (Karakol) and the Bedal Pass.
 - (b) Via the Muzart Pass and Aksu.

From China Proper :

10. From railhead at Kwei-hwa across Mongolia to Hami and thence via Aksu.

11. From railhead at Hsi-ngan.

(a) Via Lanchow, Suchow, and Hami.

(b) Via Lanchow, Sa-chow (Tunhwang), Cherchen, Keriya, Khotan, and Yarkand.

Taking the roads in the above order :

1. SRINAGAR-LEH-YARKAND ROUTE

This is the most important and longest-established of the routes from the point of view of British trade. Trade between India and Kashgaria was encouraged by Yakub Beg "Bedaulat" as a make-weight to the Russian influence, and in 1873-74 we hear of "several large caravans" of English muslins, chintzes, woollen webs, and long-cloths to the value of £100,000 reaching Yarkand. Dagleish, who was murdered by an Afghan on the Karakoram Pass in 1891, was a Scottish trader who had been established at Kashgar for many years. But prior to the subjugation of Hunza and Nagar by Colonel Durand's column in 1891, the trade between India and Kashgaria was much harassed by raiders from those principalities, and it is only during the last thirty years that the Leh route has been safe, regularly used by traders, and to a certain extent organized by the Kashmir State. The pack-transport road from Srinagar over the Zoji La (11,300 feet) to Leh, the capital of Ladakh or Little Tibet, is kept in excellent repair; a British officer, known as the "British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh," looks after the interests of traders at Leh and Srinagar; stores of Government grain are kept at various points along the Yarkand road for sale to caravans at fixed rates; and trade is encouraged in many other ways.

The chief commodities imported into Kashgaria from India are British cotton goods, long-cloth and dyes, Indian brocades and spices and sugar from Java. The chief export to India is, I am sorry to say, *charas* or hemp drug, the *hashish* of Arabia, though considerable quantities of Khotan silks and Yarkand felts are also exported.

In spite of the official encouragement described above, the difficulties with which the Indo-Chinese Turkistan trade has to contend are so great that it is nothing less than marvellous that the route can be profitably used at all. Apart from the notorious Zoji La near Srinagar, between Leh and Karghalik five passes over 16,000 feet high have to be crossed, of which three are difficult and even dangerous, though the highest of all, the Karakoram (18,550 feet), is easy. For fourteen consecutive marches all food supplies for man and beast have to be carried by caravans. Innumerable mountain torrents and not a few large rivers swollen with melting snows have to be forded. The carriers, most of whom are Turki landowners of the Karghalik and

Goma districts, lose scores of ponies every season owing to the rarefaction of the air on the high passes, to shortage of food, and to accidents by flood, blizzard, glacier and precipice.

Nevertheless, during the last six or seven years trade has boomed to an unprecedented extent, and good profits are being made by the many hundreds of Indian traders resident in Southern Sinkiang. During the years before the Russian revolution the Tsar's Government was energetically developing the trade between Ferghana and Southern Sinkiang, which bid fair to eliminate the Indian merchants altogether. With their railhead at Andijan, twelve days from Kashgar, and with but one high pass to cross, the Russian traders had an enormous advantage over their Indian rivals. This advantage was still further increased by the establishment at Kashgar of a branch of the (State-aided) Russo-Asiatic Bank, as well as by official facilities to merchants which amounted practically to State subsidizing of trade; there is no doubt than Russia was determined to capture the Sinkiang market regardless of expense. Now, on the other hand, all is changed. The frontier is officially closed, and will remain so pending the conclusion of a Trade Agreement between the Soviet and the Governor of Sinkiang; the Russo-Asiatic Bank is in the hands of a French group, with headquarters at Shanghai, and its Kashgar branch is closed; moreover, the pre-revolution organization of trade, industry, and agriculture in Transcaspia is no more, and so far from exporting chintz and other piece-goods to Kashgaria, Ferghana has, or had until recently, to import from neighbouring countries what little cotton it can afford to pay for. As the trade with China Proper, owing to the gigantic distances involved, is on a small scale and is chiefly confined to commodities used by the Chinese, Kashgaria is obliged to depend on India for many quasi-necessaries, such as cotton piece-goods, dyes, tea, sugar, etc., which formerly came from Russia. This is not all. During the seasons of 1923 and 1924, when the Russian frontier of Kashgaria was closed and any British goods found in Ferghana were liable to confiscation, it actually paid the Chinese Turki merchants of Kashgar to smuggle English muslins and dyes across the Tien Shan into Ferghana, where they competed successfully with the rail-borne products of Moscow factories!

2. SRINAGAR-GILGIT-TASHKURGHAN ROUTE.

My wife and I travelled to Kashgar by this route in June-July, 1922, in forty-eight days, and returned by it in September-October, 1924, in fifty-four days, including several detours. It is not suitable for trade for two reasons. In the first place the gorge of the Hunza River between Baltit and Misgar (six marches) is in many places quite impossible for loaded ponies, and all baggage has to be carried in 50-pound loads from village to village by the few local porters available.

In the second place, up to 1891 the men of Hunza and Nagar lived mainly by raiding the caravans on the Leh route; and though we make up to them in various ways the loss of this source of wealth, and though they have been as good as gold for the last thirty years, it would perhaps be trying them too highly to encourage the stream of trade to flow through their wild fastnesses.

For ordinary travellers with comparatively small baggage-trains, however, the Gilgit authorities can make arrangements for portage and obtain the assistance of the chiefs of Hunza and Nagar. Given these facilities, the road will be found to be much easier and altogether more pleasant than the Leh one. Its average elevation is lower, the highest pass being the easy Yangi Dawan (16,000 feet), and supplies (albeit in very limited quantities) are much more evenly distributed along it. It is also appreciably shorter. Finally, from the traveller's point of view it is vastly more interesting, owing to the extraordinary variety of scenery it presents, and the number of different races, each with their own language, through whose territory it passes. The variety of the scenery will be illustrated by the slides I am going to show you. The following languages are spoken along this road :

In Srinagar : Urdu.

In Gurais and Astore : Kashmiri.

In Gilgit : Shina.

In Hunza-Nagar : Burushaski.

In Guhjal and again at Dabdar in the Chinese Pamirs : the Wakhi dialect of Persian.

In the Sarikol Valley : Tajik.

In Chinese territory generally : Eastern Turki.

After leaving Gilgit, the last British post in this direction, the road dives into the wild Hunza-Nagar country and passes close under one of the most beautiful mountains in the world, Rakaposhi, 25,000 feet high. The crofts and steeply-terraced plots of the inhabitants cling precariously to the precipitous sides of the Hunza River Valley and its narrow side-glens; even in the main valley the cultivation is only in three or four places more than a mile or two wide. To the inhabitants of such a country the world consists of "nullahs" or steep-sided valleys in which men live and the ice-bound desert mountains between them. This is amusingly illustrated by a conversation which took place between a British officer of my acquaintance, who was shortly going home on leave, and a petty chief of the Gilgit district.

"You are going to your father's home in England, aren't you, Sahib?" asked the chief.

"Yes; I am going to the capital of England, London."

"London is a very big place, isn't it?"

"Yes, it is very big."

"I suppose it is in a nice *wide* nullah, Sahib?"

Nothing could have been more friendly or hospitable than the way in which the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar entertained us at their little capitals, and we thoroughly enjoyed our visits of two or three days at Baltit on both our journeys and our stay at Nagar (to which we made a special trip) on the way down last autumn. Since the brilliant little Hunza campaign of 1891 (described so well in Knight's "Where Three Empires Meet"), the magnanimity with which they have been treated have made the people of Hunza and Nagar and their present rulers genuine friends and adherents of the "Sarkar." They serve with the utmost keenness in the Kashmir State troops, two companies of which are recruited from Hunza and two from Nagar for purely local service. Only among the older men, perhaps, does a lingering regret for the good old days survive. My wife's Hunza orderly took his mistress to see his fine tall old white-moustachio'd father, who showed her with loving pride the sword and bow with which he used to fight the men of Nagar and raid the caravans on the Leh road.

"We were poorer in those days," the old man said. "We used to take the Nagaris prisoner, and sell them as slaves to the Kirghiz for the Yarkand market. We used to loot silks and pearls and coral from the Leh caravans." Then, heaving a sigh, "But now, *by the favour of the British Government*, we do not need to fight or raid any more."

The ruling families of Hunza and Nagar claim descent from Alexander. I am not qualified to speak on ethnological matters, but one cannot help noticing how European in appearance and point of view many of the better-class inhabitants are. The sandy-haired eldest son of the Mir of Hunza, for example, would be taken for a Scotsman anywhere if he dressed for the part. Their favourite sports at the present day—namely, a primitive form of polo, archery on horse-back, and other equestrian exercises—would seem to indicate a connexion with Persia in the remote past.

On the twelve marches between Baltit and the Mintaka Pass the traveller passes through as difficult a tract of country as can be found anywhere in the world. In the gorges by which the Hunza River cuts its way through the mighty Karakoram the road, seldom more than 2 feet wide and often much less, is carried from ledge to ledge of the almost perpendicular cliffs on stakes let into the rock; glaciers, of which the greatest is the seventy-mile-long Batura, have to be crossed, and falling stones dodged on the numerous "stone-shoots" where no path can be kept up and the traveller must pick his way apprehensively across the unstable mountain-face. Misgar, where the telegraph line ends, is the northernmost and surely the loneliest station of all the far-flung telegraph system of the Indian Empire. Here, on a bleak terrace six marches beyond even Baltit and 10,000 feet above the sea, live two Indian clerks in a solid, matter-of-fact little Public Works Department cottage. Their whole duty is to receive and despatch

messages for the British Consulate-General at Kashgar, which are sent by the weekly courier service across the Pamirs; and right staunchly and loyally do they carry it out. Two marches further the steep and rough, but not dangerous, Mintaka Pass (15,430 feet) is crossed, and the traveller finds himself on the "Roof of the World."

What strikes one about the Pamirs when one sees them for the first time is the *cleanness* of them—the soil, the water, the atmosphere, the contours of the mountains, the wide meadows all seem cleaner and purer than the crumbling soil, the muddy rivers, the mists and the black, jagged, sinister mountains of the terrible country to the south of the Mintaka.

From Lopgaz, the first Kirghiz camping-ground on the Chinese side of the Mintaka, the track traverses the Taghdumbash Pamir for four marches to Tashkurghan, the headquarters of the Chinese district of Pu-li or Sarikol. Here there is an imposing Russian fort, which has been empty since the dispersal of the last Tsarist Cossacks in this region and the occupation of the Russian Pamirs by the Red Army in 1921. In 1922 the Chinese kept about 140 infantry in Sarikol, and a platoon of these, with the usual array of banners, was paraded in our honour. Ethnically, Sarikol is interesting as being populated in about equal proportions by two contrasting races—the Tajiks, who are a branch of the Shighnis and of unmistakably Nordic stock, and the Kirghiz, who are, of course, Mongoloid. Most of the Tajiks are "Maulais" or followers of H.H. the Agha Khan; I had come across a community of this sect in the wild country south-east of Yezd in far-away Central Persia, and it was interesting to find more of them in another remote corner of Asia. Yet another colony of Maulais is to be found in the plains-district of Posgam, south of Yarkand.

From Tashkurghan two alternative routes, each about ten marches, can be taken to Kashgar. The one usually followed in summer is the eastern one, which, after crossing three high passes and traversing four different valleys sparsely inhabited by Kirghiz, debouches upon the great plain of Central Asia near the flourishing town of Yangi Hissar.

The winter route goes north from Tashkurghan over the easy Ulugh-rabat Pass to the Rangkul Pamir and down through the tremendous "peripheral gorge" of the Gez River, which cuts through the Kashgar Range between the great ice-clad massifs of Kungur (25,146 feet) and Chakragil (22,080 feet). It debouches on to the Kashgarian Plain at Tashmalik, whence the city is reached in two marches. In the summer the Gez River is unfordable below Gez Karaul, about halfway down the gorge, where the last bridge is found; it is therefore necessary to keep on one side or the other of the valley. It has hitherto been supposed that the only possible route lies over no less than nine passes on the right bank of the river, of which passes at least three are very trying. In the course of our subsequent explora-

tions in this neighbourhood, however, we discovered two much easier tracks between Gez Karaul and Kashgar—an eastern one with only three passes to cross instead of nine, and a western one with but a single pass—albeit, a high and steep one. The people of the mountains keep the existence of these tracks dark from fear of the Chinese making the Gez route the official one to Tashkurghan in summer as well as in winter. For reasons which will be appreciated by anyone who has travelled much in Chinese Turkistan, the local people are very anxious to avoid this possibility.

3. PESHAWAR-CHITRAL-TASHKURGHAN ROUTE

This route leaves railhead at Dargai, fifty miles north-west of Peshawar, and goes through Malakand and Dir over the Lahurai Pass into Chitral. Passing up the Chitral Valley, it crosses the Hindu Kush by the Baroghil Pass (12,460 feet). The traveller now finds himself in the long narrow strip of Afghan Wakhan which separates Indian from Russian territory; four more marches brings him to the Wakhjir Pass (16,150 feet), where the territories of Russia, China, Afghanistan, and India very nearly meet. The Gilgit road is joined at Mintaka Aghzi on the east side of the pass, which is easy, except from December to April when it is deep in snow. The drawbacks to this route are, firstly, that in its early stages it runs the gauntlet of the unruly tribes of Dir, Swat and Bajaur; in other words, this section of it belongs to the North-West Frontier, which is a very different matter from the peaceful regions with which we have hitherto been dealing. In the second place, special permission has to be obtained from the Kabul Government for the crossing of Afghan Wakhan. Very few Englishmen have ever travelled to or from Kashgar by this road; of recent years, the only one I know of is Brigadier-General R. Pigot, who went down from Kashgar to India by it in April-May, 1924. From his report I gather that, leaving aside political difficulties, this route is the easiest and cheapest of the three. Since the war it has been used a good deal by Chitrali and Badakhshi traders who smuggle Yarkand *charas* (hemp drug) into India and Afghanistan through Chitral, and Afghan opium into Kashgaria on their return journey.

Other interesting travellers by this route are the pilgrims from Chinese Turkistan to Mecca. Last year several hundreds of these, in spite of avalanches and deep snow on the passes, crossed the Pamirs in April and found their way through Chitral to Peshawar and Bombay and thence by the pilgrim ships to Jeddah. We met near Bulunkul last October a party of these Hajis returning across the Pamirs. They told us that forty or fifty of them had been held up in April by deep snow on the Wakhjir Pass, but had got over by sending droves of yaks ahead to make a track; even so, several of them had been lost in the snow, and the party had also suffered heavily at the hands of

Kirghiz raiders from the Russian Pamirs. One receives a remarkable impression of the driving force of the Islamic faith from a study of the pilgrim routes to Mecca from the remotest corners of Central Asia; an old lady of Keriya district, for example, whom I photographed in 1922, was then about to start for Mecca by herself with her granddaughter via Khotan, the Karakoram Pass, and Leh. She fully expected to die on the way, but this did not deter her, as a pilgrim acquires as much merit if he dies on the road as he would if he reached Mecca itself. Before the Russian Revolution Kashgari pilgrims used to go by the Russian route to Constantinople and thence by sea; when that route was closed they at first fought shy of the unknown difficulties and dangers of the Indian road. But in 1920 and 1921 returning pioneers brought word of the assistance and protection given everywhere by the Indian authorities of the official "Protector of Pilgrims" at Bombay, and the special pilgrim ships chartered by Government every summer; and now the pilgrim traffic is quite diverted and many hundreds of the faithful go down every year both by the Leh and the Chitral roads.

4, 5. ROADS FROM KABUL.

I have no information about these roads, nor do I know of any European who has been through by either of them. They are used by the few Badakhshi traders who have connections with Kashgar instead of with Yarkand, which is the market for the Afghan trade. The imports from Afghanistan include furs (particularly fox and marten), pistachio nuts and almonds, gum, dried mulberries and lapis lazuli; also Badakhshan opium, which is smuggled into Chinese territory in large quantities by little-known mountain paths. These are paid for partly in gold or silver and partly by export of the extraordinarily cheap and strong cotton fabrics woven in the Kashgar district. Chinese satin from Tientsin also reaches Afghanistan, and probably Persia, by the Yarkand route.

6. FROM BOKHARA BY THE TALLDIK PASS AND IRKESHTAM.

This, the ancient "silk road" from China to Persia, is actually the easiest through route for caravans between Transcaspia and China. But it was entirely superseded long before the war by the construction of the Ferghana branch of the Trans-Caspian Railway. Since the Russian Revolution the route has been put still further out of commission by the disturbed state of Eastern Bokhara, and now there is practically no traffic on it at all.

7. FROM ANDIJAN: (a) VIA OSH AND THE TEREK PASS; (b) VIA UZGEND AND THE SUOK PASS.

Up to 1917 the route via Andijan and the Terek Pass was by far the easiest of the roads from Europe to Kashgar in modern times.

Andijan could be reached by rail and steamer either via Moscow-Orenburg-Tashkend or via Constantinople-Batoum-Baku-Krasnovodsk-Samarkand. From Andijan, a journey of twelve days, by diligence to Osh,* and then by pony caravan across the Terek Pass (12,700 feet), brought the traveller to Kashgar from London in twenty-two to twenty-four days, including ordinary halts. The journey is vividly described by Miss Sykes in "Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia."

As stated above in connection with the Indian trade via Leh and Yarkand, the considerable Russian export trade in chintzes and other European goods which followed this route up to the revolution of 1917 is no more. Nevertheless, a certain amount of traffic goes on, more or less *sub rosa*; the Uzgend-Suok Pass route is used by preference to that over the Terek Pass, partly because it is easier and partly because the frontier Kirghiz are peaceable and even helpful (for a consideration), whereas the other road is infested by brigands. The chief importations from Ferghana are sugar, Baku oil, pig-iron, and Bokharan dyed silks; from Kashgar raw wool and cotton, local cotton fabrics, sheep and horses, as well as tea, muslin and dyes from India, are smuggled across the frontier.

8. FROM RAILHEAD AT PISHPEK IN SEMIRECHIA VIA NARIN AND THE TURGAT (TURUG ART) PASS.

During the war a branch railway called the Vernoi Extension of the Tashkend-Orenburg Railway was begun by the Russian Government. It took off from the main line near Chimkend, and had been completed as far as Pishpek at the time of the revolution. The line was a strategic one, being obviously aimed at a possible future reoccupation of the Ili Valley, which the Imperial Government had overrun at the time of the Yakub Beg revolt, but had been obliged to return to the Chinese in 1881. Construction has recently been carried as far as Tokmak, and from here an easy track, rendered fit for wheeled transport not long before the war by the Russian Government, leads to Kashgar via Fort Narin in about seventeen marches. The Russians, further, altruistically made a fine bridge over the Tümen River just outside the northern (Yar Bagh) gate of Kashgar; this bridge would have been convenient for any Russian force which happened to approach Kashgar from the Narin direction. After the revolution of 1917 and the consequent disappearance of Russian influence in Kashgaria, the Chinese carelessly omitted to keep up either the road or the bridge, and in due course the latter was washed away by a flood, while the former is no longer passable by wheeled transport. Otherwise, this would be by far the easiest of all the roads to Kashgar. The Chinese can build

* The Turkistan Soviet have, I believe, recently extended this branch of the railway to Osh, and have started a motor service between Osh and Gulcha.

quite good wooden bridges when they like, as, for example, that over the Kizil Su, six miles below Old Kashgar.

Even before the war the trade which went by this route was insignificant and mainly local. Its palmy days were during the latter half of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century, when the Chinese Empire reached its widest extension in this direction, and its armies ranged over the length and breadth of Semirechia, collecting tribute annually from the Kirghiz Khans of the Middle and Lesser Hordes and from the Buriat section of the Kara-Kirghiz. Each year one detachment marched from Kashgar, two from Kulja (Ili), and one from Chuguchak (Tarbagatai), on what is now the frontier of Semipalatinsk. The Kashgar force used to meet one of the Kulja detachments in the Narin Valley, while the other Kulja detachment marched north, and effected a junction with the Chuguchak force in the Ayaguz Valley near Sergiopol. As in other cases, trade followed the flag, and the Chinese merchants who accompanied the troops reaped a rich harvest, bartering Chinese silks and tea and Kashgarian cotton fabrics for the cattle of the Kirghiz.

9. FROM KULJA: (a) VIA KARAKOL (PRZHEVALSK) AND THE BEDAL PASS; (b) VIA THE MUZART PASS AND AKSU.

A considerable amount of trade was carried on before the Russian débâcle by these routes, (a) being used in the earlier part of the season, when the Muzart Pass was not open, and (b) from August to October. The Muzart is only 11,480 feet high, but is very long and has a difficult glacier near the top; it is also notorious for bad weather, due to the proximity of the loftiest massifs of the Central Tien Shan, culminating in the magnificent peak of Khan Tengri (23,600 feet). At present a certain amount of local trade goes by the Muzart Pass between the northern and southern halves of Chinese Turkistan, while by the Bedal Pass is carried on (or was when I was near there in autumn, 1923) a flourishing illicit trade in Semirechian opium, which is exchanged for Kashgarian cotton cloth and leather goods. The entrepôts are Karakol (Przhevalsk) on the Russian side and Uch Turfan on the Chinese. The summer route for pack transport between Aksu and Kashgar is by Uch Turfan and Karagor through the foothills of the South-Western Tien Shan; the main road, via Maralbashi, is exceedingly trying for man and beast owing to the gad-flies and mosquitoes which infest the Maralbashi jungles in the summer months.

My wife and I travelled by the summer route to Uch Turfan in September, 1923, and spent ten days there exploring the neighbourhood, including the main range of the Tien Shan, which we penetrated by the steep and difficult Yangi Art Jilgha.* At one time we were

* Merzbacher's "Janart" Jilgha.

within two miles of the Semirechian frontier, which here follows the watershed at an average height of about 16,000 feet. We then crossed the lower slopes of the Central Tien Shan for another 120 miles, passing the foot of the Muzart Pass at Kizil Bulak, and after a short stay at the town of Bai returned to Kashgar by Aksu and Maralbashi. Before reaching the latter place we spent a week making a detour southward to the Tarim River jungles and the edge of the terrible Takla Makan desert.

Very few Europeans have crossed the Bedal Pass since Sonarguloff did so in 1877, but the Muzart Pass route is comparatively well known owing to the fact that the beautiful Tekkes and Yulduz Valleys to the north of the Central Tien Shan are the haunt of Asiatic wapiti, ibex and ovis Karelini, and have therefore been visited by several British sportsmen in search of record heads. General Pigot, whom I mentioned above in connection with the Chitral route, is the only Englishman who has shot north of the Tien Shan since the beginning of the war; he had a most successful trip in the autumn of 1923, crossing the Muzart Pass, spending two months or more in the Tekkes and Yulduz Valleys and returning by an eastern route across the Tien Shan which comes out at Kurla. He had no trouble from any of the Kalmuck or Kazak tribes, and, as I did in the south, found himself welcomed and assisted by the Chinese authorities everywhere.

10. FROM RAILHEAD AT KWEI-HWA ACROSS MONGOLIA.

Now that Mongolia is no longer under Chinese control, this route is very seldom used, but it was formerly the regular camel-caravan route to the New Dominion from China Proper. Captain (now Colonel Sir Francis) Younghusband was in 1887 the first European to cross the 1,255 miles of Gobi desert to Hami. The northern track by Urga and Uliassutai, though longer, was more popular owing to the good camel-grazing afforded by the grass lands of Northern Mongolia. The only first-hand information I have of the Mongolian road is from an old Pekingese carrier, who arrived at Kashgar in June last year with a consignment of petrol and oil for the Marconi station. This man had left Peking with his camels the previous September via Kalgan on the Mongolian border, intending to travel by the northern route, but had been stopped by the Mongolians three marches short of Urga and obliged to strike south-westward across the Gobi to Hami, the first town of Sinkiang, a thousand miles east of Kashgar. On one occasion, he said, he had marched for fifty days without seeing a single human being. But the old Chinaman turned up smiling at Kashgar in the most matter-of-fact way, and talked about his nine months' journey as if it had been a week-end trip!

11. FROM RAILHEAD AT HSI-NGAN VIA LANCHOW, SU-CHOW,
AND HAMI.

This is the cart road used nowadays almost exclusively by officials and traders between Sinkiang and China Proper. Leaving railhead at the flourishing capital of Shensi, this route traverses Shensi and Kansu provinces, following more or less the line of the Great Wall, the western end of which is reached at Sa-chow. This town is also known as Tun-hwang (Turki version, Dukhan), and is for ever famous as the place where Sir A. Stein discovered the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas. An-hsi, the last town of Kansu, is six marches further on, and from this place a belt of desert 200 miles wide has to be crossed before Hami in Chinese Turkistan, about 2,150 miles from Peking, is reached. Kashgar is thus over 3,000 miles from Peking by the cart road; most of this consists merely of a couple of ruts, and has to be bumped and jolted in springless carts. The journey usually takes five months, and what with the poverty and dirtiness of the rest-houses and the flatness and monotony of most of the road it is certainly one to be avoided. This is the route followed now by the couriers of the Chinese postal service; letters reach Kashgar from Peking in two months, parcels (which go by cart) in six months. The service between Hsi-ngan and Keriya via Maralbashi and Yarkand is by far the longest courier-borne postal service in the world, and it functions with most admirable regularity, though consignments of parcels are occasionally looted by soldier-bandits in Shensi or Kansu.

An interesting but now very little used road to Kashgar from this direction is that which takes off from the road last described at Sa-chow (Tun-kwang) and skirts the southern edge of the dreaded Lop and Takla Makan deserts for 1,250 miles via Cherchen, Keriya, Khotan and Yarkand to Kashgar. For more than 400 miles between Sa-chow and Charkhlik trackless and almost waterless desert has to be crossed, the salt-encrusted surface of which is most trying to the feet of camels. This forbidding road is famous as having been used by two of the greatest travellers of the Middle Ages, Hiuen Tsiang and Marco Polo; the former, whose memory as "The Explorer of the West" is still green in China, returned from India to China by this route about A.D. 640, while the latter passed this way in 1274. I have only been as far as Keriya, having toured in the Khotan and Keriya districts in November, 1922, and again in April, 1924. On the latter occasion my wife and I marched for three days south of Keriya to an interesting village called Polu, 8,500 feet up among the Altyn Tagh, or "Mountains of Gold," and returned to Khotan along the foot of the Kuen Lun, passing many beautiful villages buried in peach, pear, and apple blossom and shaded by plane-trees of enormous size and great antiquity. The gold-fields of the Altyn Tagh appear to extend along

the whole length of that range; we ourselves saw four small boys getting a quite respectable percentage of gold dust out of a shallow placer working at Polu, and I heard a great deal at Keryia about the mines at Surghak, fifty miles to the east, which employ on an average 2,000 men; while only during the last two or three years two new mines, reputed enormously rich, have been found in the Charkhlik and Tun-hwang districts respectively. The Chinese name for Keriya is Yü-tien, which means "The Kingdom of Jade." Until quite recent years the valleys of the Yurungkash and Karakash rivers in Khotan and Keriya districts respectively were the only places in the world where jade was known to exist, and as far back as the Han Dynasty presents of this stone used to be sent yearly to the Emperors at Peking; lately, first-quality green jade has been discovered in Upper Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan, and Khotan's monopoly no longer exists. The past and present of the ancient and famous Kingdom of Khotan are well known to you from the works of Sir A. Stein, and I will content myself with showing you a few photographs and remarking that the air, water, and scenery of the Khotan district are unsurpassed even in Chinese Turkistan, and that my wife and I were very happy in the delightful garden of a well-known British subject, Khan Sahib Badruddin Khan, on each of our four visits.

Seven marches west of Khotan the town of Goma is reached, where paper is made from the bark of the mulberry-tree exactly as it was in China 2,000 years ago. At Kargalik, two marches south-east of Yarkand, live large numbers of colonists from Chitral and Wakhan, a stout-hearted race who claim British nationality with remarkable obstinacy, though their right to it is somewhat questionable. The Leh route between India and Chinese Turkistan is joined at this point, and a week later the weary traveller reaches Kashgar, the goal of his vast journey from end to end of Cathay.

Sir AUREL STEIN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great privilege for me to have listened to my friend Mr. Skrine's lecture and admired his slides. But when he asks me to say something about the ancient roads leading to Kashgar through Chinese Turkistan I feel a little embarrassed. I don't like to dive back here into the dead and buried past, though it has been my profession as it were to follow it up a good long way through Chinese Turkistan, Mongolia, and Western China. But after seeing such beautiful slides of ground where in the course of the last twenty-five years I have spent the pleasantest part of my time in Chinese Turkistan, I may be allowed to say a few words with regard to the present.

As regards the present, nothing stands out more clearly in my mind than the wonderful work that has been done there for British influence and British trade ever since my old friend Sir George Macartney first

established himself in Kashgar. I am afraid, nature has not favoured the extension of British trade to the Tarim basin. The great mountain ranges, of which we have seen such magnificent slides, bar it both on the north and south. On the other hand nature has made it a great passage land between China and Western Asia and the Mediterranean regions. Yet geography may have at times to give way to history, and we have a very interesting instance of this when we see how Indian trade is now extending to the north, in spite of the great natural barriers which the Hindukush, the Karakoram, and the Kunlun have raised against it.

The natural route for trade has always lain there from the east to the west—*i.e.*, from China to Russian Turkistan and vice versa. It was for this reason that the Chinese were from an early period induced to move into this great basin which, I am afraid, does not look everywhere as enticing and pleasant as it does around Kashgar. It is one huge desert with a fringe of little oases. But those oases have made it possible for trade to move from the Far East to Western Asia. They have also created a great opening for Russian trade from the West. When Sir George Macartney first began to secure chances for the extension of Indian trade, Russian influence and Russian trade were paramount in the Tarim basin. That is a consequence of geography: the roads which lead up from Ferghana and the Oxus basin—of which Mr. Skrine has mentioned one or two—are naturally far easier than any which lead up straight from India.

Well, history, for the time being, has changed these aspects of the ground. Since the collapse of Russia, Chinese Turkistan is bound to take British goods, and thus we see caravans bringing English muslin into the Tarim basin, and even helping to get it smuggled across into Russian Turkistan. This shows how human action for a time can upset geography. What trade from the Indian side was possible before this great change was due largely to the influence which a succession of British representatives had created there for British prestige.

Wherever I moved during my three journeys in Turkistan and Kansu, the name of Sir George Macartney was a household word among Chinese officials. It is not for me to speak of all that he achieved during close on thirty years, most of them full of difficult struggles. The good work which he did is, I believe, an asset which will last as long as there is Chinese authority in that region; and we must all wish that Chinese authority may be maintained there in spite of the present disturbed conditions in China proper. Its maintenance is a proof of that inherited sense of statesmanship which we cannot deny to Chinese administration as a whole, in spite of all that on the surface seems to indicate a fissiparous disposition in the former Empire.

Chinese Turkistan at present, I understand from Mr. Skrine, is in the firm hands of a Governor-General who knows how to make bricks

without straw. The military force at the back of the Chinese administration there is negligible; yet internal peace is assured, and the people in Chinese Turkistan probably know very little indeed about all the trouble which China itself is experiencing. I think that it is the sound foundation laid by Sir George Macartney during his long period of activity in Kashgar which makes it possible for British interests to be adequately safeguarded notwithstanding a frequent succession of new Consuls-General. But I believe that only the presence of British representatives of that experience which Mr. Skrine possesses—with that ability and skill which the Indian "Political" has acquired through experience which goes back in India itself for a century and a half—can make sure of that position being maintained.

I am exceedingly glad to have seen how wide an area Mr. Skrine has managed to cover by personal visits during his two years and a quarter spent in Chinese Turkistan. I believe, the effect will be lasting; because people there, as everywhere in the East, believe more in the man present before them than in what takes there the place of the daily newspaper—I mean bazaar gossip. I think that so long as India can send up beyond its mountain ramparts Politicals such as Mr. Skrine, British prestige and openings for Indian trade, and British trade, will be assured; and I can only wish that the great Service which has provided men of Mr. Skrine's type may be manned hereafter too by officers of his capacity and his energy. (Applause.)

Sir GEORGE MACARTNEY: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I should like to say how much I have enjoyed Mr. Skrine's lecture, and this all the more because he has been describing a country to which I was introduced as long ago as 1892 by my old friend and chief, Sir Francis Younghusband, and which had been my home for the greater part of my life. It can well be imagined, therefore, what my feelings were when I saw the slides which Mr. Skrine has just shown us, representing the Taghdumbash Pamir, Kirghiz encampments, the Kashgar bazaar, Chu Taoyin of Kashgar, a dear old friend of mine, and, above all, the British Consulate, where I had lived so long. Really when I saw all those pictures I felt quite homesick. But I confess to a feeling of quite another order when Mr. Skrine took us along the Hunza-Gilgit road. Somehow, possibly through stupidity on my part, I had never been able to travel on that road without some fearful mishap or hairbreadth escape. I remember when I went down the Hunza Valley—in 1893 I believe. Anyhow, it was soon after Colonel A. Durand, then Political Agent at Gilgit, took Hunza. The old Mir, Safdar Ali Khan, had bolted into Chinese Turkistan, and we were going to set up his brother, Mohamad Nazim, the present Mir, whose photograph you have just seen, in Safdar Ali's place. Some Chinese officials from Kashgar were to be present at the installation of Mohamad Nazim, and I was ordered to go with them to Gilgit. It

was in the height of summer, and the large glacier at the head of the Hunza Valley was melting fast, resulting in a large volume of water in the Hunza River. In 1892 I fear the road was anything but as good as it is now, or when Mr. Shrine passed through. When the water is high, it is quite impossible to keep along the river edge, and the only way you can go down the Hunza Valley is by climbing the cliffs and walking along them much as a fly on a wall. I had a Hunza boy as guide, and he took me up to some awful cliffs. Eventually we came to a place rising perpendicularly from the water for several hundred feet. The question was how to crawl round it. I got halfway on a sort of shelf; then my head began to turn, and I could neither go back nor go forward. If I had been left a moment longer in that predicament I should certainly have toppled over and rolled into the river. The Hunza boy who was with me saw what was going to happen, so he came close to me and offered to "pickaback me" over the cliff side. I put my arms round his neck, closed my eyes, and gently lifted my feet off the ground, and I was carried round this place in safety. (Laughter.) This happened a long time ago. Strange to say, I came across this boy again quite recently. The war had just finished, and as I was on my way home from Kashgar I had to go down the Hunza Valley once more. But this time, thank goodness, my journey was not made in the height of summer. I was travelling in the late autumn. There was then very little water in the Hunza River. When the water is low there is no need to climb along the cliffs; you can keep to the river-bank. This time, instead of being followed by one solitary guide, I had a cavalcade of some thirty Hunza men. As we splashed through the water we came upon the identical cliff where I got into trouble twenty-seven years previously, and, pointing up to this cliff, I told the men around me that I remembered the place. Thereupon a man suddenly dashed forward through the water to me and said, "And, sahib, I carried you over." (Laughter.) It really was the same man. I recognized his features; but they were no longer the features of the youth I had known, but of a middle-aged man, whose beard and ringlets were already turning grey.

Now, what about the political condition of Kashgar? I have been away from that country for so many years that I am no longer *au fait* of what is going on there. But I strongly suspect that, what with the chaotic condition of China on the one hand, and the Bolshevism of Russia on the other, Mr. Shrine did not find the post I left him quite a bed of roses. Not that Kashgar should necessarily have been disturbed. Indeed, from what Mr. Shrine has told us, I should think that it was fairly quiet; and as Yang Teh-tsun, the capable and masterful Governor I knew, is still at the head of the provincial administration, I am sure he has kept the Bolsheviks at arm's length, and at the same time has been able to keep in due subjection any over-ambitious subordinate

among the Chinese. But for all that—and this is the point I wish to make—Kashgar now stands as a separate entity; separate from Peking, and no longer receiving orders from the Peking Government, if such an institution can still be said to exist. Now this separation gives rise to another—the separation from the Kashgar Consulate of the superintending protection of the British Legation in Peking. In my days, when I had any difficulty in getting a case settled, I always felt that I had the strong arm of the Legation behind me; all I had to do was to make a complaint by wire to Sir John Jordan in Peking, and such was the influence of Sir John with the Chinese Foreign Office that matters were very soon put right. But Mr. Skrine has, I fear, been in a less favourable position; indeed, I cannot imagine, whilst he was in Kashgar, how and through what channel the Legation could have made its influence felt in the outlying parts of China without the leverage of the Peking Government. None the less, Mr. Skrine has managed to carry on very well. I see that on the card for this meeting he is described as the “late” Consul-General, and I gather from this that he is not going back to Kashgar. That is a great pity; and I am sure British subjects in Kashgar will miss his able supervision. But, as Sir Aurel Stein has said, so long as the Indian Political Department send up to Kashgar men of Mr. Skrine’s calibre—men of tact and of robust common sense, men able to carry on with the minimum of assistance from Government—everything will be well with us, and this in spite of the troublous time through which China is passing. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN JORDAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I really am afraid I can make no useful contribution to the discussion, but I cannot refuse to comply with the request that you have made to me. I would like to join in the tribute that has been paid to the Lecturer for the very interesting lecture he has given us, also for that beautiful panorama of pictures and photographs. My knowledge of Chinese Turkistan is entirely derived from my position in Peking 3,000 miles away. I have never been nearer Chinese Turkistan than Peking, but I have followed the course of things ever since the seventies of the last century. At that time, as the Lecturer has already pointed out, China had practically lost her hold over Chinese Turkistan, and Yakub Beg had made himself independent Governor of the country. Tso Tsung-t’ang, an old Chinese general, was sent to recover this part of the Chinese Empire in the early seventies of last century. He was a Hunan man, a province which produced the best troops in China at that time. He marched across the country, much of which was a barren desert. He settled down for years, cultivated the ground and grew his crops to provide his own commissariat, and in the end recovered the country for Chinese control. Later on the Russians seized Kuldja, but that also was restored to China. I mention these

things to show the tenacity with which China holds its outlying parts. It may lose them for a time, but yet recover them later on. Even Hunza used to be a tributary of China in my time, and sent every year one ounce of gold to the Court in Peking. Tibet is supposed during recent troubles to have broken off from China; but now the second spiritual leader in the country is at Peking being received with open arms. It is wonderful what influence China has over outlying dependencies. Chinese Turkistan has been ruled during the last thirteen or fourteen years by Yang Tseng-hsin, a Yunnanese, a man of very great force of character; but it is very hard to explain how he has managed to keep that province under any government during all those years. You see he has been cut off almost entirely from the central Government, or whatever Government exists at Peking. He has had to depend entirely on himself, and in spite of great trouble in China and across the frontier in Russia, has kept his province in good order. It is an extraordinary thing how he has managed to finance it—I should like the Lecturer to tell us how the finances of the provinces were managed during those years. In former years other provinces paid a very large subsidy to Turkistan, which was not self-supporting at all. I speak subject to correction, but I think probably one cause is that the Chinese, after suppressing Yakub Beg's rebellion, acted with great leniency. That is a great asset. Like ourselves in India, the Manchus had to govern a subject race. They introduced dualism among Manchus and Chinese, and in Turkistan they ruled through native chieftains. That, I think, has helped to sustain Chinese control over the province. I would like to pay tribute to Sir George Macartney; he has given me credit for what I did, but I am afraid he has exaggerated what I could do at Peking. The situation has not been brought out quite clearly. It was an interesting one. It was this: that Russia from 1689 up till last year had these overland treaties with China, which gave a privileged position to Russian subjects. I think I am right in saying that they had free trade over all this immense area of Turkistan and Mongolia. We had no overland treaty with China except with Burma, which did not count at all. And when Sir George went there I do not think we had even that. We claimed the same rights the Russians had under the most-favoured-nation clause; but the Chinese, who were well posted on international law, said: "No, you may have favoured-nation rights for maritime ports, but not for overland trade. We have never granted it and shall not do so." That was the question that had to be fought, and when Sir George Macartney went there he had practically no standing at all. He was sent to do what he could by the Indian Government. For some considerable time there was great difficulty to get him recognized at all. At last, through his own wonderful tact and perseverance, he was recognized as Consul-General. It was a great feat accomplished

very largely by himself. (Applause.) I admit we gave him what support we could in Peking, but he did his part—a far larger part than we did. That was the position then, and I am glad Sir George touched upon another point, an extremely interesting one to me; perhaps the Lecturer can explain it. Our position in Kashgar, as I understand, rested upon Russian treaties. We have no treaty of our own, we are there in virtue of favoured-nation treatment. But the Russians now have cancelled all their treaties: all treaties with the late Tsar's Government are absolutely cancelled, so that we seem to be in a very difficult position. I was extremely glad to hear from the Lecturer that trade was going on as usual. I think that a great thing, but the situation in Turkistan is one that will require very great attention. I hope the British Government is giving attention to it. There is a large trade there, and it appears to me to rest on a very slender basis. That is all that I can say really on the subject. I would again express my thanks to the Lecturer for his very interesting address. (Applause.)

After the second lecture Mr. FRANCIS SKRINE said: I went the whole length of the Russo-Central Asian Railway at the end of last century, and travelled by a route which the Lecturer has not mentioned—via Vienna, Cracow, and an awful place where our passports were examined on the Polish frontier—Podwoloczyska. I remember its name because it suggested a bottle of whisky. It was a very delightful journey; I described it in a book I wrote with Professor Sir E. Denison-Ross called the "Heart of Asia." One written by my son, the Lecturer, will appear next autumn, describing what has gone on on the east of the Pamirs. He mentioned some curious facts: one was the stratification that you find on the banks of Asiatic rivers. I once had an awful adventure while travelling by boat on the Ganges. It was in flood, with a rapid current. We came to a part of the bank which was high; on one side it is always high, 30 or 40 feet, and low on the opposite bank. I was standing in the bow of the boat with a long bamboo, and noticed an extensive stratification above my head, containing pottery and bones. Out of the pottery there appeared the belly of an antique Greek vase. I struck it violently with my bamboo, and a shower of gold came out. But not one of the coins did we recover; all went to the bottom! The boatmen dropped their oars and wept bitterly. It was cruel; we should have made our fortunes; there must have been thousands of gold coins lost. My son mentioned the bargaining in the bazaars. When Indian horse-dealers and others bargain they never say a word. They do not want it known at what price they are selling and buying. They squat opposite each other, with locked hands, and each looks into the other man's eyes. The different fingers represent different sums. The hands being clasped, one man presses a finger; the other says "yes" or "no" by a corre-

sponding pressure. It is very curious and a very good idea. As to that goldfield I must say a few words, because I made some discoveries from the Tibetan side. That goldfield in the south of Kashgar, or Chinese Turkistan, beggars any previous deposits of gold that have ever been discovered ; it is far richer than Klondyke, Australia, or California. When this fact becomes known there will be a rush absolutely unprecedented. Neither the Chinese nor the Tibetans will be able to keep European gold-seekers away. Think of the awful hardships endured on the road to Klondyke, where many thousands were frozen to death ! To cross the Central Asian passes will be child's play—like going up Constitution Hill—compared with Klondyke. When I was in Darjiling and meditating a trip to Lhasa I made some enquiries privately from the Lamas—people who came to Darjiling from Tibet—and they told me that in the north-west of Tibet and on the south side of the range which my son described the deposits of gold are incredible. Tibet is governed with a rod of iron by the Lamas, who employ slaves for three weeks during the summer to mine this gold, which is found 16,000 feet up, and is inaccessible all the rest of the year. These wretched creatures are driven up there, and hurry back with sacks of very rich quartz. They are warned off pilfering by stories that the diggings are haunted by demons. Demonology is very prevalent in Tibet ; it creates a perfect reign of terror there. A Tibetan showed me a block about the size of my two fists which had come from this region, I brought a small piece home, and was told in Jermyn Street that it represented something like four or five pounds of gold per ton. Think what a future there is for explorers, or money-grubbers rather, in that part of the world ! I have taken great interest and pride in my son's discourse ; I think he well deserves of the Society by giving us two lectures in succession. (Applause.)

Major BLACKER: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the photographic slides which the Lecturer has shown us, especially having regard to the very difficult circumstances in which they were taken. Our admiration is mixed with envy and other unchristian feelings at not being able to take that sort of photograph ourselves, and envy at the country and surroundings in which he has revelled for the last few years. I must apologize for introducing a military tone into my few comments on the routes which he has described—perhaps it is the influence of these warlike pictures all round—but I think the routes cannot fail to be of considerable interest to us in the present political situation, especially from the military point of view. It has at times been almost a shibboleth to regard the Muztagh and Karakoram ranges and the northern frontier generally as impenetrable from a strategical point of view. This idea will not altogether bear inspection, because there are several instances of these immense mountains having been traversed

by bodies of troops of appreciable size. Although the many conquests of Hindustan have usually been made from rather more to the west, yet this actual mountain wall, which I think can safely be described as the biggest mountain wall in the world—because Everest, although a higher peak, belongs to a smaller massif—although this is the biggest mountain wall in the world, it has been crossed at least twice. There was notably the invasion of Sultan Said Daulat Beg's army in the fifteenth century, which history gives us as 14,000 strong. He came down from the north, and conquered and consolidated Kashmir. The other to which I should like to refer is a very little-known campaign, and a very brilliant one in its way, that was carried out under the command of Major-General Zorawar Sing, an officer of Gulab Sing's, the Raja of Jammu and first Maharajah of Kashmir. General Zorawar Sing took an army in 1841 from Leh over the Chung La Pass (19,000 feet), and defeated a Tibetan army, not down in the valley, but on the top of the pass, and invaded the Rudok province of Tibet over that route through the Chang-Chen-Mo. If these feats have been done in the past they can be done again. Napoleon told us that where two men can place their feet there you can move an army. No one would uphold the view that you can take a division of infantry complete with modern equipment, such as divisional laundries, Church Army huts, and chewing-gum reserve depots; but you have to visualize mobile partisan troops, acting in bodies of 3,000 or 4,000 by each route, and their action would be preceded by another form of partisan action, of which we are reading everyday in the papers. In the last few days it has taken place in Sofia. Of course, such military activity could not have primary decisive results, but in a country like Kashmir it might have results similar to what I remember in Madras in August, 1917. I remember being at the Madras Club then, and hearing everyone talking about the war. Listening more closely, they were all talking about one phase of the war—the bombardment of Madras by the *Emden* in November, 1914. They were still talking about it. (Laughter and applause.)

The LECTURER: One or two points were raised by speakers. Being a civilian, I am not qualified to speak from a military point of view, but I should like to emphasize the fact that the Chinese in Sinkiang are by no means so weak as we supposed. They have quite a good idea of delaying tactics and mountain warfare. With the help of local Kirghiz they could give a good deal of trouble to Russian or other forces which tried to force the mountains. Last June, in connection with the operations against the late Taotai, some 4,000 troops were sent westwards to Kashgar. Afterwards they were drafted to various frontier posts, but a fair proportion remained at the capital. When I arrived there, I imagined that the Chinese power was negligible, but I afterwards came to the conclusion that this was by no means the case. As

regards the gold, the great trouble in this immense goldfield is the lack of water. Wherever there is water there is gold showing; it is universal. The washings are from riverine deposits coming from the mountains at low levels. If the Chinese gave a fair market price for the gold a great deal more would be brought out. It is found in alluvial deposits, which must come from a matrix far back in Northern Tibet, and it is quite possible the Lamas know where this is.

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is very late ; but before we separate may I ask you to join with me in a very hearty vote of thanks to our Lecturer. (Applause.) We are accustomed in this Society to having lectures of a very high quality and standard, but I do not think I have ever listened to two lectures from which we have gained more information about a very remote and little-known part of the world than the two lectures Mr. Skrine has given us. We are under a great debt of gratitude to him, and, if I may say so, we recognize in him the worthy son of a worthy father. (Applause.) One more remark. We cannot refuse our tribute of admiration to Mrs. Skrine, who accompanied him in these strenuous and terrifying travels, and assisted him in preparing the magnificent series of slides with which he has illustrated the lectures. We should have liked to hear her view of the situation ; and I am sure we all recognize and admire the intrepid work she did in accompanying her husband in these remote and inhospitable regions. Finally, as regards the military aspect of the question, may I say that, apart from our line of defence in Chitral and Kashmir, we have an effective outer line of defence as long as we have officers like Mr. Skrine beyond our borders to show what the British flag stands for, and to show what the British officer stands for. (Applause.)

Before opening the meeting on April 24 the CHAIRMAN said : Since our last meeting we have lost two of our most distinguished members, our late Honorary President, Lord Curzon, and, later again, Lord Rawlinson, a very distinguished member of this Society. All realize, I think, how much the Society owes to the Marquis Curzon : there was no public man in our time more closely associated with Central Asia, who took a deeper interest in its problems, or had a wider acquaintance with them. He touched Central Asian affairs at many points—as traveller, a historian, an archæologist and antiquarian, and as a statesman ; wherever he touched them he adorned them ; and he used his great literary and forensic talents in bringing home the problems of Central Asia to the people of this country. Those of you who had the privilege of being present at our last annual dinner will remember what a wonderfully brilliant survey he then gave us of the Central Asia of thirty years ago and of the Central Asia of to-day. We

all feel how much the Society owes to him. For the last seven years he has been our Honorary President, and it was a satisfaction to him that, during his tenure as Honorary President, the Society made such wonderful strides forward. I think we also realize how much his loss means to us. I should also like to say on your behalf how much we lament the loss of Lord Rawlinson, who was a very distinguished soldier, and died in harness as Commander-in-Chief in India. He was also for many years a member of this Society. It was largely to the researches of his distinguished father, Sir Henry Rawlinson, that this Society owes its existence. The family of Rawlinson has special claims upon us. I am quite sure you would not like this meeting to pass without some record of our sorrow for the loss of these two very distinguished members and our sympathy with their families.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Friday, May 8, 1925, at the Royal United Service Institution. In the absence of the Chairman (the Right Hon. Viscount Peel, G.B.E.), Colonel Sir Charles Yate presided. Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker, K.C.B., lectured on "Air Routes in Asia."

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have to introduce to you to-day Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton Brancker, whose great journey eastwards you all know of and have read about in the papers. Sir Sefton Brancker is a well-known man in the Service. In the South African War he served both in the Horse and Field Artillery. He then went to India, and flew out there as Military Observer in the manœuvres in 1910 and 1911. So that you see he is an old Flying Officer. He was a Director of Aeronautics and served on the Air Council, and held various important posts throughout the war. In 1919 he retired with the object of helping civil aviation. He is now the Director of Civil Aviation, and that, I think you will all agree, is one of the most important things this country has before it at the present moment. His journey to India was one of the most memorable things that have ever happened, and I am sure we shall all look forward with great interest to what he has to tell us now on the various routes going to the East. I will ask him to give us his address. (Applause.)

AIR ROUTES IN ASIA

The LECTURER: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I feel a little guilty about this lecture, for this reason: When I was in Calcutta the other day I met one of your members, General Thomson, who is commanding the brigade there, and I rather lightly told him I would lecture to the Society when I came home. He also did me the honour of putting me up as a member of the Society, which I have since become. When I made that promise I intended to sit down, study Central Asia, and try to think out a few things that might happen there in the future so far as aviation is concerned. But I really have not had the time, and so I have altered my title to "Air Routes in Asia," instead of Central Asia. It covers a very much larger area, and deals with parts of the world I know something about. I think I had best describe to you first what we have accomplished in Europe in the way of air transport as briefly as I can; then try to explain how this experience can be applied to Asiatic conditions and routes to the East;

and then indicate what we are trying to do and what may be done in the near future. In Europe we have had five years' experience of air transport with the cross-Channel services. We ourselves, the French, the Germans, and the Dutch, have really been leading the way in Europe, and in addition to that the Americans have done a certain amount of development over on the other side of the Atlantic. I look upon these cross-Channel services as more or less an experiment, from which we can obtain data and experience for the development of the very long Imperial air routes through Asia and the East. We are running from London to Paris, Basle, and Zurich; to Brussels and Cologne; and to Amsterdam and Berlin. We have also a small service to Guernsey. The French have gone very much further. They are running from Paris to London and Amsterdam, and in addition a through route by Strasbourg to Prague, Vienna, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Constantinople. Last year they actually ran on to Angora; they also have a branch service from Prague to Warsaw. Unfortunately for them, at the moment, that through line has been upset because the Germans have refused to allow them to fly across the South of Germany, so that the bit from Strasbourg to Prague has been cut out, and they are trying to work their way through Vienna and Switzerland. The Turks had also refused permission to run through Turkish territory, but I believe this has now been given. They have a very interesting and very useful route from Toulouse down the east coast of Spain to Casablanca, and that route is being extended this year, or will be next, to Dakar in French Senegal; it has a branch to Oran and Biskra. It is proposed to extend this line down the east coast of South America. Germany has one line which runs to London. They do not come here very often. They have various internal lines, and a service through Zurich, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Vienna, and Budapest has proved a very efficient line. They also run from Königsberg to Moscow; that is nominally a Russian line, but is under German control. They have a line from Königsberg to Finland, each section nominally belonging to the country it runs through, but the whole controlled by the Germans. They have also a finger in the pie in the case of the line running from Bremen to Copenhagen. All these French and German lines are subsidized by the Governments concerned; the French subsidy is much more liberal than ours, and encourages the companies to keep a large staff of pilots and a large fleet of aeroplanes. The German enterprises cover the biggest individual scheme. It is run by Mr. Junkers, a very capable engineer who manufactures aircraft, and who has created a very comprehensive system, of which the real object is to sell his own aircraft. He has been extremely successful so far; he has turned out 400 commercial aircraft since the end of the war, perhaps four times as much as the whole of this country put together. I

think there are 180 of his machines flying in Europe to-day. Our method is different. For four years we went through various choppings, changings, and alterations of policy. At the beginning of 1924 we formed a single national company, Imperial Air Ways. That company has the monopoly of subsidy within Europe: we have promised we will not subsidize anybody else within the boundaries of Europe. We have given them a total of £1,000,000, to be issued in annual instalments on a sliding scale for a period of ten years. They have to fly a minimum of a million miles a year. Outside that they have absolute freedom. They go where they think they can make air transport pay, and they can use as few pilots and as few aircraft as are necessary for purely commercial reasons; and this contract is an honest endeavour to force air transport into a commercial proposition, and to avoid supporting it by artificial subsidies as soon as possible. The fewer pilots and aircraft they can keep, and the more work they can get out of those pilots and aircraft, the more likely they are to make it pay. They have nine years left in which to get down to a real business proposition; after which they are supposed to pay back the £1,000,000 by degrees. You may find it hard to justify a subsidy to this form of transport which does not pay its own way. But unless we *operate*, we shall never learn anything about air transport; and unless we fly over Europe when other people are doing it, British prestige in aviation will go down very considerably. We have to keep level with other people, and spread our influence in different parts of Europe. Our longest distances are to Zurich and Berlin, both about 600 miles. That is not nearly long enough. The further you go the better facilities your air transport offers. If you look at the map, you will see that France is the only European country running lines of real imperial importance. She has the line connecting France with Morocco and Senegal, and the line to Angora, which is only one day's flight from French Syria. So that she is connecting up the French colonies by air with Paris. We are only making a small start towards the East so far, but I will show you later on what we intend to do. This slide may be stale news to some of you; it shows the type of aircraft we are using at present on the cross-Channel route. That is the Handley Page type. It carries fourteen passengers, has been on service three years, and is a very satisfactory machine. There are two engines. The pilot is in front with assistant or wireless operator; the freight and baggage compartment is behind. The next slide shows the De Haviland, 34, single-engine machine, 450 horse-power, carrying eight passengers, with pilot and assistant in front. The former cruises at seventy-five to eighty miles an hour; this between ninety to a hundred. There is a smaller type of machine, the type Mr. Cobham and I went out to Rangoon on. It is only 230 horse-power and it carries four passengers. It is probably the most economical type of machine in existence at present.

The next slide gives you an idea of the latest flying-boat that has been produced. It is in the experimental stage, and is going to be put on the Guernsey-Southampton route very soon. Its two engines total 900 horse-power. It is being tried experimentally. In considering Eastern problems, we must remember that none of these machines are really suited for work in tropical conditions, and we have got to make a good many alterations and improvements before we shall get machines really satisfactory for that purpose. Working in the hot weather along the Persian Gulf is a very different proposition from working here.

I will now show you how the traffic has improved since we started five years ago. This table represents the whole of the traffic which has passed over the Channel in the last five years. Now,

BRITISH CIVIL AVIATION (EXCLUDING JOY-RIDING).

Period.	Machine Flights.	Machine Mileage.	Passengers Carried.	Cargo Carried (Tons).
May, 1919-Dec., 1919	467	104,000	870	35
Jan., 1920-Dec., 1920	2,854	644,000	5,799	120
Jan., 1921-Dec., 1921	993	225,000	5,256	43
Jan., 1922-Dec., 1922	3,625	717,000	10,393	183
Jan., 1923-Dec., 1923	4,765	943,000	15,552	326
Jan., 1924-Dec., 1924	4,892*	936,000*	13,601*	541*
Jan., 1925-Apr., 1925	990†	190,000†	2,000†	133†
Total ...	18,586	3,759,000	53,471	1,381

* These represent only ten and a half months actual operations, as services were suspended during April and the first part of May.

† Approximate figures.

if you take the mileage, you will see that the second year we got 644,000 miles. Then we had a bump down to 225,000 owing to a change of policy of the Government. Then we went up to 717,000; then to 943,000; and last year it was 936,000 miles. The last figure would have been considerably higher if it had not been that we were out of action for about two months owing to trouble with pilots last April and May. You see there has been a steady increase in passengers. Last year the figure was 13,601; that shows a decline, which was due to the break in continuity in April and May—two very important passenger-carrying months. If it had not been for that, the figure would have been about 18,000. The freight returns look promising. In the second year it amounted to 120 tons. In the third year that figure went up to 183 tons, and in the fourth to 326 tons. Last year it was 541 tons, and I should not be surprised if we see it touch something like 1,000 tons this year. That gives you some idea of how the public are

beginning to appreciate the value of air transport, even though it is operating for short distances only, and it proves that the traffic has steadily increased. This slide gives you some idea of the passenger traffic between London and Paris. It exemplifies some of the difficulties we have to compete with in this part of the world. You see the traffic goes up to a peak about August: 1,800 people crossed the Channel during August in 1921, 2,000 the next year, 2,000 in 1923, and 2,600 last year. But when you come to the winter it comes down to 100, 100, 150, a little over 200, and so on. That makes it very difficult to run a service on economical lines, because either your fleet in the summer is not sufficiently big to cope with the traffic available; or if it was sufficiently big, you would have a large number of machines doing nothing in the winter. The effect of accidents is quickly seen. An accident occurred in 1922, and the passenger traffic went down with a bump. It recovered itself and increased steadily. In 1923 there was another accident. Then down went the passenger traffic, but very soon after it went up again. The accidents had no real lasting effect on the bulk of the traffic carried. You can also see how we stand as regards our neighbours the French. The black line is the total passengers carried across the Channel: the dotted line shows the passengers carried on British aircraft. You see we were the pioneers and carried the whole of the traffic for the first two years. The next year, owing to the Government saying that civil aviation had to fly by itself without subsidy, or something of the sort, we lost way and carried only half the total. Next year we went up again. Last year has not been so good; but that again was due to the trouble last April and May, when we lost a lot of our goodwill and clients to the French. What this year will bring forth it will be interesting to see. I must show you something with regard to safety. The table below is a record of the fatal accidents

PAYING PASSENGERS KILLED OR INJURED ON RECOGNIZED BRITISH
AIR TRANSPORT SERVICES.

	May, 1919- Dec., 1919.	Jan., 1920- Dec., 1920.	Jan., 1921- Dec., 1921.	Jan., 1922- Dec., 1922.	Jan., 1923- Dec., 1923.	Jan., 1924- Dec., 1924.	Jan., 1925- Apr., 1925.
Fatal Accidents ...	1	1	Nil	Nil	1	1	Nil
Passengers killed ...	1	2	Nil	Nil	3	7	Nil
Passengers injured ...	2	2	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	Nil
Mileage Flown ...	104,000	644,000	225,000	717,000	943,000	936,000	190,000*

* Approximate figure only.

which have occurred on regular and recognized British air services. You see that in the first year, 1919, we had one, and we had one in 1920. We had none in 1921, none in 1922, one in 1923, and one in 1924. It comes to a total of four fatal accidents for a number of miles which is equivalent to flying round the equator 134 times. With such a record you cannot call aviation a dangerous means of transport, and the sooner the public realize that the regular authorized and properly managed air transport services are really extraordinarily safe, the better. The trouble is that every accident that is in the paper sinks into the public mind as proving that aviation is dangerous. These figures show you it is not: I do not think you could get round the world 134 times without more accidents by any other form of transport. We have made distinct strides in reliability. Naturally the public want reliability. This last year, 1924, we have an efficiency, including the winter season, of 93 per cent. : there were 7 per cent. of failures in 4,250 flights. Of these failures, 5 per cent. were due to weather; you can call that bad visibility. Only 2 per cent. were due to mechanical defects, to an engine or something going wrong. As to weather or bad visibility, when we get East, on to our big routes, that condition is going to improve enormously, and instead of our having 5 per cent. of interruptions, I should think it would drop to 1 per cent. Regarding mechanical failures, the figures are being steadily improved by improvements in design, better maintenance, experience, and so on. On Imperial routes through Asia, I do not see why, once we get a new service fairly started, we should not get to something like 98 per cent. regularity.

The next point is economy. Naturally the public want to travel comparatively cheaply. The table on p. 257 gives you a statement showing the position regarding the time saved and the extra money charged on the British air routes in Europe to-day. You will see that from London to Paris costs six guineas, and only saves four hours and a half for an increase of £3 1s. on the ordinary fare. That is admittedly expensive, but on the Paris route there is a luxury traffic of Americans who do not care how much they pay; so rates are high. But when you turn to London-Berlin, we are saving fifteen hours, and only charging 18s. 2d. extra. On London-Amsterdam we are saving nine hours and a quarter, and are only charging 12s. extra. So, you see, it is not so frightfully expensive; and as you go further you save more and more time, and therefore the extra charges are more and more justified. Zurich is £3 extra, but that includes the expensive link of Paris. It saves practically a day. As worked out here, an average of 3s. 3d. extra is charged for each hour saved; not counting the tips, cabins, sleeping berths, and expensive meals involved in other means of travelling. The air is more comfortable than other means of travel, because you avoid all the bother of pushing your way in the crowd out

FARES AND APPROXIMATE TIMES BY ORDINARY MEANS OF TRANSPORT AS COMPARED WITH AIR TRANSPORT.

	Time by Ordinary Transport.	Time by Air Transport.	First-Class Single Fare by Ordinary Transport.			Single Fare by Air Transport.			Time Saved by Air.	Difference in Fares.		
	Hours.	Hours.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	Hours.	£	s.	d.
London-Paris...	7	2½	3	5	0	6	6	0	4½	3	1	0
London-Paris-Basle-Zurich	19½	8	5	17	6	9	0	0	11½	3	2	6
London-Brussels	7½	2½	3	4	0	4	4	0	5	1	0	0
London-Cologne	15	3½	3	17	6	6	0	0	11½	2	2	6
London-Amsterdam	12	2¾	3	8	0	4	0	0	9¼			12 0
London-Hanover	20	5½	5	13	0	6	5	0	14½			12 0
London-Berlin	22	7	7	1	10	8	0	0	15			18 2
Southampton-Guernsey ...	6½	1¼	2	3	6	3	0	0	4¾			16 6
Total ...									76	12	4	8

(Average of about 3s. 3d. extra cost for each hour saved, not counting the fact that the journey by air saves appreciably in tips, taxis, meals, and sleeping berths.)

of the train, into the steamer, and so on. We are making improvements along many lines in connection with safety, reliability, and economy. We are making better engines, improving the stability of aircraft, and getting more accurate wireless navigation, which all mean that you can fly in much worse weather. Maintenance will, I hope, become cheaper as we simplify design and get on with more robust machines. We are working towards cheaper fuel: we shall probably use heavy oil in the future, which will mean a saving of 80 per cent. of the fuel bill. Greater reliability will lower insurance costs, and increased traffic will lower overhead costs and consequently fares. From the experience of five years, we know that we are getting on the average 700 hours' flying out of pilots, and 1,200 hours of work from each machine during the year. That is to say that in the year each pilot flies 63,000 miles, and 100,000 miles is covered by each machine. Pilots have done up to 1,000 hours in the year, and machines up to 2,000. We have arrived at a point where I think we can say that we will carry a ton for 4s. 6d. a mile at 95 miles an hour. That is rather borne out by our trip to Rangoon and back the other day, which cost us 2s. a mile for a useful load of 1,000 lbs. I think with the various improvements which I have indicated we ought to reduce the cost to 2s. 6d. a ton-mile before many years are out, and then we shall be coming down to business. The Government to-day are ordering

experimental commercial aircraft as a step in this direction: there is one type being ordered, in which we are endeavouring to get a higher paying load per horse-power. We are trying to design machines which will carry 5 lbs. paying load per horse-power instead of only about 4 lbs., as is the case at present. We have got machines on order which have been specifically designed for operations in the Persian Gulf, having a view to the particular conditions existing there. They are three-engine machines. A specification has been drawn up for a large flying-boat for operations between Rangoon and Calcutta; and we have another type designed for freight carrying as opposed to passenger traffic. All these machines, I hope, will be flying within the next year or eighteen months; and will be put on to some of these routes to be thoroughly tried out. I must touch on the question of airships. The Government have at last a settled policy and taken up airships once more. The scheme, very briefly, is that we are re-conditioning our two old ships, R 33 and R 36. On these we are going to carry out aero-dynamical research and train crews. Two new ships will be built, and, with these, experimental trips will be undertaken to India. We have decided to build an experimental base at Karachi and a temporary station on the Suez Canal. R 33 has a volume of 2,250,000 cubic feet. The new ships will be more than twice as big. They will have engines of 7,500 horse-power, and will carry 100 passengers at 70 miles an hour. You cannot compare the two. R 33 is an obsolete and comparatively feeble ship, but she proved the other day, when she broke away, that she could come back safely although severely damaged and in very bad weather indeed. That goes a long way to prove that the big ship will be a very safe and reliable conveyance. In the ship there will be room for 120 people to live in great comfort. The passengers will have a lounge, a dining-room and a smoking-room, and will sleep in two-berth cabins.

That is as much as I can tell you of the experience we have got up to date with our five years' work across the Channel. The East offers some different factors, some advantageous and some disadvantageous. Take the difficulties first. First, and perhaps most serious, is the fact that when operating in the East any aircraft loses lift; because, generally speaking, in the East the air is less dense than it is in this country. If you take the extreme case of Baghdad in the middle of the summer, I think the density of its atmosphere is only about 0.82 of the density of the atmosphere in this country. India suffers from the same sort of disability. It is equivalent to asking aircraft to take off from an aerodrome at a height of about 3,500 feet. When you get extra height and Eastern conditions combined, as at Quetta, the difficulty is increased. Quetta is at a height of 5,500 feet, but in the middle of the hot weather, the rarefaction of the atmosphere makes it nearly equivalent to 8,000 feet for getting-off purposes. The result is that whereas with a machine flying across the Channel you have

assessed its paying load at so much and its total weight at so much, if you are to operate that machine in the East you have to deduct at least 10 per cent. of the total permissible weight. Ten per cent. does not sound very much at first, but it is really considerable, because the whole of it has to come off *paying* load. One of our standard single-engined machines, fully loaded, weighs about 7,000 lbs., of which 1,700 lbs. is paying load. Ten per cent. of 7,000 lbs. is 700 lbs., and if you deduct that from the paying load, this comes down from 1,700 lbs. to 1,000 lbs. So it means that your eight-passenger machine that flies here, under the worst conditions may have to reduce its load to five passengers. That at once means loss of money. To get round that we must either increase horse-power; or increase the surface of the plane; or increase the size of the aerodrome; or a little of all three. All mean more money. Increased horse-power means more powerful engines and a larger expenditure on fuel. Increase of size means lower speed, and therefore increased expenditure on fuel. Increased size of aerodrome means buying more land. These are all troubles that can be got over. The second serious difficulty in the East is due to the period of very heavy rain which you get in many places for some months. It is not that you cannot fly in rain, but rain reduces your aerodrome into a sort of bog. Iraq is very bad that way; it is a soft "pat" soil, and after heavy rain you cannot move. The Persian Gulf is good from this point of view because the rainfall is small; you can depend on good aerodromes all the year round. India is bad in places; where you have black cotton soils it would be hard to make the aerodrome to stand up in the monsoon. On the Calcutta-Rangoon route we would have to use flying-boats during the rains because we could not depend on aerodromes being fit for use. It may even be necessary to pave aerodromes in some parts of the world. That would get over the rain trouble, but again would mean capital cost. I remember an experience I had at Amman: I was coming back from Baghdad via Amman to Cairo. Amman is on the Trans-Jordania hills above the Jordan. In those days there was a very poor aerodrome there. I arrived from Baghdad with three other aeroplanes, and three came from Cairo, and we all stuck in the mud. There was a little mess there with four or five chairs in it, and thirteen of us living in it. The next day I managed to get a light machine from Ramleh in Palestine to take me on with my baggage—it was not too bad for a small machine to get off. As I departed I shook hands with the officer commanding, and I said: "Can I do anything for you in Cairo?" He said, "Send me a dose of prussic acid." (Laughter.)

The third difficulty in the East, and in all these big trans-continental routes, is the passage of high mountains. The drawback to crossing mountains is that while they are very pleasant to cross in fine weather—when you have beautiful scenery and endless things to look at—in bad weather, when you have clouds on the tops of the mountains, you

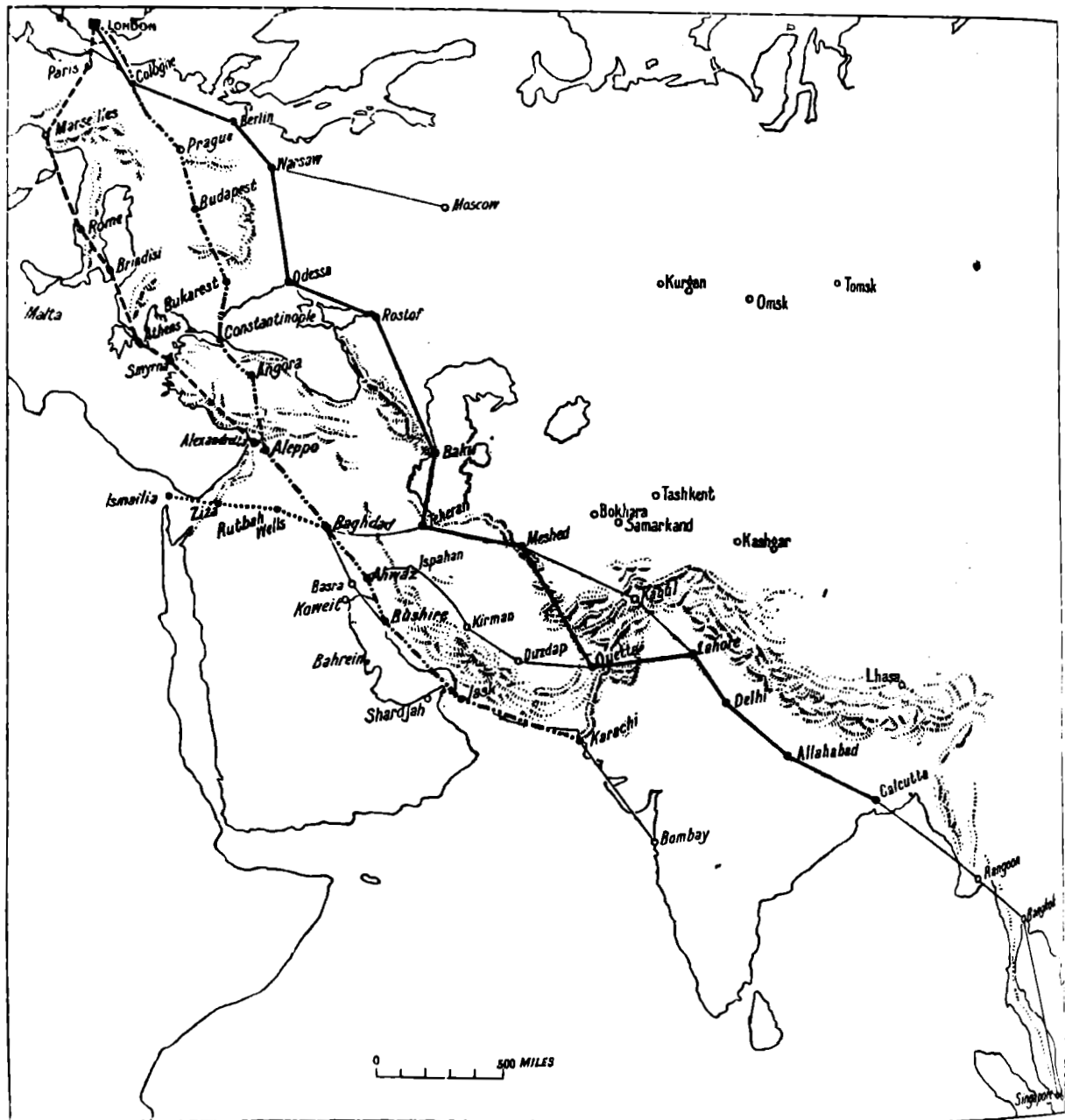
must either go over the tops of the clouds or fly through them. On big mountains, to get over the clouds you may have to fly at 20,000 feet, and some machines cannot do that. Flying through clouds is unpleasant; you may run into a mountain peak. That means unreliability; you have to wait for clear weather. Actually in the future I do not think there is any doubt we shall fly through clouds perfectly happily, because we are evolving apparatus by means of which the aeroplane will fly itself. The machine will fly through the air as a boat floats on the water, without fear of getting out of control. When we get to that point, the pilot can get to the height where he knows he will clear the top of the peaks and steer a compass course. But to-day bad weather over mountains means delay, because you must wait for the weather to clear. The last difficulty in these long Eastern routes is the difficulty of salvage. If a machine has an engine failure, or comes down for any purpose between here and Paris or Berlin, it is perfectly easy to get at the machine, put it right, or repair it and take it away. But if you come down in the middle of the Syrian desert or along the Persian Gulf, it is a very different proposition. The Syrian desert is all right now because we have a track cut across it: you follow the track, and if you come down it is merely a matter of flying down the track to find you. But in the Persian Gulf there are places where you might have to walk three weeks before you came to a civilized habitation. If you landed there it would take you a long time to communicate with anybody. Going down the Persian Gulf, we actually carried four days' rations because we might have to walk a long way if we were forced to come down. Practically the only communication is by dhow along the coast. The result of the difficulty of salvage along the Eastern routes will be to increase insurance rates and involve a lot of unprofitable flying if anything happens. The antidote is to have a really reliable engine or to have a three-engine machine.

Those four are probably the main difficulties. There are other minor ones; for instance, there will be a trouble in housing and feeding passengers which you do not have in Europe, and we have to face the problem of ventilation and comfort of cabins in a hot climate.

On the other hand, there are enormous advantages in these Eastern routes. First as regards weather. You have a climate which behaves itself. You know when the rain is coming, when the dust storms are coming, and so on; and right through the year you have wonderful visibility as compared with this part of the world. Our real enemy here is bad visibility, and that is practically eliminated in the East. The only thing there to stop you are dust storms, which do not last long, or real torrents of rain, which also do not last very long; and both can very often be dodged. You do not get the fogs, mists, and low clouds that you have in North-Western Europe. In our recent journey the country we flew over was nearly all perfectly ideal for flying. People said, "Your pilots will not stand the monotony of the desert;" but

from what I saw of the desert, as compared with the cross-Channel route, it is a rest cure, and any pilot who has been flying here for some time will look upon it as a holiday. The climate will give a regularity you cannot obtain in Europe under present conditions. Also, and most important, it will make flying possible at night, and that means accelerated services. In Europe it is difficult to fly by night because of the large amount of bad visibility and the unsettled state of the weather. The second advantage of the Eastern routes is that they offer long distances. There is no very serious competition. There are two long-distance routes in operation in the world to-day. The first runs from New York to San Francisco. That is run in the way we hope our Eastern routes will be run. One day New York to Chicago, that night Chicago to Cheyenne, and the next day to San Francisco. That is what we are aiming to get on our way to India. In Australia they are going ahead on the same lines. They go from Perth there to Derby—1,500 miles—in two days and a half. They have not started night flying because there is no demand, and they have not the money to put the lights necessary on the ground. From Perth to Derby was often an eight days' trip by coastal steamer, but by air they get there comfortably in two and a half days. Those are two examples of what is being done to-day and of what we ought to do in other parts of the Empire. There is another difference in the Eastern routes as compared with the European routes: a subsidy is far more justified because air transport will be really building up Imperial communications which are of vital importance. Picture the British Empire in terms of time if we had two airship services flying at 60 miles an hour—one through India to New Zealand and Australia, another down to Durban. Actually, if you measured the British Empire by time instead of miles, it would be modified to these positions: Australia would be somewhere where Aden is; New Zealand would be close to Somaliland; and India no further than Cairo. Egypt and South Africa would be in French Morocco. I leave you to imagine what the results of that would be!

Now I will go on to schemes for the future. On p. 262 is a rough map of the area between London and Singapore. It represents various possibilities in heavier-than-air lines, leaving out the possibilities of the airships; but I will deal with airships first. Our scheme is to have a temporary air-port for airships at Ismailia, and an experimental base at Karachi. The ship will call there on the way to re-fuel. It is calculated that, if all goes well, the ship should do the whole journey in four days—two days to Ismailia and two days onwards. We have selected Karachi because it offers the best climatic and geographical conditions; as this service is admittedly an experiment, we wanted to have as good a place from that point of view as we could in India. Once we get that started, we shall begin investigations whether it might not be better to go or come home by Baghdad. The great thing about the airship is that you have enormous radius and great power of



PROBABLE AIR ROUTES TO INDIA

- Shortest main route to Delhi and Calcutta.
- - - - -** Route already followed by the French Compagnie de Navigation Aérien as far as Angora, and proposed to be operated by the new British service between Baghdad and Karachi.
- - - - -** Alternative route as far as Aleppo as proposed by the French Messagerie Aérienne.
-** The Egyptian-Iraq section of the proposed British service from Egypt to Karachi.
- Alternative routes and branches to the above main routes.

manœuvre. The navigating officer will navigate according to the weather. He will aim for a following wind, and generally he will be able to dodge adverse winds and get following winds. We have an enormous amount to learn in that way, and it is only by experience we shall learn. Although we are starting by Ismailia to Karachi, after a very short time I think you will find the route adjust itself more to commercial conditions. After that we shall continue to Australia, either across India to Calcutta and down through Rangoon; or maybe it will pay us better to go right across to Colombo and on straight from Colombo; but that is for the future. I think, generally speaking, the airship will stick to the sea and flat country so far as possible; because, although an airship can get over mountains all right, it is expensive to do so. She has first to throw out ballast, and then lose a great deal of gas; which adds considerably to the upkeep and also reduces radius. A big climb might involve an extra landing to take in more ballast, gas, and fuel. Turning again to aeroplanes and seaplanes, I have tried to show on the map the alternative routes available. The most direct is through Berlin, Warsaw, north of the Black Sea to Odessa, Baku, Tehran, Meshed, and then either by Kabul or Quetta into India. That route has various difficulties, the biggest one being the Russians. The Germans have been operating a line from Moscow to Baku or Batoum, but they have given it up as hopeless; the Russians are impossible. They have a scheme for operating towards the East, avoiding Russia altogether, by coming down to a corner of Roumania, and then going straight across the Black Sea to Turkish and Persian territory. This route also has the disadvantage that some of it is very high and difficult country, particularly between Meshed and Kabul or Quetta. On our recent journey the route we followed was by Constantinople, Angora, Aleppo, Baghdad, and along the Persian Gulf. We went out to Constantinople by Berlin, Warsaw, and Bucharest. I went that way because I wanted to look at this northern route from the flying point of view. It is very good. There is not a hill the whole way. You rise by a very gentle gradation to 1,800 feet near Lemberg between Bucharest and Warsaw. It is a very easy route, and I think it will be flown considerably more regularly during winter than any other line across Europe. We came back from Constantinople by Belgrade, Bucharest, Prague, and Strasbourg. That route is much more difficult. You have to cross the Balkans, the Carpathians, the mountains between Prague and Germany and the Black Forest. As a matter of fact, I think that in Europe air lines will develop from commercial and political considerations more than any others. The places which offer the best traffic will be visited by aircraft flying across Europe. It will be a slow commercial development. We do not mind very much, because our scheme now is to try and link up Egypt with India, and any line extending from Europe in the future is bound to meet us somewhere and so connect

us with Europe by air. Outside European lines, there is very little of interest in the East to-day. The Air Force are running a fortnightly service from Cairo to Baghdad. The Germans are running a service between Enzeli and Tehran; and the French have a desultory line going between Aleppo and Deires Zor on the Euphrates, for military purposes. That is about all that is happening at present.

The Air Force route probably best known to you is the one from Cairo to Baghdad, passing close to Jerusalem and Amman. From Amman to Baghdad there are 650 miles of desert, marked by a plough-line right across, so that if anything happens to the machine on the way over and it is flying along the route, it is easily found. If there was no mark, although the machine might be dead on its course, it would be extraordinarily hard to find, and people might die of thirst before they were picked up. About 150 or 200 miles from Amman there is what is called the lava country—100 or 150 miles of black lava. It is very rugged country; I think it must be the relics of the old eruption which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and which broke up the Dead Sea and wrecked this part of the world. Some of the smooth plains are as flat and shallow as this floor, and make the most perfect landing-places you can imagine.

The route we have under consideration from Ismailia to Karachi covers about 2,500 miles, or about thirty-three hours' flying. It can be covered very easily in two days and a half flying only by daylight, which at once saves eight days in travelling to Karachi or any place in the North-West of India. When we get to night flying we shall probably get through in thirty-six hours. Then we will be saving ten days to Karachi and the northern part of India. If this service was started there is little doubt we should soon have a branch from Baghdad to Tehran, or from Ahwaz to Tehran. Possibly there will also be a summer route, to avoid the heat of the Persian Gulf, by Ahwaz, Ispahan, Kerman and Duzdap to Quetta; but in the winter it would be pleasanter to go along the Persian Gulf. The position in India is that the Indian Government are quite keen on a service from Karachi to Bombay, and from Calcutta to Rangoon. If once we could establish the service to Karachi the rest would follow. We should soon have a service to Rangoon; then Singapore would be crying out, and it would be extended to Singapore. I have indicated that the airship base was going to be at Karachi, and this at first seems to be running in competition with a heavier-than-air service. But the Karachi base for the airship is purely experimental. It is not looked upon as the commercial base, which may be Bombay or Calcutta. The aeroplane also will carry a great deal of local traffic which the airship cannot deal with. The aeroplane will tap Persia, Turkey, and so on. On our reconnaissance we went out by Aleppo, down the route, and so on to Rangoon. We came back by Rutbah Wells and across the desert to Damascus. It was not by any means a difficult journey, but was an extremely comfortable

one. I was surprised that so little fatigue was involved in flying very long distances. We spent on some days ten hours in the air—often six, eight, or nine—and came in as fresh as we started. We never had a dull moment the whole time. The load of the machine was a big one: there was myself, a mechanic, and a considerable amount of baggage, with eight hours fuel. We were away four months, and I did not get to the bottom of my clothes; so, you see, we did ourselves well in baggage. We practised “safety first” the whole way; the only time we abandoned that was when, coming back from Prague, we were running into heavy snow. We pushed on without a weather report, and got shut in by snow over the northern end of the Schwarzwald. We came down in a small ploughed field. We could not get off again, so we had to dismantle the machine. We took it to a neighbouring aerodrome and got away forty-eight hours later. That was a case where we were taking risks and met weather which was impossible, but got out without even bursting a tyre. That can always be done with a really experienced pilot. If I was a rich man I would buy to-morrow the equivalent of a yacht in aircraft, and take to travelling by air as a recreation. It is the most perfect way of getting about. My first object would be to go and visit the Dalai Lama at Lhasa. That would be quite possible with existing aircraft. The next time they try to climb Everest a little air co-operation might make the feat a certainty. With aircraft you could get up to that height now with a special engine. You could drop a line of supplies all the way up, take photographs of every foot of the way up, watch progress, and report it by wireless. Air assistance might possibly make the feat almost safe.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must bring this rather wandering lecture to a close. What is the greatest failure this Empire has made up to date? Considering everything, I think undoubtedly it is the fact that we have a great many too many people in this country and too few in our Overseas Dominions. The antidote is surely to improve Imperial communications. You want every form of transport, of course, for the development—railways to develop the vast tracts of country themselves; shipping to take the workers and settlers to those tracts, and to take away the produce to the various markets—but you want aviation to bring the Overseas Dominions nearer home, quicken mails, and make possible visits of negotiation for the busy man who cannot spare the time under the present conditions. I believe I am right in saying that all great empires have depended on communications for their existence, and have collapsed when eventually those communications broke down. In the case of Tamerlane those communications were by camels and horses; and in the Roman Empire they were by roads; and when those communications broke down the empires began to disintegrate and eventually collapsed. Our Empire was built on shipping, and one of our great problems as an Empire is the difficulty of administration; it is only by improving our communications that we

can really develop Imperial trade as much as it ought to be developed. Air transport will help us to avoid misunderstandings with the Overseas Dominions, and to avoid loss of touch, and, most important, will help to promote real mutual co-operation throughout the Empire. Our prosperity in the past has been very largely due to the fact that we are a nation of sailors; we must become a nation of airmen under the changed conditions. It so happens that the qualities of the sailor are just those required for the airman. There is no doubt we can produce the best airmen in the world, as we have produced the best sailors. We must build aircraft as we have built shipping in the past: it is only by operating aircraft that we can ensure progress in design, and by obtaining really successful and good commercial aircraft, establish the British industry throughout the world. When air transport pays its way without artificial assistance it will boom in every part of the world. When the business man sees that air transport can make money he will take it up with avidity, and vast orders will be available for the country with the best designs. To-day, I think, Germany is trying to get into that position. The time when air transport will pay its way is not so very far off. Three days ago the President of a big American company called the Stout Aeroplane Company, which is controlled by Mr. Henry Ford, came to see me; he told me that Mr. Henry Ford had now definitely come to the conclusion that the time had come to back air transport. Mr. Ford is no fool; he would not go lightly into a thing of that sort. He told me they had worked out schemes for certain services in the United States from A to Z, and were convinced that they could make these services pay without any artificial assistance; and with this object in view they were going to open eight or nine new air routes in the United States this summer. If Mr. Henry Ford gets in with bulk production of really efficient aircraft, we shall find it hard to compete; but we must see to it that we get a fair proportion of the world's aircraft construction. A prosperous aircraft-constructing industry will give us what we want in the way of national resources—the large numbers of pilots, mechanics, designing offices and factories—that we shall want if we have another great national emergency leading, perhaps, to another great war. We do not want war: aviation has come to make it ten times more horrible than ever before. Sir Hugh Trenchard has said he would gladly “abolish the air.” I do not quite agree! I like breathing the air and like flying. Abolish, he might have said, military aviation. The British Empire would be better if it could be abolished: it has put us in a weaker position than we were in before. It has blotted out the Channel, and we are on terms of equality with our Continental neighbours so far as war conditions go. But we cannot abolish aviation. That being so, let us take the good things it offers, as well as the inconvenient, and use it as a means of binding together our Empire more firmly and more sincerely than ever before. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN called on Major Wood Humphrey.

Major WOOD HUMPHREY: I have only to repeat what the Lecturer has to say; it is certainly extraordinarily interesting. We are working out this scheme of flying out to India, and it is to be hoped the Government will support us in the way we ask them, and give us sufficient money to make a real job of the route to India. It is an absolute necessity we fly out on that route. It is the one Imperial route that offers financial success in the really near future, and I think everybody in Parliament should use every endeavour possible to put that through. I am sure everybody agrees with me in thanking Sir Sefton Brancker for his excellent lecture. (Applause.)

Lord WINTERTON (Under-Secretary of State for India): There is one thing I should like to say, as representing in one House of Parliament the interests of one of those countries to which Sir Sefton Brancker referred. In the first place, in a fairly long experience of lectures, some of them rather unfortunate—where I have been involved in yawns the whole time—I have never listened to a statement which filled me with more enthusiasm, or which I thought more interesting, than that of Sir Sefton Brancker. (Hear, hear.) I was very sorry when he sat down. I would willingly have listened for two hours instead of one. He has dealt with some of the most important questions with which we as an Empire are faced to-day. I should like to say in passing, while it would ill become me as a junior member of the Government to make observations on policy on an occasion like this, I find myself in considerable agreement with what Major Wood Humphrey said: I think it is very necessary that the attention of Parliament and Governments generally should be kept more closely fixed on questions of aviation than has been the case in the past. Sir Sefton Brancker naturally refrained from criticizing anything that has been done by Governments in the past; but I, as a politician and a member of a Government, can say that, in my opinion, there has been in the last six or seven years a great want of consecutive and consistent policy. But I hope under the energetic Secretary of Stateship of my friend Sir Samuel Hoare, the Minister for Air, there will be an alteration and we shall go ahead. (Hear, hear.) Sir Sefton has spoken of some of the difficulties of commercial aviation and of getting the public sufficiently interested, though I think the figures he has given are on the whole very reassuring. The aviation of passengers since the war has gone through several phases, it seems to me, speaking as a layman. Immediately after the war it was the new thing: very few had had an opportunity of trying it except those who had served in the Flying Force in the war. It became the thing to do. One's friends said, "Have you flown to Paris?" and one went. Then came another period when even fresher inventions began to be more widely used, such as broadcasting, and the public turned their attention to things like that. To-day there is a danger of its falling

between two stools. It is not the novelty it was immediately after the war; on the other hand, the public have not generally wakened up to the advantages it affords of getting about business expeditiously. Then Sir Sefton Brancker showed the real saving of time and, for long distances, of money that there is. We in this country suffer from old ideas, which is another way of saying that we suffer from old men. There are still a lot of people who say, "Put me in a flying-machine and ask me to go up flying. Not me." Just as there used to be people who, if you invited them to go into a motor-car, said, "Not for me; I have always driven horses all my life, and will not go into a motor-car." There is a lot of that spirit abroad. But such people will some day be in their graves, and a newer generation will grow up to whom going up in an aeroplane will present no more difficulty, danger, or unexpectedness than journeying in a train or motor-car to-day. We have to do all we can to get the rising generation to take to flying. If we do not, the Americans will. I venture to hope that everyone in the audience has been impressed by the closing words of Sir Sefton, where he referred to the grave danger of the Americans getting ahead of us, cheapening the production of aeroplanes, going in for mass production and leading in aviation. No one in this audience will dissent from this proposition, that our success in commercial aviation—we all know of our success in military aviation, and I think we can be proud of it—but our success in *commercial* aviation has yet to be fixed and stabilized. I do not think Sir Sefton would differ from that proposition. It is to try to fix and stabilise it that he and his colleagues are working. The position which this country fills in commercial aviation in the next ten years will be a rough test of our ability to hold our own in post-war international competition. There are not wanting signs, which give some of us feelings of depression in our bad moments, that this old country, despite its wonderful success in the war, has not got the aptitude it used to possess to compete with other nations in sport and industry. There are not wanting signs of decadence in that respect. We have seen that in many markets of the world commercially we are not holding our own; and it is seen in other ways. It is going to be an enormous business, commercial aviation. If we can get the same lead (and we have still time to get it) that our forefathers got in shipping—especially steam shipping—there is a bright path ahead for this country. If we do not, I believe that our position will be a serious one—speaking as a layman who only once in his life has flown, and is therefore unbiassed. Believing that the great transport of the future is to be found in the air and not on the ground or sea, one earnestly hopes that the next ten years will see us go ahead, and be in the same position in the air as we have always been on the sea. Only in that way can we retain our hold on Empire. We are more vulnerable in some respects than any empire that has ever existed, but if we use the air properly we

can tighten up the bonds of Empire in a way that would have been unbelievable twenty years ago. (Applause.)

Mr. SKRINE: The first point that occurred to me is the difficulty of equalizing the traffic in summer and winter; and I should like to know the cause of the drop in winter traffic. It seems to me due to cold; are any precautions taken against cold for pilot, mechanic, and passengers? The second question is: Are the machines of the Company fitted with wireless? It seems essential that machines traversing such difficult countries should be in touch with repairing stations. A third point would be with regard to the nature of the merchandise carried. What tariff is charged per pound, and how far is it taken advantage of by the mercantile public?

Sir ARTHUR BARRETT: I would like to ask the Lecturer, What view is taken of air transport with respect to railways and steamship lines? Is it expected that railways and steamship lines will eventually be superseded on such routes as can be served by air transport when the latter becomes fully established, or are they to run in opposition to one another, or in combination?

Mr. DONALD MELLOR: I listened with very great interest to Sir Sefton Brancker's lecture; we could not have had a more interesting one, and we congratulate him on his safe return. With regard to French aviators, I read that Lieutenant Thierry had made a long journey, starting from France, passing through Toulouse, right across Morocco, and across the desert to the Niger. There, I believe, they had to come down on account of engine trouble. They started again and went on down the Niger to Port Lome, and then right on to the Congo, finishing at Stanley Pool, and he and his colleagues and the mechanic are now on their way back to France. That shows that the French are quite alive to this question of quick communications by means of aeroplanes; and this trip, I believe, was taken not only from the military standpoint but, quite as important, from the commercial standpoint. From what I read, it is possible to reach Stanley Pool in eight days from Paris. Again, I might mention that the Belgians are taking extreme interest in this matter. They are also developing the aeroplane traffic in the Belgian Congo, and I think it is possible that within a very short time we shall see aeroplanes from Stanley Pool right down to the south-eastern section of the Congo in three days. That is being developed also, I believe, on commercial lines.

The LECTURER: I would like to support Lord Winterton most heartily on the point of the education of the public. One of the good qualities of the American is that when you offer him a new thing he jumps at it and tries it. Offer the same thing to an Englishman, and he says that you are a crank and dodges out of your way. Of the cross-Channel passenger traffic which you saw put up on the screen, I think from 70 to 75 per cent. is American. They come and fly as a matter of

course, but we won't. Like Lord Winterton, I have had to tell various audiences that I believe that until everybody over forty, including myself, has passed away, air transport will not come into its own! However, the rising generation are going to be all right. It is interesting to know that some of the officers of the Cologne Garrison have their boys out for the school holidays; and those boys are insulted if asked to travel by train—air is the only possible way for them. I agree with Lord Winterton about stabilizing our policy. Thank goodness, we are getting stable. The ten years' agreement with Imperial Air Ways is stabilizing. Our airship policy is more or less stabilized. We have a three years' programme; when we have a little more experience, I hope we shall have a ten years' programme there. The route to India I hope will be stabilized, including a contract covering a period of years, so that it can grow up with foresight and a proper policy. Mr. Skrine asked about the variation of traffic between summer and winter. I am afraid the case I put of passengers to Paris is abnormal. That is luxury traffic. Most of the people are going on holidays, and naturally travel in summer. The peak in August indicates the middle of the summer holidays. In winter there is not nearly so much traffic to Paris. The people going there want to go on to Italy or the Riviera, and it is not worth while to fly to Paris and break the journey to take train there. But if there was a through air service we should probably have quite a good winter traffic. I hope that in the future when the public learn the advantages of the Zurich service, it will fill up in the winter with people shortening the time of the journey to winter sports. When we get the business men to use it in numbers, they must travel at all times of the year, and this winter gap will be filled up. One advantage of carrying freight is that it is not much affected by season. Mr. Skrine asked if the machines are heated. They are heated, and we are developing experiments to get them more perfectly ventilated and heated; air transport is becoming an extremely comfortable means of travelling even in intense cold. He asked about wireless: I can reply at once, Yes, all passenger-carrying machines of any size carry wireless, and are forced to do so by international law. Actually on the service between London and Paris the machine is in communication with the wireless control tower in Croydon during the whole journey; the pilot can ask for weather reports and pass back information for those following him. Croydon can warn the pilot of bad weather in front of him, and give him instructions to land if necessary. That wireless control has grown up in the last three years, and has proved an enormous success. We are bringing in measures in international law which will make it necessary for passenger aircraft flying in any part of the world to be fitted with wireless. We look on it as practicable. He asked about merchandise. Naturally ladies' hats and dresses from Paris. Motor bicycles: I think we had a consignment of 100 to take to Cologne. Sick people are frequently brought

over by air, as being the most comfortable and safest method of travel. Tobacco : I think five or six tons were taken over to Cologne not long ago. Samples of wine, gramophone records, boots, and cloth imported from Germany come by air. Wireless equipment, drugs, gold in bars, silver in bars ; we have carried a great deal of bullion lately in international financial negotiations. All sorts of things : if you are down at Croydon, it is worth while having a look at the Customs go-down to see the curious things that come by air. The latest was a lion cub. I think the average rate for freight is about sixpence a pound to Paris ; it is twopence a pound for 100 miles. Sir Arthur Barrett asked about competition with railways and shipping. There is bound to be a little competition in the early stages. If we establish the route from Ismailia to Karachi, we are bound to take some passengers from the P. & O. But I think air transport has come as an antidote to the congestion of the other means of communication. Wireless and cables are worked up to capacity already, and laying down a new cable to avoid congestion is an enormously expensive undertaking. If a business man, or a member of the Government, or I, for a joy ride, want to go out to Australia, we cannot go there now because we cannot get away for long enough. If the air makes our visits possible, they will have some effect. The business man will make a deal ; the member of the Government will do something about mutual co-operation ; I shall go and see friends ; and we will all make new traffic. What will be the result of more traffic ? All forms of transport will benefit. The establishment of air transport, so far from competing with the older forms, will give them greater traffic. As I said during the lecture, one of the things that quick communications do is to stimulate trade between two countries and bind them more closely together. If they are bound more closely together the traffic between the two countries increases. It is not possible for all that traffic to go by air. I think, personally, that steamer companies and railway companies will get more traffic from the institution of transport by air. There is a leading railway now in this country considering the possibility of adding air transport to its other activities. We should like to see the big shipping companies come into aviation and take over one of these services, possibly of airships. I have only one comment to make about the last gentleman's remarks. He congratulated us on our safe return. I do not like that word " safe " : it was safe from start to finish. You might say my reluctant return : I should be quite willing to start off and do that journey or another to-morrow, if I had the chance. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN : Sir Sefton Brancker has answered all questions most kindly. I hope Sir Edmund Barrow will now say a few words.

Sir EDMUND BARROW : Naturally, as I have no experience of flying, I am not going to talk about the air, but I should like to talk about the Lecturer. I am sure you will be interested to hear something about Sir Sefton Brancker's birth as an airman. I assisted, not exactly at

the birth, because I believe he had a trial flight once before I saw him; but I actually assisted at his official "air baptism." In fact, I was his godfather on that occasion. What happened was this: Monsieur Jullerot, a well-known French airman, came out to India in 1911 to advertise some machine or other, I forget which. The aeroplane was a new thing in India, and was looked on as unpractical for military purposes. About that time I was directing some ground manœuvres in Central India, and I thought it would be a good opportunity to test an aeroplane at military manœuvres. At my request Monsieur Jullerot very kindly came down to those manœuvres, which were the very first at which aeroplanes were used in India. With Jullerot came the Lecturer. They were both members of my mess, and we fully discussed the subject of aeroplanes in war. I may tell you that most of us looked on the aeroplane as rather a "Jim," and thought we should not get much benefit from it. However, the next day I sent out Sir Sefton—he was Captain Brancker then—with Monsieur Jullerot to reconnoitre. He went out, I think, about ten or twelve miles; and in the space of half an hour or so we got back a very full report from Captain Brancker regarding the position of the enemy and all the necessary details. That was a convincing proof to us all of the value of the aeroplane in military manœuvres, and I always feel proud of the fact that Sir Sefton flew on that occasion in the presence of a large force of doubting soldiers who were at once converted by what they saw to the value of the aeroplane. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (SIR CHARLES YATES): My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we have had a most interesting and most instructive lecture, and a most interesting discussion. Now I will ask you to join me in passing a most hearty vote of thanks to our Lecturer for the treat he has given us this afternoon. (Applause.) Our lecture has been mainly directed to the air routes in Asia, and I think we all realize the extreme importance of what we may call the backbone of those routes—that is, the route from Cairo to Baghdad, Karachi, Calcutta, Rangoon, and Singapore. That will be the great backbone, I hope, of the air routes in the future; and what we want, as the Lecturer told us, is to make a start. We want to see the special machines made for standing the heat of the Persian Gulf. We want to see the flying-boats made for the route across from Calcutta to Rangoon. But we want to make a real start. We want to secure our Empire communications, and I trust, and I think I may say we may be certain, that under the present conduct and administration of the Air Service we shall get a start in a very short time. We look forward to that and hope we shall get it. You have already shown how thoroughly you welcome the very interesting lecture Sir Sefton Brancker has given us, and I can only say, Let us accord him our most hearty vote of thanks for his kindness in coming here to-day. (Applause.)

ACROSS THE SYRIAN DESERT TO PERSIA

SIR CHARLES YATE took the chair at a meeting of the Society held on February 27, when Mrs. Patrick Ness read a paper describing a journey undertaken by herself and her niece in the autumn of 1923, from Beirut, via Damascus and Baghdad, to Teheran and Isfahan, including a trip to Resht and Enzeli on the Caspian from Kasvin on the way back to Baghdad.

The journey was described in the following stages: (A) From Beirut via Damascus (71 miles) to Baghdad (532 miles) by motor-car, under the arrangements made by the Nairn Transport Company, which had then (September, 1923) only recently started operations. The first crossing of the desert by motor-car had been accomplished in the preceding April, when four ladies accompanied the two men who conducted the party. Since then several crossings had been made successfully, and several attempts had failed. (Full details of the initiation and exploits of Mr. Nairn's Transport Company were given by Major D. McCallum in a lecture before the Society in November, 1924.) On this occasion the convoy consisted of three 27 h.p. six-cylinder Buick cars, with three drivers, a mechanic in command, and an Arab guide; in addition, eight passengers with their baggage were carried. In the leading car, besides the driver, the two ladies and a French officer travelling to Teheran to take up his post as Military Attaché there and the Arab guide were accommodated. Provisions and a supply of water were distributed throughout the convoy. After an uneventful journey of seventy-one miles across the Lebanon to Damascus, the convoy as above left Damascus early on September 23 and proceeded across the trackless desert for 269 miles to the Rutbah Wells, and at 7 p.m. halted for the night. At 4.30 a.m. the next day a start was again made, and at about 10.0 a.m. a party of R.A.F. with three cars were met, near the edge of the desert, and after some forty miles across black bituminous soil and sand the bridge at Ramadi was reached at 2 p.m.

Mrs. Ness spoke most eulogistically of the excellence of the arrangements and the skill of the drivers, mechanic, and guide, whereby this journey of 459 miles across the desert was accomplished with only two forced stops to repair punctures.

From Ramadi the route followed the so-called main road via Faluja to Baghdad in the bed of the Euphrates, which is liable to inundation in the flood season, and after only a few hours' travelling

the leading car sank up to its axles in the mud deposited on a causeway, and was only extricated after four hours' work, when, as darkness had come on, the party returned to Ramadi and there spent the night.

On the 25th at 11 a.m. the "Maude" bridge of boats at Baghdad was crossed, and the first stage of the journey, 603 miles, was completed.

Mrs. Ness made light of the heat and dust experienced throughout, but a temperature of 105° F. in the shade at Baghdad must have been no pleasant experience for the two ladies. The second stage (*B*) was by train from Baghdad to Khaniqin, ninety-four miles, which occupied a whole night punctured by sandflies.

Stage (*C*) from Khaniqin to Teheran, 470 miles, should be accomplished in four days by the following stages—which might be reduced to three if the means of transport were efficient and the two last stages combined—to Kermanshah, 130 miles; Hamadan, 130 miles; Kasvin, 145 miles; Teheran, 92 miles. The charges for a car are £55, to which must be added £11 for tolls, which number about thirty on this road. Owing to the defective cars and inefficient drivers the party only managed to reach Kerind (seventy miles) the first day, and on the second day the remaining sixty miles to Kermanshah were covered.

The discomforts and filth of the Kermanshah Hotel were mentioned with great restraint by Mrs. Ness.

From Kermanshah viâ Kasvin to Resht on the Caspian the road was originally most efficiently aligned and laid out by Russian engineers, and was maintained by British troops in the latter stages of the war. But apparently it now suffers from Persian neglect and is in wretched condition.

From Kermanshah the stage of 103 miles to Hamadan was successfully completed on the third day, and the travellers were entertained there by the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia.

On the fourth day, owing to a breakdown which caused a delay of six hours, the party only reached Manian, near Avek, where they stayed the night in a deserted Russian house at the foot of the Sultan-bulaq Pass. And Kasvin was reached on the fifth day without further mishap, and again the officials of the Imperial Bank offered hospitality to the party.

The sixth day brought the third and last stage of the journey to an end at Teheran, and the two ladies stayed there for several weeks.

After this, a start was made for Isfahan, 288 miles, which it was hoped to reach in two days. But owing to a serious breakdown the first night was spent in a squalid Persian hut, another at Qum, and Isfahan was reached on the third day only.

After an uneventful return journey to Teheran and a short halt there, the party started for Baghdad. From Kasvin a visit was paid to Resht and thence to Kasian, where a German steamer was seen

unloading a cargo of sugar, which had come from the Baltic under its own steam by canal, lakes, and the River Volga, some 2,400 miles, to that port on the Caspian Sea. After visiting Enzeli a return was made to Kasvin and thence to Baghdad, where, obviously to her great relief, Mrs. Ness found herself once more in the efficient and competent hands of the Nairn Transport Company for her journey back to the Mediterranean. In the two to three months which had elapsed many great improvements had been made. A regular service had been established and a well-defined track across the desert was apparent. In addition a fleet of 31 h.p. Cadillac cars were employed, and carrying the homeward Christmas mails, the journey from Baghdad to Damascus, 532 miles, was accomplished in forty-five hours.

Mr. F. D. HARFORD reminded the audience of an article published in 1918,* in which he had said: "Perhaps before long we may see mechanically propelled vehicles crossing the deserts of Syria and Arabia. From the description of the soil and the nature of the desert between the Euphrates and Damascus, as given by Lieutenant Ormsby in 1831, and by other travellers since then, it is probably quite possible to cross this desert by automobile and also to visit comparatively easily and safely many hitherto unexplored parts of Arabia and Syria." A bold prophecy to make in 1918.

The CHAIRMAN (SIR CHARLES YATE) laid stress on Mrs. Ness's description of the road from Teheran to Resht and of the German ship she had seen on the Caspian. "Mrs. Ness described how a German ship had come from the Baltic right down through the Russian internal canals, down the Volga into the Caspian Sea, and so to Resht. Now that shows us how continental countries take advantage of their waterways, and what care they take of them. As far as I know, wherever I have been on the Continent I have seen canals everywhere, almost every river canalized, and the greatest use made of their waterways. We in this country have allowed a great many of our canals to fall out of use; some were acquired for this very purpose by the railways. We have paid no attention to waterways, although water carriage is the cheapest form of transport you can get in the world; and we make very little use of what canals we have. I only hope the time will come when we shall pay more attention to our canal system, and get a cheaper form of carriage than the railways now give us. Here was an instance. A German ship had come all the way from the Baltic, right through Russia to the Volga, down the Volga and the whole length of the Caspian Sea, to land its goods and stores, whatever they were, in Persia. It is a thing we ought to take to heart, the way that water carriage is taken advantage of on the Continent, and how we neglect it ourselves."

He then asked Mrs. Ness to accept a most hearty vote of thanks for her delightful lecture.

* See *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1918.

AN ARMY IN THE MAKING

LITTLE is known of the 'Iraq Army in England, and it is proposed to give a short description of this force, beginning with a few words on its origin.

During the British occupation of 'Iraq the only military force recruited locally was the "Arab and Kurdish Levy Force," which still exists as a British local force, under the name of the "'Iraq Levies." In November, 1920, an 'Iraq Government was substituted for the British Civil Administration, and one of the Ministries of this Government was that of "Defence." Ja'far Pasha al 'Askari, C.M.G., late Commander-in-Chief of the Hijaz Army, having arrived in 'Iraq in October, 1920, was appointed Minister of Defence in the first 'Iraq Cabinet. No further development took place till January, 1921, when a skeleton Headquarters Staff of ten 'Iraqi officers was formed, their numbers being increased to twenty-four by April, 1921. Many of these officers had fought on the side of the Allies during the Great War in the Sharifian forces.

In February, 1921, Nuri Pasha al Sa'id, C.M.G., D.S.O., arrived from Syria, and was appointed C.G.S., and in March 111 'Iraqi ex-officers of the Hijaz Army arrived in 'Iraq, and became available for service in the 'Iraq Army. In April Colonel P. C. Joyce, C.B.E., D.S.O., The Connaught Rangers, was appointed Military Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

The result of the Middle Eastern Conference at Cairo had then to be awaited, and it was not till the end of June, 1921, that the first recruit for the 'Iraq Army was enlisted.

The age of this army, therefore, is still under four years. It was decided that the 'Iraq Army should be organized, trained, dressed, and equipped on British Army lines, and, with the exception of their head-dress, therefore, an 'Iraq Army unit is modelled on a British Army unit. Its clothing and equipment is purchased in England through the Crown Agents. Service in the army is voluntary, and is for a period of two years. On completion of this period, a soldier may re-engage for a second period, and over 50 per cent. of the rank-and-file re-engage. The ration given is a generous one, and service is now most popular. There is no difficulty in keeping up to the strength budgeted for—on the contrary, it is now necessary from time to time to restrict the number of recruits that may be accepted at the various recruiting centres.

In July, 1921, the 'Iraq Military College was instituted under British instructors. It was designed to provide a training establishment for 'Iraqi ex-officers of the Turkish Army who had naturally no knowledge of British methods of training; 156 officers joined the 'Iraq Military

College in July, 1921, and 105 more towards the end of 1921 and beginning of 1922. The Minister for Defence, C.G.S., and all the officers of the Headquarters Staff joined the College, and went through a course themselves. The subjects then taught were—

Infantry Drill.

Cavalry Drill and Horse and Stable Management.

Musketry.

Military Administration and Regimental Interior Economy.

Sanitation and Hygiene.

Elementary Military Law.

In January, 1923, the 'Iraq Military College was changed into the 'Iraq Army Training Centre, and now consists of—

(a) The Cavalry School.

(b) The Training Centre proper, consisting of—

Senior Officers' Courses.

Junior Commanders' Courses.

Musketry and Bayonet Fighting Courses.

Lewis Gun Courses.

Vickers Gun Courses.

Hotchkiss Gun Courses.

Signalling Courses.

Rifle and Hand Grenade Courses.

(N.B.—Three hundred and sixteen officers passed courses at the 'Iraq Army Training Centre, May, 1923 to December, 1924.)

(c) The 'Iraq Military College for Cadets, which was opened in June, 1924, for sixty students, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two, who do a three years' course to qualify for commissions as second lieutenants. Amongst the first batch of cadets are many sons of tribal shaikhs.

In addition to this college, one 'Iraqi cadet is accepted at Sandhurst every term, and serving officers are sent yearly to Aldershot for a course of one year's attachment to British units, and officers are sent to the long-course at the Equitation School, Saugor, India. It will thus be seen that the 'Iraq Army makes every effort to turn out well-trained new officers and to keep their present ones up to date.

The important question of the training of N.C.O.s is not overlooked. Classes for N.C.O.s were started at the old 'Iraq Military College in 1921; 455 N.C.O.s passed courses at the present 'Iraq Army Training Centre during 1923-24. A very large proportion of these N.C.O.s re-engage, and are making the army their career.

One of the first tasks with which the Ministry of Defence found themselves confronted was the necessity of forming an Arabic military vocabulary. Hitherto all military terms, textbooks, words of command, etc., had been in Turkish, and the necessity of translating these into Arabic involved the selection, adaptation, and classification for military purposes of words which had before carried no special military significance. A considerable number of British military textbooks have by

now been translated, and a special translation department is always fully employed in translating new books, and keeping the ones translated up to date, and the 'Iraq Army is trained and drilled wholly in its own language.

There is an idea that the bulk of the 'Iraq Army is recruited from townsmen ; but, in fact, about 70 per cent. of the Arabs in the army are of tribal stock. In addition, there are large numbers of 'Iraqi Kurds and 'Iraqi Turcomans in the ranks and amongst the officers.

The 'Iraq Army now consists of four regiments of cavalry, four batteries of artillery, and six battalions of infantry with transport, medical, veterinary, ordnance, and pay services, and has a strength of about 8,000 of all ranks.

The system of Military Law used is based on the Civil Code of 'Iraq for civil offences and on British Military Law for military offences, and the rules of procedure followed are based on those of the British Army. From soon after its inception parts of the 'Iraq Army have been used for minor operations in aid of the civil power against recalcitrant tribes, and in 1924 it undertook for the first time active operations in the Sulaimaniyah district, entailing considerable fighting and some casualties ; they acquitted themselves satisfactorily, and the 'Iraq Army is taking its full share in the guarding of the southern, northern, and eastern frontier of 'Iraq.

There is a British Military Adviser and British Staff Officers at Army Headquarters, and British officer instructors in every station where there are any considerable number of 'Iraq troops, and, in addition, British officers direct the instruction at the 'Iraq Army Training Centre. These officers have always worked in the closest co-operation and on the most friendly terms with 'Iraqi personnel, and excellent liaison exists between the 'Iraq Army and the R.A.F. and British Military Forces in 'Iraq.

Sport is encouraged in the 'Iraq Army. All mounted officers play polo, and the 'Iraq cavalry team won the Bonham-Carter handicap polo tournament in 1924. Several officers have won hurdle races at the Baghdad Race Meetings, and large numbers turn out for pig-sticking meets. The 'Iraq Military College and Infantry units play association football and hockey, and it must be remembered that these games were foreign to 'Iraq till a few years ago.

Considering the short life of this army, and the constant financial stringency in the 'Iraq, the fact that this regular army has been built up from nothing to a force of all arms, with the usual ancillary services of 8,000 strong, in a space of three-and-a-half years, is, I think, a matter for satisfaction.

The 'Iraq Army does not cost the British taxpayer one penny, all its expenses being borne by the 'Iraq budget. The spirit of both officers and men is excellent, and there is every reason to hope that the young 'Iraq Army has a favourable future before it.

REVIEWS

TIBET PAST AND PRESENT. By Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. 24s. net.

Many classifications of travel books have from time to time been proposed, but one which divides them into two classes—(1) those whose main object is to instruct, and (2) those whose main object is to inspire—is as good as any. Once in a generation a book does both, and does both well, and we get a masterpiece like “Arabia Deserta”; but in an ordinary way there are just good and bad books in either class.

The book before us belongs to class 1, and ranks high in that class. The instruction imparted is much of it new, and most of it interesting; and if the author's style strikes the reader as somewhat egotistical, the fault is venial in a distinguished public servant, who, while serving, cannot, and in the nature of the case, must not, be acclaimed by the general public.

As Sir Charles Bell rightly says in his introductory chapter, “Tibet has ever fascinated the imagination of mankind.” Probably it ever will, though the first glamour—“the romance of ignorance”—has been stripped from the country these twenty years, not a little owing to the endeavours of our author.

No European has ever been so intimate with a ruler of Tibet as has Sir Charles Bell with the thirteenth Dalai Lama; and it was a curious fate which ordained that the Lama with whom this intimacy grew up should be, not only the greatest ruler Tibet has ever had, but a man whose attainments and character would have marked him out as an unusual person in any age and in any country. Not the least delightful part of the book is the author's sympathetic account of this remarkable figure—the contrast between his childlike faith and his iron will, his political shrewdness and his religious simplicity.

The chapters dealing with the events which led from the Young-husband Mission to the Chinese occupation of Lhasa, and from the Chinese Revolution to the return of the Dalai Lama to his capital, are the most arresting in the book. Few people realized at the time how close China came to accomplishing her designs, nor how far-reaching and pregnant with future trouble those ambitious designs really were. All this is admirably described, and we can only admire the author's vision and grasp of the situation. Mr. Teichman, a few years ago, gave us

an account of these events from the Chinese point of view; Sir Charles Bell naturally stresses the Tibetan point of view, and his arguments seem to us irresistible.

Few topics could be more absorbing than the history of British foreign policy which the author's story, perhaps unconsciously, reveals. At first we are almost dumbfounded by the apparent indecision and vacillation of the British Government in its dealings with Tibet; indeed, the author admits that only the Chinese Revolution of 1911 saved us from humiliation. But looking more deeply into the matter, we cannot avoid believing that the British Government saw still further ahead, and was ready even to sacrifice the friendship of Tibet—the lesser need—for the greater need, namely, the winning of the World War, which it foresaw. In other words, the friendship of Great Britain and Russia must not be imperilled for the sake of Tibet.

That we did retain the friendship of Russia during those critical years, and afterwards regain that of Tibet, we may thank the angel Gabriel and our own lucky star, which sends us men of the calibre of Sir Charles Bell. But having once made up her mind which side to take in the quarrel, Great Britain must never again back out and leave Tibet in the lurch. We believe she never will. If Britain can promote a friendly solution of the Sino-Tibetan trouble, so much the better; but if not, there can be no turning back now.

In a few matters we find fault with the author. He rightly complains that the Tibetan names on our maps are often woefully incorrect; but he is himself an offender in this respect, especially with Chinese names. Batang is not usually spelt Ba-tang—though he allows us a free choice by spelling it both ways—nor Litang, Li-tang. There is even less excuse for hyphenating Tsaidam; Koko Nor *Lake* is redundant; Irawadi, for the great Burmese river, is archaic; and surely the province south of the Tsangpo bend is Pemako, not Pemakochen—though there is a monastery called Pemakochung by the river in the gorge itself. Again, in the historical review we are told that the Tibetans anticipated Darwin by claiming descent from a monkey—which is one of those things which really should not be said in the twentieth century, seventy years after the publication of the "Origin of Species." Had the Tibetans made that odd claim for the first time to Sir Charles Bell himself, they would still have anticipated Darwin, since he never made so reckless a statement. We were not aware that there were antelope in Tibet—probably the author means gazelle; on p. 154 there is some confusion as to what comprises "inner" and "outer" Tibet.

Apart from these minor faults, we have read the book with real pleasure and deep interest. Assuredly the author has deserved well of his country, serving her with tireless energy, faithfulness, and vision, even when, to his bitter regret, the home Government could not

officially endorse his real love for this strange and lovable people. The final triumph of his policy must be a peculiar satisfaction to him in his retirement.

If it is not a book for the general reader, it is something more—a standard work on one of the most critical periods in the history of Indian frontier politics. It is generously illustrated with good—some very good—photographs; the maps are clear and sufficient for their purpose; and the index functions adequately. There is also a complete set of appendices, giving the terms of the various Tibetan treaties, such as no student of the Tibetan situation can afford to be without.

F. K. W.

TO LHASA IN DISGUISE. By A. W. Montgomery McGovern, Ph.D. (Oxon).
London: Thorton Butterworth, Ltd.

Most people will remember the newspaper sensation which was created some three years ago by Dr. McGovern's "secret" journey to Lhasa.

In a series of articles subsequently contributed to the *Daily Telegraph*, our author described his journey; and there we supposed the matter would rest, so far as sensational journalism was concerned, and no harm done. But Dr. McGovern has now written a book which is little, if any, less sensational than the articles referred to; and though we have no desire to prejudice people against believing exactly what they like, yet, since the author, in his most aspiring flights of fancy, butchers the reputations of those who are unable to defend themselves, we feel it our duty to take up the cudgels on their behalf.

In a dedication he attempts to disarm criticism, and promises us a more technical account of his travels later. But it is already too late. We are beginning to suspect Dr. McGovern. He cannot so easily disavow gross inaccuracies and worse misrepresentation. No traveller capable of any useful contribution to geographical knowledge would seriously make such a silly statement as the following: ". . . Mr. George Knight, F.R.G.S., conceived the idea of organizing a research mission to Tibet, to carry out a thorough survey of the country and the people."

To come down to more important matters: The account given of the late Sikkim Maharaja's domestic affairs on p. 32 is entirely inaccurate; nor does the Personal Assistant referred to on p. 33 hold his post at the pleasure of the Political Officer. The "fanatical peasantry" of Tibet are new to us, and we cannot think that the members of the Tibet Mission would endorse the author's verdict that the Tibetans appear to be "arrant cowards." To anyone who knows the true inwardness of the events described on p. 263, the published account reads curiously. Here is the art of misrepresentation brought to perfection! Every word we believe to be literally true—or almost

every word—for we cannot bring ourselves to believe that this telegraph clerk gazed at our explorer for several *minutes* “in blank and speechless bewilderment”! and yet the *tout ensemble*, we suspect, is highly fictitious. The author would lead his readers to believe that the road up the Tista valley was not only quite unknown, but non-existent, which is not the case; and why he should add 1,000 feet to the height of a well-known pass is more than we can say. To speak of the “gross inaccuracy of existing maps” (p. 94) in the case of a country like Sikkim, which has long been known and accurately mapped by the Survey of India, arouses a suspicion that the author cannot read a map; while “Kamchendzonga” for our old friend Kinchinjunga, though doubtless correct, is not helpful.

Dr. McGovern is a little too insistent on the stainlessness of his honour to be convincing. No man, we suspect, who was sure of himself would give the matter of his parole quite so much thought; though we have no intention of going into the moral question involved.

The photographs are interesting. When were they taken, and by whom? That opposite p. 180, with Chinese in attendance on the Tashi Lama, must be at least ten years old, since there have been no Chinese in Central Tibet since 1912. That of the Dalai Lama, opposite p. 306, was presumably taken in India about the same time—obviously it was not taken in Lhasa. No acknowledgments are made, however.

If the author would confine himself to straightforward narrative, and not boast of his own cleverness at the expense of others (as on p. 79), nor insist so much on his own moral rectitude, we would have no quarrel with him. He would be the perfect exponent of the Brighter Travel book; we would forgive his lack of scientific knowledge, his childish love of exaggeration, even his artful misrepresentation. But we are too much prejudiced against this method of conducting a “scientific” expedition to derive much pleasure from his book, though we will not deny that the general reader may enjoy it.

Dr. McGovern displayed a certain dogged courage which we admire, and it seems to us a pity that he should have discounted this by playing to the gallery.

F. K. W.

TURKEY IN TRAVAIL. By Harold Armstrong. With eight illustrations and two maps. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 8s. 6d.

This book contains a record of the experiences of the author in Turkey from 1916 to 1923. These naturally fall into two periods—firstly, the period before the Armistice during which the author played the part of one of the defenders of Kut, and subsequently that of a captive in Anatolia; and, secondly, the period from the Armistice to the conclusion of peace with the Kemalists during which time the author saw Turkey firstly from the point of view of Assistant Military Attaché

in Constantinople, and later as a member of the Inter-Allied Sub-Commission for the control of Ottoman Gendarmerie set up under the treaty of Sèvres.

Mr. Armstrong's knowledge of the Turkish character and language and his habit of careful observation render the account of all his adventures most interesting, and his estimate of the character of the different races formerly included in the Turkish Empire worthy of more than passing notice.

But what interested me especially was the author's account of the Allied occupation of the Constantinople area and of his experiences as a Turkish Gendarmerie officer, since, as far as I am aware, this is the first account of its kind to be published.

Mr. Armstrong's narrative of his exciting chases after Greek and Turkish brigands in the Skutari area makes thrilling reading. In dealing with the subject of brigandage he has not, however, attempted to hide the very real tragedy of the life of the common people in that and other districts. His description of the atmosphere of fear of murder, incendiarism, rape and bloodshed under which all the scattered minorities in Anatolia constantly lived was only too true, and marks to my mind one of the saddest chapters in the book.

The problem of internal security and the protection of minorities in Turkey is a vast problem which the Turk has in the past only tackled from one point of view, namely to get rid of the minorities and thereby save further trouble.

But, far from producing the desired result, it may fairly be argued that the methods of the "unspeakable Turk" had themselves largely caused the state of lawlessness which obtained in their dominions, for it was the traditional Turkish inhumane policy of deportation and terrorism, with consequent emigrations, that produced small and widely-scattered communities with a corresponding increase in the promiscuity of crime.

The fact that the British controlled Ottoman Gendarmerie during the Allied occupation engaged in all kinds of crime and brigandage shows how the situation can be aggravated if anything but the best material be employed.

As illustrative of the poor quality of the Turkish internal security forces one has only to point to the fact that before the war British residents living a few miles outside Constantinople used to resort to paying brigand bands a regular subsidy rather than trust to the efficiency of the Turkish gendarmerie to protect them. With the advent of the British control of gendarmerie, however, such a course was rendered incompatible with their loyalty to the British administration.

With regard to Mr. Armstrong's account of the Allied occupation of the Constantinople area throughout the whole account there are no

statements of fact, as distinct from opinion, with which I find myself in disagreement, with the following two exceptions :

Firstly, I do not think the author is quite fair to Mr. Lloyd George or the Greeks when he seems to suggest (p. 83) that the decision to allow the Greeks to occupy Anatolia was largely influenced, as far as Mr. Lloyd George was concerned, by (1) inaccurate maps showing a preponderance of Ottoman Greeks in and around Smyrna, and (2) inaccurate reports that Greeks were being massacred in the Smyrna area. I would point out that certain, though not all British observers in Turkey, whose duty it was to furnish the Government with information on Anatolian affairs believed both propositions to be true as the result of their independent observations. There were from time to time Greekophil and Turkophil officers on the British military and diplomatic staffs in Constantinople, both of whom would naturally tend to be biassed in the degree of reliability they personally would attach to reports of atrocities they sent forward to London. In the circumstances in view of the clash of information Mr. Lloyd George had no reasonable alternative but to draw his own conclusions.

With reference to the attitude of the European Greeks towards Hellenism, in describing which the author (p. 94) says, "they played at being the champions of their oppressed fellow-countrymen in Anatolia, but this was but a fancied rôle," I think that this, regarded as a general statement, did not fairly represent the attitude of the Greek people, although it may have represented the attitude of some of their leaders. Among the European Greeks both in Greece and Turkey I found enthusiasm for the cause of the Unredeemed Greeks, and this enthusiasm from time to time manifested itself in political demonstrations.

The second matter which I have to criticise is a small point in the author's account of the Greek offensive against Angora in 1921 (p. 208). The author is mistaken if he supposes that the Greeks on August 14 "pushed the Turks in front of them until they reached the Sakaria River," for the main body of the Nationalist Western Army, after the failure of the counter-attack against Eskishehr on July 21, withdrew to the east of the Sakaria; and it was not till several days after the commencement of the Greek advance on August 14 that the Greeks met the main body of the Turkish Western army occupying defensive positions south-west of Angora, so well prepared that the Greeks never succeeded in breaking through them. It was the superior Turkish strategy in withdrawing to the east of the Sakaria which was largely responsible for the Greek failure to reach Angora. For by doing so the Turkish leaders lessened their relative inferiority by—

(a) Making it difficult for the Greeks to bring up supplies on account of their extended communications in a difficult country while correspondingly increasing their own facilities for reinforcement and

supplies owing to proximity to their depots at Kastamuni, Angora, and Konia, and further east at Amassia, Yozgad, and Kaiserieh.

(b) Wearing out the Greek offensive spirit by prolonging the campaign.

(c) Choosing their line of resistance on the edge of a practically waterless desert across which the Greek army would be forced to advance to the attack.

Another factor which materially contributed to the Turkish success was the unity of command possessed by the Kemalists. This was achieved by the appointment of Mustapha Kemal on August 5 to the post of Commander-in-Chief which helped greatly to maintain the moral of the troops severely shaken by the retreat from Eskishehr. This step, besides establishing unity of command, greatly assisted the task of mobilising rapidly all the material and moral forces of the country, thanks to the powers practically of dictator conferred on the Commander-in-Chief. With the Greeks, on the other hand, there were two headquarters present on the field of battle—the H.Q. of the army in Asia Minor under General Papoulas, and a portion of G.H.Q. from Athens under the C.G.S. General Dousmanis. The latter interfered in the conduct of the battle, and both were liable to interference by King Constantine. The result was to place the Greeks at a great disadvantage compared with the Turks once a clear-cut programme had failed to win through and plans had in consequence to be modified.

In conclusion I have been much entertained by the author's description of the "pleasant life in Constantinople," especially in his account of the charms of the Russians which I most heartily endorse.

MAI-YAWON DUNIYA.

THE TRADITIONS OF ISLAM. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HADITH LITERATURE. By Alfred Guillaume, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924. 10s. 6d.

English writers on Islam have rightly devoted much attention to the study of the Qur'ān, and there are more translations of this book (which upwards of 230,000,000 of persons believe to be inspired) and more learned works devoted to the exposition of it, in English than in any other European language. But important as the study of the Qur'ān is for the understanding of Muhammadan thought, there is a danger, in Protestant countries at least, that the common comparison of the Qur'ān with the Bible may leave out of consideration the immense influence of the Traditions of the Prophet. For the Qur'ān and Islam are by no means synonymous, and it is in the Traditions of Muhammad that the student may find the key to many of the problems of Muslim dogma, jurisprudence, political theory, and the organization of daily life. In no English book has this particular section of Muslim theological literature received systematic treatment or been set forth

with the same fulness of detail as in Professor Guillaume's illuminating volume. He shows how the Traditions arose and how they were collected, and he explains the place they came to occupy in the general system of Muslim dogma, law, and political theory. He has also made an interesting and judicious selection of traditions illustrative of Muhammadan ethics and manners, the status of women, superstitious practices, etc., and in an appendix has given a translation of the whole chapter of the traditions on predestination from the collection of al-Bukhārī. A particularly interesting chapter in his book is devoted to the Traditions that may be traced to Christian sources, in which miracles corresponding to those recorded in the Gospels are attributed to Muhammad, and the sayings of Jesus are put in the mouth of the founder of Islam.

The greater part of the information contained in this book has not hitherto been made accessible in the English language, or has been hidden away in works known only to specialists. Professor Guillaume has, therefore, put all serious students of Islam under an obligation by the publication of this instructive and attractively written volume, which deserves an honoured place in the library of every Englishman who wishes to understand the religious outlook of devout Muhammadans.

T. W. A.

TRADE ROUTES AND COMMERCE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. By Mr. M. P. Charlesworth, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

This is a scholarly and important book by a Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge, on a really arresting subject which has hitherto hardly been adequately dealt with. There is no map, unfortunately, and the author only partially disarms criticism on this point by alluding to the expense. We hope that any future edition will include at least a map in black and white. The book is conveniently divided into chapters, each complete in itself, and those headed Syria, the Sea-route to India and Ceylon, Asia Minor, and the Overland Route to China and India, will specially appeal to members of the Central Asian Society. It is with the first two centuries of our era that the author is concerned.

The chapter on Syria describes the various trade-routes from Egypt and through Petra, Damascus, and Palmyra to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates Valley, to ancient cities like Gerra, Ctesiphon and Charax, to Parthia, Chinese Turkestan and China.

It is well shown how Asia Minor, so rich in agricultural and mineral resources, was served by her roads, rivers, and ports. "Ephesus was the starting-point for all going East, with its large harbour, and receiving as it did the goods of the Overland route, it was the largest and most prosperous mart in all Asia." One road passed along the south via the famous Cilician Gates (through which

the Baghdad Railway now runs) and across the mountains to the Euphrates and Zeugma.

The overland route to China and India is that which makes the greatest appeal to the imagination. We are told that the Romans encouraged trade by the Red Sea ports to India by sea, in order to diminish the trade through Bactria and Parthia. Two merchants, Isidore of Charax (once at the mouth of the Euphrates), and Maes Titianus of Macedonia, have described the stations between Zeugma on the Euphrates and Bactria on the routes by which silk and other commodities of great value in a small bulk were transported. Sir Aurel Stein's explorations in Chinese Turkestan have thrown further light on these silk routes to China, finding as he did still intact pieces of silk, and frescoes showing Greek and Roman influence in combination with Indian art.

From Ctesiphon by the modern Kermanshah route, by Ecbatana, the famous pass of the Caspian Gates, Merv, and Bactra (now Balkh) the route reached the station called the "Stone Tower," identified by Stein with Tashkurgan. "At this lonely spot," Mr. Charlesworth says, "three civilizations, those of China, India, and of the Hellenized Orient, met and gave in exchange their wares, and their painting and art." Another route branched off south from Merv to Kandahar, where Chinese merchants or agents were also to be met.

The extent of Roman penetration in the Far East is proved by the fact that the gold coins of Northern India are of the same weight as the Roman *aurei* of that period, showing that the Roman gold coinage was a standard, and accepted over a very wide area. Mr. Charlesworth adds that the word *denarius* persists long in Indian literature.

F. D. H.

THE INCONSTANCY OF MADAM CHUANG and other Stories from the Chinese. Translated by E. B. Howell. With twelve illustrations by a native artist. London: Werner Laurie. 10s. 6d. net.

No Chinese tales have been presented to Western readers so often as those of *Chin ku ch'i kuan*, the collection from which the six translated in this volume are taken. A complete rendering of the whole work with its forty stories has never been published in a European language, but parts of it have been translated and retranslated again and again. So long ago as 1735 the story which provides Mr. Howell with his title was done into French by d'Entrecolles, and many well-known writers have since taken their share—Thoms, Pavie, Davis, Abel-Rémusat, Julien, Schlegel, d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, and Douglas. But their versions either are scattered in periodicals now rare or are hardly accessible in books long out of print. So a fresh rendering is welcome, especially when it is the work of a scholar with just judgment and sound knowledge of the country.

Mr. Howell wisely refrains from giving literal translations of these stories in their entirety. Some passages he omits because they are unessential to the narrative or would require copious and involved notes to make them understood by Western readers. This problem of selection has to be tackled by every translator of a literature packed with historical and legendary allusions only intelligible to those trained in the old school of Chinese scholarship. Another way out of the difficulty is to shirk literal translation and give the substance in Western dress. It is an alternative offering fatally easy escape from textual difficulties and encouraging the sin of glossing. Mr. Howell has kept clear of these dangers. The tales, which he presents with such ability, provide not merely amusing reading but visions of Chinese thought and life of the past. One hopes that Mr. Howell will publish some more of the same kind.

It is a pity that a better artist was not found to do the illustrations. The author calls them "a trifle crude," and no one is likely to dissent from this opinion.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE BALUCHI LANGUAGE. By Major George Waters Gilbertson. Assisted by Ghano Khan, Haddiani. Published by the Author. 1923.

Major Gilbertson, assisted by Ghano Khan, has, with infinite labour, combined with an affection for the wild children of nature he so well understands, brought forth a work which will not only be of inestimable value to the young officer whose lot may be thrown amongst the Baluch, but also to the tribesmen themselves, because the one thing which they really appreciate above all others in those set in authority over them is that they shall be able to converse direct without the aid of an interpreter. The author has perhaps left his reader to conclude that Baluchistan is a province inhabited chiefly by the Baluch, whereas it is a country with a great diversity of languages as well as races. Among the former we have Pashtu, Brahui, Eastern and Western Baluchi, Jatki or Siraiki, Jadgali or Sindhi, Khetrani, a dialect of Western Panjabi, and Lasi. In Kalat the cultivators of H.H. the Khan, called Dehwars, speak a very bastard Persian, and the Loris (the smiths, and musicians), a gypsy language of their own called Mokaki. The language of correspondence is Persian.

In the Marri-Bugti country Eastern Baluchi occurs, and this is the particular brand of Baluchi on which the author has built up his useful book. It is doubtless the best form of Baluchi, and that used by the most noted tribes, but probably not by the largest number, for a Rind from Kachhi will, with some difficulty, understand a Rind from Mand on the Persian border, and a Lasi slave would be looked on as speaking almost a foreign tongue in Dera Ghazi Khan. Few languages have such a diversity of patois. Most people who have spent their lives

amongst the Baluch would probably say that Baluch means "nomad" or "wanderer," and that though in the seventh century they were in strength in Persian Baluchistan and moving eastwards, they originally came from Aleppo. In the heart of Arabia Mr. Philby found an Arab tribe called "Marri," noted for exceptional primitiveness even amongst its uncivilized neighbours. Throughout Persian Baluchistan and Mekran are found tribes of the same name and early history as in British Baluchistan and Kalat. But the main factor which gives almost all pandits a chance of proving their own theories about the Baluch, is that each tribe is either continually being built up by absorbing individuals or whole sections, or disappearing by being absorbed; the principle of "Hamsaya" is the mainstay of the Baluch organization, and enables it to gather various elements even of alien origin, and who, having proved themselves, are admitted to the tribe and given wives.

The late Nawab Sir Bairam Khan was, like many of his confrères amongst the Baluch chiefs, much troubled as to what would be the future of his people under the new dispensation of so-called national rule in the Panjab, and apparently, not without reason, he often suggested a Pan-Baluch confederation to be under a separate administration or to be attached to an enlarged frontier province combining all the frontier tribes.

The arrangement of the grammar is in certain respects unique, and the author has, by marginal dark lines, drawn distinct attention to the portions which he looks on as most important, and the literal translation in brackets in each sentence of every lesson is most helpful in explaining the construction.

The conversational sentences and passages with translations that have been set at higher standard examinations, ought to prove of the greatest service to students and candidates. Major Gilbertson has dedicated this most useful book to "My old and humorous pal the Baluch"; it will surely be the cause of cementing many friendships between the Baluch and other sympathetic officers. Wáh Mavárkí,
Thi hair en.

ALIF SHABNAM.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL: A SURVEY OF THE NEAR EAST PROBLEM. By Edward Hale Bierstadt. London: Hutchinson and Co. 1924. 15s.

To attempt "A Survey of the Near East Problem" in 200 pages, even when supported by 140 pages of documentary appendices, is an ambitious task, especially when the author claims that his judgment is impartial. Unfortunately Mr. Bierstadt is by no means unbiassed, his sympathies being very much in favour of the Christian minorities of Turkey, and he has no scruples about expressing his detestation of the Turks. In fairness to him one must admit that few who have had

recent experience of relief work in the Near East can retain any Turkish sympathies.

The author's feelings, however, lead him into several unfortunate misstatements and omissions which mar the book. For instance, on p. 123 he states that during the Turco-Greek operations in 1921 "French officers served under the Turkish flag," and can quote no better authority than an Athens newspaper to substantiate this grave accusation. In a chapter entitled "The Truth about Smyrna" the statements of many eye-witnesses are quoted, and one cannot read without emotion the narrative of the horrors which were enacted. No doubt the bulk of the evidence points to the Turks as probably responsible for originating the fire, and certainly so for the appalling outrages which accompanied it; but the exact origin of the fire is a matter on which His Majesty's judges have been unable to give a definite ruling, and Mr. Bierstadt only produces witnesses who support his own convictions, while ignoring all provocative action on the part of Armenians or Greeks.

The author is on surer ground when he recounts the history of American missionary and philanthropic effort in the Near East. He estimates that 50 million dollars have been subscribed for missionary work alone during the past ninety years, while the figures for relief work are still more striking: as he says: "The American public has spent during the last ten years more than 86 million dollars specifically for relief work in the Near East." He goes on to say: "This relief work has been necessitated, not by an 'act of God,' but solely because of the Turkish policy of torture and extermination." Mr. Bierstadt frankly admits the moral obligation incurred by the United States to protect and succour the Christian minorities, who have been encouraged to develop their national and religious instincts by American educational and missionary effort. "American responsibility for the civilization which she herself has created," he says, "is patent and manifest. It was American money, and American men and women who through years of sacrifice helped to bring that civilization into being." This at once brings him into conflict with the State Department in Washington and Admiral Bristol, the High Commissioner of the United States in Constantinople, whom he vigorously condemns for carrying out, at the dictation of the big oil and tobacco interests, a selfish commercial policy to which all higher motives are ruthlessly sacrificed. "The American High Commissioner, his associates, and the officers under him are apt to favour Turkey because the foreign policy of the Department of State favours Turkey, and the Department of State favours Turkey because it is to the advantage of American Commercial interests to do so." . . . "The American people had established a flourishing western civilization in Asia Minor; that civilization has been drowned in oil." . . . "The action of the United States Government during and after the

disaster of Smyrna is unique in the history of the nation. It violated every standard and tradition of national honour and decency."

Mr. Bierstadt roundly criticizes the American representatives at the Lausanne Conference, and recalls many interesting facts to support his indictment. In particular he condemns Admiral Bristol for trying to hush up the evidence of Dr. Ward of the American Foreign Missions Board, who had witnessed the brutal treatment of thousands of deported Greeks and Armenians. "He requested Dr. Ward not to make public what he had seen, because it would cause animosity toward the Turks and might undo the work that he, Admiral Bristol, was trying to accomplish—namely, the establishment of friendly trade relations between the United States and Turkey."

Whether "the great betrayal" of the Christian minorities of Turkey could have been equitably avoided by the political measures advocated by Mr. Bierstadt, such as the Treaty of Sèvres and the Wilsonian project for Armenia, is of course an extremely controversial matter; his book is a piece of special pleading on the subject, but it exposes in a vigorous and illuminating way the danger of humanitarian principles being sacrificed on the altar of commercial interests.

LA PARURE DES CAVALIERS ET L'INSIGNE DES PREUX. A French translation, by J. Louis Mercier, of an ancient Arab treatise on the Horse. Librairie Orientaliste. Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1924.

Since the birth of the world no animal has been held in greater esteem than the horse, and of its various races the Arab has been preferred. Its glories have been sung in verse by the poet Antar, who has extolled it above the rest of its kind. He writes: "Did not He exist whose mighty power the very planets dread, I would have made the back of my horse the cupola of the universe."

It is with these words that the French Consul in Morocco, Louis Mercier, introduces to us his translation, "La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux," of the Arabic text of the book of the horse by 'Aly ben 'Abderrahman ben Hoðeil el Andalusy. The Arabic text, which appeared in 1922, has now been followed by an accurate French translation, together with six learned appendices, a bibliography, and a glossary of Arabic hippology. In a preliminary preface M. Mercier states that the author, Ibn Hoðeil, wrote his work by order of Sultan Mohammed, King of Granada, about 1362, to whose Court he was attached, and where he devoted himself to the study of literature. Beyond these facts little seems to be known of him, and no mention of his name is found in Brockelmann's bibliography. According to M. Mercier, the work here translated seems to have been a revision of a longer and more complete work entitled "L'Ornement des âmes," etc.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, the first fourteen of which

treat of the creation and diffusion of the horse, its mysterious virtues and qualities, its training and trappings, and all that pertains to its care, while the last six deal more particularly with the handling of the sword and lance, and the general equipment of the rider, his cuirass and his arms, and their use in battle. Five of the appendices contain the author's opinion on the text, while a sixth gives a translation of an equestrian manœuvre in 1818 by James Ridley, who was wrecked on the African coast in 1815. In the former he discusses the training and work in the riding-school, the origin of the Arab horse and its various offshoots, the breeding and age of the horse, its care and feeding, and a general view of horse training by the Arabs in all ages.

The book is a curiosity of the first order, and should be consulted by everyone interested in the Eastern horse and the Arabic language.

Some of the lore and legend found in the present work is current in other Muslim countries (*vide* the Persian work "Faras-nāma-yi Hāshimī," published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Urdu work "Faras-nāma-Rangīn," published by Quaritch). Hindu legends, too, like Muslim legends, relate that the horse was once a winged animal, and every Hindu *sais* knows that a horse's castors or "wings" mark the spot where, under the orders of Indra, Sālihotra cut off the wings of the horse. It is also interesting to learn from our author that the term *tabargūn* applied by Afghan and Indian horse-dealers to a certain faulty conformation of the quarters has apparently an Arabic origin. In Steingass's Persian Dictionary the word is wrongly given as "hollow-backed" as applied to a horse.

Some of the illustrations in the translation are said to be reproduced from Arab miniatures. Though the headings and descriptions of these are in Arabic, the smooth faces of the riders, their dress, and the pattern of their crossbows point to a Turkish origin.

Oriental dictionaries generally are hopelessly inaccurate regarding the names of birds and plants. A European, searching for accuracy, is dismayed on looking up a word to find that it means "a swan, a heron, an antelope, a kangaroo, or an animal to ride on." If asked the name of some small bird, an ordinary Arab will unhesitatingly reply, "A sparrow." If it is pointed out that the bird is yellow, he will add contemptuously, "Then it is a yellow sparrow." One is, therefore, not surprised to learn that amongst Port Said fishermen the Arabic for "shrimps" is "fleas." It is consequently no reflection on the scholarship of the French translator to suggest that some of the names of his birds have been incorrectly translated. *Fark* (*farkh*), for instance, means "a chicken, a nestling, an eyess," and not "a pigeon"; *ṣaqr* (*ṣaqr*), though loosely applied to any hawk, is the name of *F. Saker*, the cherrug of Anglo-Indians; *qatīl* (*qattū*) is not a partridge but a species of sand-grouse, associated in Arabic literature with water. But small in-

accuracies like these do not detract from the interest and value of the translation or the learning of the translator.

My friend Sir William Ridgeway, with whom the translator appears to agree, has kindly sent me the following note :

"1. Darwin thought that the Arabs had horses time out of mind, and that the bay-coloured, which the Arabs declared to be the 'Kings of Horses,' were the result of careful selective breeding.

"2. But in the Old Testament there is not the slightest evidence of the Arabs of the Peninsula ever having a horse in early times, or before Christ—*e.g.*, Abraham has not any horses, the Queen of Sheba brought no horses to Solomon, etc. Strabo lays down, on the authority of the great geographer Eratosthenes of Alexandria, and of the traveller Agatharchides, that the Arabs had no horses, their part being taken by camels and asses. Strabo was writing at Alexandria about the time of Christ.

"3. On the other hand, there is an immense body of evidence to show that in North Africa there were horses with the characteristics of the Arab horse of later times, from at least 1500 B.C. In the Libyan horse (Ridgeway, p. 469) and its derivatives, the Arab, the Andalusian, and the English thoroughbred, the tail is different in structure, in its covering, and in the manner in which it is carried (Figs. 58, 68, 73, 75), from that of Prejvalsky's horse and the Mongolian (Figs. 18 and 53). Yet this is no more an outcome of artificial breeding since the Christian era than is the bay colour and the star on the forehead, for we have found the same feature in the horses driven by Seti I. (p. 217), in those Cypriote chariots on vases dating from 1000 B.C. (p. 288), and in those ridden by Libyans (p. 243) portrayed on the pottery found at Daphnæ, and dating from 600 B.C. Seti I. (Fig. 68) has horses coloured brown and carrying their tails like pure-bred Arabians of to-day. This shows that horses of a brown or bay colour, with the characteristic high set on tail, were in Egypt 1,500 years before the Arabs possessed a horse (p. 229). On the coins of Carthage (Fig. 74, p. 255) from 410 to 310 B.C., there is a characteristic horse like the so-called 'Arab.' But in addition to the coins shown there (p. 255), there is a series of silver coins held by some authorities to have been issued by Massinissa or his son Micipsa, kings of Numidia, famous for their great herds of the horses (210 to 146 B.C.); or by others by Hamilcar, father of Hannibal, by his successor Hasdrubal, and by Hannibal himself, and struck in Southern Spain, after Hamilcar had founded Nova Cathago (modern Carthagena) and developed the great silver-mines there (240 to 218 B.C.). These show a beautiful, fine-bred horse, evidently the Numidian horses on which the famous cavalry of Hannibal were mounted, and described by Livy as *paulluli et graciles*. These coins as well as those of Carthage demonstrate that there was an indigenous breed of horses in Libya centuries before the Arabs ever possessed any sort of horse.

Now, as Seti I. of Egypt has such horses under chariot, and as the Egyptian XVII. and XVIII. Dynasties came from Ammon into Egypt, and there were Libyans always on the west side of Egypt pressing in from the earliest times down to the historical period, the Libyan horse (*Equus Caballus Libycus Ridgewayi*) was already fully developed with the typical features of what are now termed Arab horses, and these horses could only have been obtained from Libya.

“That the best horses were imported from Egypt into Syria by 900 B.C. is shown by the fact that Solomon did a great trade in horse-flesh, for he imported horses from Egypt for himself, and for the kings of the Hittites, and for all the kings of Syria (1 Kings x. 26-28). Each horse cost 150 shekels (‘and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means’).

“There can be no doubt that these Egyptian horses were bred by the Libyans, for there were no other regions in Africa from which they could be obtained, whilst the similarity of the horses of Seti I. to those of Libya in later times makes Libya clearly the source.

“These Libyan horses seem to be descended from the fossil horse known as *E. Stenonis*, which is found in Southern Europe—*e.g.*, valley of Arno, caves of Sicily, and in North Africa (p. 470).

“These scraps, I hope, may be of some use to you for your review.”
—W. R.

D. C. PHILLOTT, LIEUT.-COLONEL.

OBITUARIES.

THE MARQUESS CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.

ALL members of the Central Asian Society will have heard with profound regret of the death of our late President, Lord Curzon of Kedleston. His loss appears to many of us almost irreparable, for it will be difficult to find anyone to take his place who will have the same intimate personal knowledge and sympathy with the objects of this Society.

His connection with it dates from 1907, when he was elected a member. He at once became a Vice-President, and in 1918 was elected its first Honorary President, which post he held until his death. From the very first he took a deep and helpful interest in the Society, its objects, its growth, and its repute, and added greatly to its prestige and influence, not only by the weight of his name but by his interest in its development and his close attention to its affairs. We are all aware of his personal and intimate knowledge of Central Asian history, topography, and politics, and of his unsurpassed authority on most Central Asian topics. We of this Society are especially indebted to him for several lucid and illuminating addresses on Central Asia at our Annual Dinners, and it may be assumed that amongst all his multifarious political, social, and literary activities there were few in which he took a more keen interest than those presented by Asiatic problems. The educated world of those interested in Asia is especially indebted to him for his book on Persia, which has rightly taken its place amongst the classics of our literature, and which, it may safely be predicted, will for many years to come survive as *the* standard work on that subject.

His less-known books on Central Asia and the Far East are also of abiding value to all who are interested in those particular regions. They are not only agreeable and vivacious accounts of his travels, but remarkable also for the accuracy and acumen with which he singles out and describes the essential features of the countries, peoples, and scenes therein depicted; even if those works are in some respects already out of date they are never stale, and never cease to be instructive as well as most interesting. There is one journey in particular, not related in those books, to which reference may here be made: it is the one to Kabul at the end of 1894, and which was indeed a very notable incident in his life, for Mr. Curzon was then only a rising politician, little known in the Asiatic world, while the Amir of

Afghanistan was a formidable personality who at that time resented all proposals for close intercourse with India. Nevertheless, by his astute diplomacy and winning tact the young politician gained his object and was invited by the Afghan lion to visit him in his den. That visit probably had a far-reaching effect, to our advantage, on the trend of Afghan policy in later years. It certainly made personal relations between the Viceroy and Amir much easier.

Lord Curzon's official life is not the special concern of this Society, but the writer of this brief notice cannot refrain from commenting on one aspect of his personality which has at times been sadly misrepresented. Like all great and masterful men Lord Curzon has not escaped carping and ill-informed criticism, with the result that many people suppose that he was an exacting and intolerant superior. "Exacting" he may have been, but no one ever exacted more from himself, and in so doing acquired a better right to exact the utmost from his staff. As regards the fable of arrogant intolerance, it can be truly and justly affirmed that those who had his confidence were entirely devoted to their chief, for they were fully aware how human and considerate he was, how open to conviction, and how patient in listening to views opposed to his own, *provided* they were reasonable and based on facts, not mere expressions of personal opinion. The popular legend of the haughty and unapproachable autocrat is a myth. On the contrary, socially no one could be more agreeable and interesting, while officially no one could be more impressive and inspiring.

GENERAL LORD RAWLINSON, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,
G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., A.D.C.

Few probably realize the magnitude of the task that confronted Lord Rawlinson when he became Commander-in-Chief in India in November, 1920. Though the rest of the Empire was at peace, India was to all intents and purposes still at war; the reorganization and re-equipping of her army were urgent and essential as the result of the lessons of the war; officers and men required rest and some certainty as to their future; the troubles on the Frontier were still simmering; more insistent almost than all these was the demand for immediate retrenchment.

Lord Rawlinson's first task was to ensure that the measures initiated by his predecessor, Sir Charles Monro, were accepted and adopted. These included the introduction of a more decentralized system of command and administration, the complete reorganization of the fighting services, and the re-equipment of the army with modern weapons. The difficult and urgent problem of Waziristan also demanded his close attention to prevent a reversal of the decision

arrived at by the Government of India in February, 1920, to adopt a more forward policy.

He realized from the start the vital importance of these measures to India and the Indian Army, and, in the face of the acute financial stringency, and of persistent opposition in some quarters to the new Waziristan policy, he threw his weight whole-heartedly in support of them with the same energy and enthusiasm which he had shown in command of the Fourth Army in France. He maintained this attitude during subsequent years in the face of much controversy, and had the satisfaction of seeing the army in India reorganized and re-equipped to its great advantage, and distinct signs of the justification of the policy adopted in Waziristan. Of the measures which it fell to Lord Rawlinson to initiate, the most important were the Indianization of the Indian Army, which was a corollary to the Reform Scheme, the creation of the department of the Master-General of Supply, and Retrenchment.

By founding the Dehra Doon College, Lord Rawlinson opened to Indian boys a fair field to prepare themselves to be officers of an Indian Dominion Army. By ear-marking eight units of the Indian Army for gradual Indianization, he gave to Indians holding the King's Commission the opportunity of proving that they were capable of taking the place of British officers in command of troops, and to Indian leaders the opportunity of finding the necessary number of Indian gentlemen to officer these units as a preliminary to further Indianization.

It is probable, however, that it is in the sphere of retrenchment that Lord Rawlinson will be best remembered by his colleagues outside the army, and Lord Inchcape was one of the first to pay tribute to the reasonableness of his demands and to his willingness to co-operate in reducing expenditure.

In his dual rôle as Military Member of Council, Lord Rawlinson frequently found himself involved in political questions in no way connected with the army. In this respect his knowledge of world affairs, his breadth of vision and great experience gained for him the love and respect of all with whom he came in contact.

Notwithstanding his numerous activities, both in the sphere of politics and of administration, Lord Rawlinson never forgot that first and foremost he was a soldier; and it is no exaggeration to say that, during his time as Commander-in-Chief, thanks to his example and guidance, the standard of training and efficiency of the army in India has reached a standard never previously attained. He took over an army suffering severely from the aftermath of war, in a low state of efficiency both as regards equipment and training; sceptical as to the future, and consequently querulous and unhappy. He applied his remedies with the confidence bred of wide military experience and sound judgment. His vitality and indomitable will enabled him to follow the course he had planned without hesitation, but without

precipitancy. His human sympathy and strong personality inspired others to follow. He has left a legacy to India and her army, the value of which will be appreciated more and more as the years go by.

MISS ADA CHRISTIE

MISS CHRISTIE, who passed away in November, would have been better known if her modesty had not prevented her from writing or even talking—save to a few intimates—of her travels. These were accomplished by sheer character, pluck, and patience; she had neither youth, robust health, or means to pay for more than bare necessities, and her following was limited to a personal servant to cook and interpret—she had only a smattering of Persian and Turkish—a man to look after the animals, and where obligatory, a Turkish *zaptieh*.

Twenty years ago, after spending two winters in Jerusalem and visiting Petra, then rarely seen, she started eastward and travelled by Palmyra (Tadmor), Mosul (visiting Nineveh), and reached Baghdad; saw Babylon, though warned of the danger, and then passed into Persia, visiting the Bakhtiari Mountains, where the last white woman seen had been Mrs. Bishop; on to Teheran, and by the telegraph posts to Bandar Abbas and India. Two years were spent in better-known parts—India, Ceylon, Shan States, Bangkok to see Angkor, China and Japan; then she returned by Siberia and Crimea to Athens, visited Thessaly, various Greek islands, and Crete, and settled in Smyrna, and in spite of political unrest, travelled in Asia Minor. In the spring of 1910 she left for Dineir, Konia, the Cilician Gates, saw Adana then still in ruins, and visited the ruins on the coast, the remains of many civilizations. Then Sis, Anavarsa, Hadgin, and that wonderful maiden fort, Zeitun. Through Shahr (Comana) to Kaiserieh to study the strange troglodyte houses and churches. Sivas followed, and the cañons of Divrik and Egin. She circled Lake Van, and by Urmia passed into the Caucasus. Involved in endless difficulties owing to a cholera epidemic, she at last reached Tokat and the beautiful Amasia, and on her way back to Smyrna saw both the Hittite and Phrygian sculptures. The following spring she saw Carchemish, Urfah, and Diabekr, and that autumn left for England, where she continued to read and study those ethnographical and archæological subjects that had always interested her.

APPENDIX

GRASS: A MOTION PICTURE DEALING WITH A PERSIAN MIGRATORY TRIBE.

A FILM of this name dealing with the annual migration of the Bakhtiari has been recently produced in New York, and the following account (taken from the *New York Times* of March 31, 1925), will have a special interest for many who know the tribe. The film is described as "a remarkable series of scenes dealing with migratory tribes who go through the same nerve-wrecking, exhausting performance twice a year in order to feed themselves and their cattle."

"The most stirring stretch is where these folks, who belong to a tribe known as the Bakhtiari, thousands strong, cross a river so swift that it would shame the Tay in Scotland. The men and women, boys and girls, all doing their bit, prepare for the fording of the water by blowing up goat skins, which are then used as floats under the primitive types of rafts. Men steer their cattle by plunging along on the blown-up skins, apparently taking the task as something to which they were born. There are scenes of the rafts and thousands of head of animals being swept along in the torrent, some of the young animals being packed without any idea of comfort on the floats. When they leave the shore they are caught in the current and are hastened to the opposite bank of the river, where they have to be agile in gaining a foothold so as not to be dragged further along in the swirling waters.

"Once safe on the other side, after they have gathered together their cattle, their journey seems merely to have been started, for the men and women and the youngsters are then faced with an appalling climb over mountainous rocks that strikes one as a task no less dangerous than fording the river. And once they have dragged themselves, some on their bare feet, the women carrying their babies, their journey is by no means over, for they have to attack a mountain, 12,000 feet high, the trudge over which is agonizingly slow because of the deep snows. Here the men, from chief down, are seen taking off their shoes and going barefooted to dig a path for their caravan. It seems a terribly long ordeal, this climb over the mountain, with another ice-cold stream to cross. Determination is written on the brown countenances of the Bakhtiari, who never wince, never become excited, never frown, but go on with stoic faces, stolidly, knowing that they will conquer the difficulties as their forefathers have been doing for hundreds of years.

“ There are about a million of these migratory people in the chain of mountains from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, belonging to different tribes, who twice a year cross from one side of the mountains to the other in search of grass. It is said that there are 50,000 Bakhtiari on the journey depicted in this film.

“ After they have travelled many miles, crossed the turbulent river, fought their way over the lofty and treacherous rock ridges, beaten their way through icy streams and up Zardeh Kuh, they are seen standing gazing upon a land sweet with a grass of emerald green, and for a few months they know that their lives are safe, and their cattle can be fed, that they themselves can eat. But as soon as the grass is burned by the sun they have to pack up and go through the hazardous performance again.

“ In some of the stretches there are photographs showing humans and cattle zig-zagging up the rocks that seem to cover several miles. Mrs. Harrison, who has gained fame as a writer and war correspondent, is the only one of the American trio seen in the film, as the two men were always busy with the camera. The journey, aside from the travelling over wind-swept plains to the meeting-place of the Bakhtiari, took forty-eight days, and the late Robert Imbrie, the American Consul who was slain by fanatics at Teheran, attested to the fact that Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Shoedsack, and Mr. Cooper were the only white persons ever to have accomplished the exhausting ordeal.”

A note, written by a member of the Society, accompanying the extract says :

“ The last sentence is, however, scarcely correct : Sir Henry Layard, H. B. Lynch, Major Sawyer (1889), Jacques de Morgan, Mrs. Bishop (1890), and Captain (now Lieut.-Colonel) Lorimer (1903-1910)—to mention only two or three—have not only travelled with the Bakhtiari tribes in their annual migration (though not by the Zardeh Kuh route), but have recorded their experiences in print.

“ The enterprising trio of United States citizens responsible for the film originally intended to accompany the Jaf Kurds from the plains of Sulaimani northwards ; refused permission, for very good reasons, by the authorities in Iraq, they were induced by a chance meeting with an Englishman to try their luck with the Bakhtiari—and were, as the sequel proves, successful, thanks to the support of the Bakhtiari Khans, obtained through the British Vice-Consul at Ahwaz and the officials of the A.P.O.C., Ltd., on the spot.”

The U.S. illustrated paper *Asia*, for December, 1924, January and February, 1925, contains the full story of the adventures of the party, illustrated with some magnificent photographs, the best scenes that have ever been taken, or at all events published, of south-western Persia.

THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR.

In the fourth chapter, entitled "Les Héros Inconnus" of "La Canne de M. Michelet," by Jules Clarétie, the first edition of which appeared in 1886, I came (pp. 82-3) across the following passage :

"J'ai toujours rêvé qu'on élevât, dans quelque coin de la France, ou sur une place publique de Paris, un monument de marbre ou de bronze qui perpétuât à jamais, aux yeux des hommes, moins oublieux que leurs mémoires, le souvenir des inconnus, des gens sans nom, des cadavres anonymes, des martyrs sans gloire, obscurément tombés pour la patrie.

"Ce serait là la fosse commune des héros oubliés, le Panthéon des petits, des humbles et des dédaignés de la Renommée.

"Ce serait le vrai monument élevé, non pas à un homme, à un souverain, à un guerrier seul, mais à la France tout entière.

"Et ce serait là que les mères des enfants morts loin du pays, les veuves . . . ce serait là que les sœurs, les amies, les amantes, apporteraient leurs couronnes mortuaires aux jours anniversaires du trépas de ces martyrs."

This vision is the issue of the experiences and of the impressions wrought upon the mind of M. Jules Clarétie, and doubtless others, by the scenes of the war of 1870-71; and, to my mind, the war of 1914-18 has caught up its reflection, and inspired the erection or creation of those monuments dedicated since the Armistice by many nations to "The Unknown Soldier." It is but the other day that our King and Queen, in passing through Paris, paid their tribute to the one which in France realizes the vision so vividly expressed by M. Jules Clarétie forty years before.

A. C. YATE.

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY ACCOUNTS, 1924

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.							
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
To subscriptions, 1924 ...	763	0	0				By Rent ...	62	11	10	
„ „ in advance ...	18	0	0				„ Rates ...	16	11	6	
„ „ in arrears ...	1	0	0				„ Salary ...	116	10	0	
	<hr/>			782	0	0	„ Telephone ...	4	10	8	
„ Life subscriptions ...				15	15	0		<hr/>			
„ Journal subscriptions ...	8	10	10				„ Lectures : Hire of Room ...	40	19	0	
„ „ sales ...	9	8	7				„ „ Lantern... ..	24	7	0	
	<hr/>			17	19	5	„ „ Slides	6	18	0	
„ Dinner Club subscription ...				14	7	6	„ „ Printing	22	11	9	
„ Gift to library ...				7	6		„ Special expenses of Lecturers ...	20	8	4	
„ Sundries ...				4	1		„ Sundry lecture expenses	6	17	11	
„ Interest on War Loan ...	5	0	0					<hr/>			
„ „ Deposit ...	4	17	10				„ Journal : Printing	291	4	1	
	<hr/>			9	17	10	„ „ Postage	21	12	3	
„ Balance at bank, January 1, 1924 ...	59	7	6				„ „ Map plates	10	10	0	
„ „ of petty cash, January 1, 1924 ...	6	5	7				„ „ Reporters, etc.	49	1	0	
	<hr/>			65	13	1	„ „ Maps and slide-maps	13	5	0	
								<hr/>			
							„ „ Library		9	11	6
							„ Annual Dinner and other expenses ...		45	1	5
							„ „ Petty cash	22	8	9	
							„ „ Postage	36	12	0	
							„ „ Stationery	8	6	7	
							„ „ Dinner Club	6	0		
								<hr/>			
							„ War Savings Certificates	40	0	0	
								<hr/>			
							„ Balance at bank, December 31, 1924 ...	29	14	5	
							„ „ petty cash	4	4	5	
								<hr/>			
							„ Bank charges		2	1	0
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								33	18	10	
								2	1	0	
								<hr/>			
								£906	4	5	

In addition to the National Saving Certificates mentioned in the above account, the Society hold further National Saving Certificates to nominal value £100 and £100 5 per cent. War Loan.

Examined and found correct.
C. FRAZER,
J. F. RYND.

May 13, 1925.

NOTICES

Library.—The sale of the following books has been authorized at 2s. 6d. each volume :

“Attack on Fortresses,” Fraser, 1875; “Coomassie and Magdala,” Stanley, 1874 (2 volumes); “Darkest Africa,” Stanley, 1890 (2 volumes); “Defence of Positions,” Fraser, 1877; “Expedition to the Niger, 1841,” Allen, 1848; “From Korti to Khartoum,” Wilson; “Gordon in Central Africa,” Grant, 1881 (2 volumes); “Niger Expedition, 1857-59,” Crowther and Taylor, 1859; “Niger Flora,” Hooker, 1849; “Niger Expedition, Medical History,” Williamson, 1843; “Service and Sport in the Sudan,” Comyn, 1911; “Seven Years in South Africa,” Holub, 1881; “Sport in Abyssinia,” Mayo, 1876; “Story of the Rear Column,” Jameson, 1890; “Story of the Soudan War, 1885,” Pimblett, 1885; “Through the Dark Continent,” Stanley, 1878 (2 volumes); “Through Bosnia and Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection,” Evans, 1876; “War in Bulgaria,” Baker Pasha, 1879 (2 volumes); “Walk across Africa,” Grant, 1864.

The following books have been received for review :

- “Turkey in Travail,” by Harold Armstrong. 7½” × 5”. Pp. 250. Maps and illustrations. (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head. 1925. 8s. 6d.)
- “Trade Routes and Commerce in the Roman Empire,” by Martin Charlesworth. 7½” × 5”. Pp. 288. (Cambridge University Press. 1924. 12s. 6d.)
- “Guide Catalogue du Musée Guimet,” par J. Hackin. 8⅞” × 5¾”. Pp. 175. Illustrations. (Paris: G. van Oest et Cie. 1923.)
- “Asiatic Art in the British Museum,” by Laurence Binyon. 13¾” × 10½”. Plates LXIV. + Pp. 74. (Paris: G. van Oest. 1925. £3 3s.)
- “The Wandering Scholar,” by David G. Hogarth. 9½” × 5½”. Pp. 274. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1925. 8s. 6d.)
- “A Thousand Years of the Tartars,” by E. H. Parker. (2nd Edition.) 9¾” × 6”. Pp. 288. Five illustrations and maps. (Messrs. Thornton Butterworth. 1925. 8s. 6d.)
- “The Heart of the Middle East,” by Richard Coke. 9” × 5¾”. Pp. 320. Illustrations. (London: Messrs. Thornton Butterworth. 1925. 18s.)

- "Religions of the Empire," edited by W. L. Hare, with an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 9" x 5½". Pp. 519. (London: Messrs. Duckworth and Co. 1925. 16s. net.)
- "Hajji Baba in England," by James Morier. World's Classics Series. 6" x 4". Pp. 347. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Cloth, 2s.; leather, 3s. 6d.)
- "India as I Knew It," by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (London: Messrs. Constable. 1925. 18s.)
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Members only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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OF THE
CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

VOL. XII.

1925

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PUBLISHED BY
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NOTICES

Apologies are due to Mrs. Patrick Ness for some errors in the report of her lecture "Across the Syrian Desert to Persia" (see Vol. XII., Part III., p. 273). The distances from Khaniqin to Teheran should have been as follows: Khaniqin to Kermanshah, 129½ miles; Kermanshah to Hamadan, 103 miles; Hamadan to Kasvin, 145 miles; Kasvin to Teheran, 92¾ miles. It may also be said here that the admirable slides illustrating the lecture were taken from her own photographs.

The Reviewer of "Tibet Past and Present" (Vol. XII., Part III., p. 279) wishes to make the following correction: "In my review of Sir Charles Bell's book 'Tibet Past and Present' I stated that there was some confusion as to what comprises 'inner' and 'outer' Tibet. This is not so; the statement on p. 154 is correct as it stands. The interior of Tibet is now known in certain high circles as 'outer' Tibet, while the outlying provinces are known as 'inner' Tibet. We understand that Sir Charles himself is not responsible for this bright contribution to geography."

Library.—The Council are grateful for the following gifts of books to the library: From Colonel Yate, "A Six Years' Diary," by J. S. Cumming; "With the Die Hards in Siberia," by Colonel J. Ward; "The Afghan Wars," by A. Forbes; "Two Years in Constantinople," by Dr. Sturmer; "Backwards or Forwards," "Can Russia Invade India?" "India's Frontier Question," by Colonel Hanna; "Under the Care of the Japanese War Office," by E. McCaul; Russell's "Crimean War"; "The Bilochi-Nama"; Forbes' "Persian Grammar." Also to the Rev. Fr. A. Poidebard, M.C., for "La Parure des Cavaliers et l'Insigne des Preux" (French translation by L. Mercier).

The following books have been received for review:

- "Two South Arabian Inscriptions," by Professor D. S. Margolieth (from rubbings in the possession of Sir Neill Malcolm, K.C.B.). (Published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.) 9¾" × 6¼". Pp. 9. 2s. paper.
- "The Heart of Aryavata," by the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. 9" × 5¾". Pp. xvii + 262. (Constable. 14s.)
- "Through Inner Deserts to Medina," by the Countess Malmignati. 9" × 5¼". Pp. 188. Illustrated. (Philip Allan and Co. 10s. 6d.)
- "With Lawrence in Arabia," by Lowell Thomas. 9" × 5¾". Pp. viii + 317. Illustrations. (Hutchinson. 21s.)
- "People of the Steppes," by Ralph Fox. 8" × 5¼". Pp. 246. Illustrations and map. (Constable. 8s. 6d.)
- "Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand," by Ella R. Christie, F.R.G.S. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. 280. 54 illustrations and map. (Seeley Service and Co. 21s.)

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

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1, on Thursday, June 11, 1925. In the absence of the Chairman, Lord Peel, Colonel Sir Charles Yate presided.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sorry to say Lord Peel, our Chairman, is not able to be present to-day, and it has fallen to my lot to take the chair this afternoon. We are now at our Anniversary Meeting, the Annual General Meeting for the year, and I will first of all call on the Honorary Secretary to give a brief report of the year's proceedings.

The HON. SECRETARY (Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton): Sir Charles Yate, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first matter of interest that I will refer to in our annual report is that of membership. As you know, for a certain number of years up to about three years ago the increase in the rate of membership was exceedingly high. Of late years we have not been able to keep up these large numbers of new members for various reasons. Perhaps it may be that the title of the Society, "The Central Asian Society," defines a rather narrow scope, and that might keep people away. But I would like to remind you, if I may, of what our late Honorary President, Lord Curzon, said at our last annual dinner. He said: "You would make a very great mistake if in your *Journal* you confined yourselves to the geographical Central Asia, for your purpose is to deal with the political Central Asia," and he went on to point out how these interests of the political Central Asia cover a far wider field than that defined by the geographical title, that they extend from Turkey in the West to China in the East, and include Persia and Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, our lectures and *Journal* cover the whole field of Islam north of the Equator, and if this extension of our activities is fully appreciated, surely we may expect to cover a wider field from which to recruit members. I think our field is widening by degrees, but the more our *Journal* is made popular, the wider the field of recruitment undoubtedly ought to be. As regards the actual figures for the year: at last year's annual meeting we had to record a membership of 763. Since then there have been losses by resignation amounting to 22 and by death of 12, making a total of 34. We have elected since that meeting 110 new members, so that there is an increase of 76 on the year, making the total number up to 839.

(Applause.) The deaths to be recorded during the year are twelve in number. Of course, the first to be mentioned must be that of Lord Curzon, our Honorary President, who joined this Society, I think, in 1907, and who always took a very lively interest in its affairs. His loss is a great one. Another distinguished name among those who have gone is that of Lord Rawlinson. Although he used not himself to take much active part in our affairs, his name perpetuated that of his illustrious father, who was such a high authority on all Central Asian matters. Miss Ada Christie, of whom we did not hear very much, was a lady who travelled very extensively some few years ago in Persia, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia. I believe it was rather difficult to get information out of her regarding her travels, but what was obtainable was certainly of very great interest. Other names I should mention are Sir Lee Stack, Sir Robert Coryndon, Sir T. Bennett, Colonel Bramley—I do not know whether you may have noticed his initials occasionally at the foot of some very good reviews of books which have appeared in the last and previous issues of our *Journal*—Colonel Bayley, Colonel Kirby Ridgway, V.C., and Majors Bois, Brenner, and Pulley. Those are the twelve members who have passed away during the year. Of lectures we have had eleven up to date since the season opened in October. A lecturer is coming before you to-day, and we hope to have one more lecture in July, but that is not quite certain. The *Journal* has been improved very much by the introduction of reviews, which now take up a large space in that publication. That is generally voluntary work done without remuneration by our members. We regard it as a very valuable addition, and if any other members are willing to undertake reviewing work I am sure the secretary will be very glad to hear from them. As regards the library, Mrs. Frazer has now become librarian, and the books have been not so much rearranged as carefully catalogued by Colonel Wallace, and I am sure anybody who wants to make use of the library will much appreciate his work when they go there. Several members have been very active—I will not mention their names—during the past year in obtaining recruits for us, and I can assure you that any member who will do that will be doing very valuable service to the Society. For instance, if you could obtrude the *Journal* on the notice of any visitors to your houses, I am sure it would attract their attention to the Society, and probably tempt them to become members. (Hear, hear.)

The Chairman called on the Honorary Treasurer to give his report.

THE HON. TREASURER (Sir Edward Penton, K.B.E.): Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am glad to report that the finance of the Society is quite satisfactory.* Sir Raleigh Egerton has told you about the membership. The subscriptions, with one or two payments in

* See Vol. XII., Part III.

advance and of arrears, came to about £782, and other receipts bring the credit side of the balance-sheet up to about £906 4s. 5d. On the other hand, our expenses for rent, rates, salaries, and telephone are about £200. Our lectures cost about £122 2s. 6d., and the *Journal*, which of course is the most expensive item, costs £385. The remainder is composed of small items, but it will interest you to know that we have been able this year to invest £40 in War Savings Certificates, and there is a balance at the bank of £33 18s. 10d. (Hear, hear.) I would like to add to that, besides the £40 War Savings Certificates, we also have investments which with these War Savings Certificates total about £250. This puts the Society in a secure financial position. As treasurer I do not want you either to feel that we are hoarding the money which should be spent by the members, or on the other hand that the present financial position warrants any diminution of effort in getting new members. Sir Raleigh Egerton has laid quite rightly considerable stress on the importance of the *Journal*. We cannot really spend a great deal more than we are doing on lectures. I think you find the lecture-hall at the R.U.S.I. comfortable; I do not think as treasurer I should be justified in suggesting a free tea. But on the other hand we have to realize that this Society does not only exist for the members who come to lectures, but exists even more for the widespread members who look to our *Journal* for something really good and authoritative. (Hear, hear.) I would not like you to think that I am joining issue with one of my colleagues, but although we do get an immense amount of voluntary work done for us—work of a nature that I think no other journal gets even when it pays for it—there is a certain amount of expense involved in getting the material for the voluntary workers. Now we have set ourselves the task of trying to become the authority on reviews of books on Central Asia not only published in this country, but published in Europe and elsewhere. We have to get those books, and we cannot always get them free. The more members we can get, the more money we can get, and the more we can develop the *Journal*, and the more we can develop the services of this Society as they were intended to be developed for those who take a real interest in our policy in Central Asia. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN (Colonel Sir Charles Yate): Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have had a very interesting account of the work of the Society, both from our Hon. Secretary and our Hon. Treasurer; and I think you will agree that the Society is progressing in the way that we all wish it to progress. Our numbers, which is the great thing, are now, as the Hon. Secretary told us, 839. I do wish everybody to impress upon himself that we wish to increase the size of our *Journal*, and make it even better than it is now. Mind you, it is an uncommonly good journal, and a most interesting journal. I feel sure that our *Journal* is welcomed through-

out the East by the large number of members that we have scattered all over Asia. We want to make it as good as possible, to get all the reviews of books, and do everything else that we can. I ask every member here present if he will try, during next year, to bring in one other member, a friend of his own. All members, both ladies and gentlemen, I hope, will try and do their best to get during next year one fresh member to join the Society. We want to have a minimum of 1,000. We have got 839; our aim and object is to have 1,000. If we have a thousand members we shall be able to improve our *Journal* and do much more in various ways. So I ask all to bear that in mind, and try to bring in recruits as fast as they possibly can. Now I am sorry that Lord Peel is absent to-day, because he would have spoken to you with the authority of the Chairman during the past year. I am speaking in his place to-day, and I wish to say that we in this Society owe a great debt of gratitude first of all to our two Hon. Secretaries, Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. G. Stephenson. (Applause.) Sir Raleigh Egerton, we know, is a very busy man. He does a great deal of work in all sorts of charitable directions. I know that he works several days a week for the Officers' Families' Association, and other associations of that sort. We thank him very much for the work he gives us, and Captain Stephenson also. They both give us a great part of their time, and the trouble they take for this Society deserves the thanks and applause of all of us. (Applause.) Next, what would the Society be without our Secretary, Miss Kennedy? I cannot tell you how much we are indebted to her, and I sincerely hope that when we get a larger *clientèle*, and have more funds at our disposal, we shall be able to do something to show her how much we appreciate her work. (Applause.) Now, as our Hon. Secretary, Sir Raleigh Egerton, said, we take in the whole of Asia. We work all Asia from China—I will not say to Peru, but from China—not only to Palestine, for we take in India, and through India we take in East Africa. In fact, I think we may class ourselves as I once heard it very pithily put, I think, by the Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society—I do not know whether she is here to-day—"Central Asia, Unlimited." There we are, working all over Central Asia, and I hope we shall continue to do so. The business we have to do now is to make the changes in the Council for the present year. You all have the paper here which sets them out. Two Vice-Presidents retire in accordance with Rule 13. Three Members of Council retire in accordance with Rule 23, and, as you will see, with regard to our Hon. Treasurer, I am glad to say there is no change. Sir Edward Penton has done this work for us for years and years. Ever since the Society was first started I think he has been working for it; and we owe him a great debt of gratitude for the time and trouble he has given to the Society. We hope that he

will continue to act as our Hon. Treasurer for many years to come. (Applause.) The two Hon. Secretaries have done their two years, I am told, and are willing to be re-elected for another two years. I cannot say why two years especially was selected. I myself think people ought to be elected for either one year or three. We split the difference at two years, and I would ask you to record a special vote of thanks to General Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. Stephenson, and to confirm their election as Hon. Secretaries for the next two years. (Applause.) Then, as our Hon. Secretary has told us, Mrs. Frazer has kindly undertaken the charge of the library. Mrs. Frazer, you will remember, was originally the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and she was the Secretary of this Society. She knows everything connected with it, and she has spent a great deal of time and trouble in arranging and cataloguing all our books. We owe her a special debt of gratitude; so long as the library is under her charge, I am sure it will be a most useful place of reference for those who wish to learn any matter concerning Central Asia. Our library is increasing week by week, and I hope we shall have a fine collection of books of reference here connected with all parts of Central Asia. Lord Peel has completed his year of service as Chairman of the Committee, but has kindly consented to go on for the present, until fresh arrangements can be made. He is a very busy man, as we all know, and a Cabinet Minister, and his time is not always at his own disposal. But he has very kindly consented to act on, and we remain in that way just as at present. Regarding the elections, there have been no fresh nominations by any member. Therefore, I put to you the proposals of the Council that have been given up to date: As Hon. Secretaries, as I said, to be elected, Sir Raleigh Egerton and Mr. Stephenson; as Vice-Presidents, General Sir Edmund Barrow and Lieut.-Colonel Fremantle move up from Members of Council to be Vice-Presidents; as ordinary Members of Council, Colonel Sir Charles Yate and Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, who are now at the head of the Vice-Presidents' list, become Members of Council. Then, to fill the vacancies that have taken place, it is proposed that Major-General Sir Webb Gillman, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., and Mr. Rose, C.I.E., be appointed Members of Council. Major-General Sir Webb Gillman is an artillery officer who served with great distinction throughout the war. He was Chief of the Staff at Baghdad from 1918 to 1920. On his retirement he was made Commandant of the Royal Academy at Woolwich, and is now Inspector-General of Ordnance. I am sure he will be a valuable addition to the Council. Mr. Archibald Rose, C.I.E., was a member, first of all, of His Majesty's Consular Service, and later he became a member of His Majesty's Commercial Diplomatic Service. He has travelled largely throughout China and Mongolia and Central Asia. He served during the siege of Peking in 1900, and was for two years on the Burman-Chinese

frontier, dealing with the political and tribal questions in that very disturbed area where the boundaries of China, Burma and Tibet all meet. In 1911 he represented the Foreign Office at Simla in the Tibet Conference, and he also travelled from Simla through Central Asia across the Pamirs and Turkistan to Europe. He ended up as Commercial Secretary to the Legation at Peking, and I must say we look to him to give us great help in all that pertains to the Far East. I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you approve of our selection of these two Members to join the Council. A third vacancy will shortly happen, owing to Sir George Lloyd having been appointed High Commissioner for Egypt. He, as you will see by the paper, is the last appointed Member of the Council. To take his place it is proposed to elect Lieut.-General Sir George McMunn. He is another distinguished artillery officer. He served in the Dardanelles, in Egypt, and in Mesopotamia, where he was Commander-in-Chief until he became Quartermaster-General in India. He brings a wide knowledge of Eastern affairs to our help. I therefore have now much pleasure in proposing to you the election of all these various gentlemen whom I have mentioned, and I will ask all of you, if you agree to that. (Carried unanimously.)

A PICTURE OF ASIA

BY MISS U. H. BLACKWOOD.

A MEETING of the Central Asian Society was held on Thursday, July 9, 1925, at the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall, S.W., when a lecture was delivered by Miss Ursula H. Blackwood. In the absence of Lord Peel, Sir Raleigh Egerton presided.

In opening the proceedings the Chairman said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Lord Peel, our Chairman, is unfortunately unable to be present to-day. Miss Blackwood has honoured me by making a personal request for me to take the chair, which I have great pleasure in doing. I must introduce Miss Blackwood to you as having been for about seven years head of the Military Translation Section at the War Office. That certainly argues high qualifications for dealing with a book, as she is doing to-day, written by an Italian author, Aurelio Palmieri. He has written his views on the Bolshevik influence in Asia. Miss Blackwood has made a rough translation, and now proposes to give us a summary of his views on the subject. I do not know if he is a diplomatist or in what capacity Signor Palmieri acquired his knowledge. I have nothing more to say except to ask Miss Blackwood to kindly give us her address.

Introduction.—In putting before you this little causerie to-day I remembered a fact that I had been told of the old masters, who it is said did not depend upon their genius alone to produce a masterpiece. One who made a study of the painting of satin would often be called in to touch up the dress, another who made a special study of hands would complete the work, and so on.

In my picture of Asia to-day I can lay no claim to being a master of my art, therefore I shall attempt no more than to draw the pencil outline—give the scheme of the picture, the painting of which I must leave to others, who are masters in their art.

This picture is divided into three distinct parts:

1. The dual nature of the Russians and their ambitions, which forms the subject of the picture.
2. The comparison of the policy of the Czars and that of Russia of to-day, which forms the pencil outline and which in turn is subdivided.

3. Can this policy succeed?

The subject is given, the outline drawn. But this part is beyond the limits of my pencil; I can but put forward diffidently a few colour schemes for the experts to choose from.

PART I.

The Dual Nature of the Russians and their Ambitions.

Russia, situated at the crossway between Europe and Asia, has throughout history, hesitated between the two civilizations. Like the shuttle in the loom, the pattern in which she is woven by fate assumes now an Eastern now a Western design, according to which of the two cultures govern her destiny at that moment.

Here lies the enigma of the Russian character.

To which does Russia really belong? Here is a question she may and will probably have to answer within the near future. To probe Russian culture it is necessary to go back further than Bysance. As Italian civilization is derived from Rome, so the seeds of Russian civilization must be sought for on the shores of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, in the old Greek colonies. But from 1238, for over two centuries, Russia became an Asiatic province: the shadow of the Asiatic darkness obscured her. But we must not imagine that the hordes of Mongol conquerors were entirely composed of savages. The Mongols had felt the civilizing influence of China. They had an administrative system, and thanks to their discipline Asia became their vassal. Their invasions were carried out methodically with strategic plans. They prepared the political unification of Russia, the great Moscovite Empire, which to the European travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries presented the aspect of an Asiatic despotism. Their influence on Russia was very great, but unfortunately took place at a time when Asian civilization was non-productive, and they drew Russia within the orbit of Asia; and when at length they were driven back, they bequeathed to Russia the fatal legacy of Eastern lethargy which still permeates through her in "Nichevo" and "Sichas."

The Westernizing of Russia began with Peter the Great. A genius of reform, was he such a convinced admirer of the West? Was not his dream for Russia that she should have a window to see into Europe and rule the world? Did he perhaps think, "We have need of Europe for a while, and then we can turn our back on her"?

But the door to Europe was opened and from it new fields of art, literature, and culture sprang. From it the geniuses of modern Russia matured. Russia is less European than the United States of America, and yet the European culture is non-existent in the latter as compared with the former. The explanation of this lies in the antiquity of Russian culture. The roots of Eastern civilization were never com-

pletely irradiated. Grafted with Western culture it flowered. It is a mixture of the two which seem the antithesis of each other. Hence its peculiarity. In the depths of the Russian flower we scent the aroma of the East. And yet it is neither the one nor the other. It is their synthesis produced by the Creator's kiss.

Therefore in its gradual evolution it is predestined to give to the world something new, something of its own; for the West it will be the echo of the voice of the East.

Again we return to the question. To which does Russia belong—East or West? Her place in future history—her destiny—what will they be? Is she Nordic or Mongol? Is there such a thing as a Slav race? Will Russia disintegrate, the different races of which she is composed returning to throw in their lot with their parent stock? The ultra Pan-Russian will say "No." Russia has up till now mistaken the road. There is an antithesis between the Eastern and Western worlds which is incapable of producing a complete civilization. It is Russia who will create it. Russia will work out her own destiny. She who stands in the centre of two great continents—two great civilizations—holds in her hand the balance of the scales; Russia is, as it were, the confluence of two great rivers of civilization, therefore it is she who is destined to unite and train the two rivers into one.

Since the world-war symbolizes the shipwreck of the West, Russia should steer her bark towards the East to create the civilization of the future. Through Russia, the East cured of its state of paralysis will build up the stones of a regenerated civilization, not only of a continent, but of the whole world.

To us Anglo-Saxons, probably lacking imagination, this programme appears somewhat ambitious, even overwhelming.

We are inclined to look back in history at the fate of those who have tried world domination or the forcing of one single culture on humanity.

Are the Pan-Russians dreaming a chimeric dream or is our imagination too limited by our own horizon to see beyond into the events of a distant future?

PART II.

Let us now draw in the outline, which I must subdivide into :

Russian conquest and colonization of Siberia and the ethnical penetration of Russia into Asia.

Errors of Policy in the Far East.

Bolshevik Programme in the Far East.

Russian conquest and colonization of Siberia and the ethnical penetration of Russia into Asia.

The history of Russian policy in Asia has been one of ever pushing forward. Debarred from a maritime outlet in the Baltic and in the

Black Sea, Russia strove to gain a port on the Pacific and aimed at naval supremacy in the Far East, a policy which was frustrated by the regeneration of Japan. The Russian penetration into Siberia dates from the thirteenth century, when her merchants traded in China, and this was followed in the sixteenth century by a military expedition organized by Cossacks, who under Yermak added the Siberian jewel to crown of the Czars. Like the Spaniards in the American Indies the Russians were dazzled by the mirage of untold riches. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were near Lake Baikal and later reached the shores of the Amur, which led to the first conflict with China.

From this time Siberia became the exile of the political and religious prisoners, and as her riches were discovered, they were employed to exploit and develop them. Siberia, however, would have remained a desert but for the agrarian colonization which followed, and which led to the emigration of thousands of peasants from Russia in Europe.

Errors of Policy in the Far East.

But Russia failed to reap the full advantages of her prize. She committed three grave errors with regard to Siberia.

1. Ethnically she did not Russianize the Great Siberian stretches. There were certainly 15,000,000 Russians beyond the Urals, but these were scattered in one long thin line along the main ways of communication. This constituted a weakness in itself. Before pushing forward to the shores of the Pacific, Russia should have first consolidated and colonized the great waste areas of her dominions and thus carried out her expansion in echelon.

2. Not to have awaited the auspicious moment. China was easily overcome, but in one corner of Asia a miracle was taking place of awakening energies and Asiatic consciousness. Russia, though well equipped with agents, had failed to obtain an accurate conception of Japan. Instead of temporizing and consolidating her advance step by step, she precipitated events and the clash of arms annihilated her dream in Asia.

3. She was too late in realizing the priceless value of Siberia's natural wealth. Siberia remained too long the living tomb of political and religious exiles, and her ignorance of physical geography allowed her to cede the southern half of the Island of Sakhalin to Japan.

Thus she missed her mark.

Bolshevik Programme in the Far East.

In the policy which the Soviets are, generally speaking, developing towards the Asiatics, but, above all, towards India, Bolshevism is continuing the traditions of the old Russian spirit. They are connecting up their aspirations with those of the Pan-Russians, or rather are becoming Pan-Russians of the purest type.

Though a mixture of Jew and Russian, they are nevertheless maintaining the old Russian traditions. The Jews do not deny their origin,

are indeed fascinated by the cradle of their race and attracted to it; their mind is impregnated with Easternism.

The struggle for Asia in the eyes of the Russians assumes the aspect of a struggle of culture. It touches all the vital chords of the Russian heart, whether Bolshevik or anti-Bolshevik, for would not this new civilization be the immortal edifice of Russian genius, of Slavism in its entirety, freed from the dross of Westernism?

The dual nature which certainly forms the distinctive note in the conscious evolution of Russia in the nineteenth century has become even more accentuated with the advent of Bolshevism to the Supreme Power. The pendulum in Russia is continually swinging from West to East and *vice versa*. In the bureaucracy and the Czarist despotism of old Russia we trace the Mongol element. In the liberal or Menshevik we trace the Western element. The Bolsheviks are indirectly derived from the latter, therefore by education and tendencies belong to the West. They were fed on German Socialism, and yet—and here lies a subtle difference—though the Mensheviks were Western, Bolshevism is Eastern and is conducting Russia back into the spiritual atmosphere of the East. Moreover, the Bolsheviks, though owing their origin to the Western or German influence, having failed to force their ideals on Europe, are now placing their hopes in Asia, and to effect this they are intensifying the study of all Oriental languages, history, art, and literature.

This reawakening of Oriental studies in Russia is a sign of the future policy of the Bolsheviks. In the Far East they are following, by a different method, the policy of the Czars. Combating the Japanese expansion: confirming their supremacy in China: destruction of British power in India: these were the leading points of the old Russian policy in Asia, and, strange to say, coincide perfectly with the triple aims of the Bolsheviks.

To the cry of Internationalism in Europe they are using that of Nationalism in Asia.

Should Moscow succeed in blending her ideal of Internationalism with that of Nationalism, will not modern Russia become a more serious factor in world politics than the Russia of the Czars?

(a) *Combating of Japanese Expansion.*—According to Bolshevism, Imperialism was but a European disease. It was unknown to the East. Capitalism, which is the corner-stone of Imperialism, was also unknown. Asia, the cradle of humanity, lived in a state of torpor. But one day one of these Asiatic nations awoke, and trained by experience, before entering the unequal struggle, she created a new Asio-European civilization, keeping the soul and tradition of the East, but assimilating the material progress, the militarist ideals, and deadly armament of Western civilization.

Japan, this regenerated Asiatic nation, took the motto, "Asia for the

Asiatics," and constituted herself as the advance-guard of the great nationalist movement in Asia against European exploitation.

To the "Yellow Peril" of Europe, Japan set up the "White Peril" for Asia, the Asiatic substitute for the Monroe doctrine.

Her first victory over China opened the eyes of the believers in the spiritual immobility of Asia.

But to adopt the expression of the Bolsheviks, "the bacillus of European civilization" was deeply rooted in the system of Japan. Her awakening was not a moral awakening. The Japanese of the European School became the Imperialists of the Far East.

In the Yellow Races of Asia they did not see racial brothers, but slaves to be exploited. With Russia they attempted to divide up Asia, and conquer the great markets of China.

Japanese Imperialism, according to Bolshevik historians, commenced in 1874 with the occupation of the Island of Formosa, and they openly accuse Russian Imperialism of having given rise to Japanese Imperialism.

Korea was to become the apple of discord between Japan, China, and Russia. The defeat of China in 1894 and her victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War decided the fate of Korea, which henceforth became a province of the Mikado.

The Bolsheviks considering Korea to be the heel of Achilles of Japan made this province the centre of their Communist propaganda.

The defeat of Russia in 1904-5 had eclipsed her influence in China to the advantage of Japan, whose ambition has been still further favoured by the world-war. The extent of the present Japanese penetration into China cannot be truly estimated, on account of the many secret clauses in her treaties with the latter. Against the Japanese designs in China, Chicherin has traced the political tendencies of Bolshevism. "Russia and China are two natural allies, and to them belongs the future of the Far East. China knows that the Russians have no hostile designs against her independence. With her enormous military power, Russia is predestined to protect and support Chinese rights."

One of the causes of friction between Czarist Russia and Japan was the total possession of the Island of Sakhalin which commands the mouth of the Amur. The same cause was a continual source of enmity between the Moscow Soviets and Imperialistic Japan: an incontestable proof that the Soviet policy is but a continuation of the policy of the Czars.*

With regard to Mongolia, Bolshevik Russia is hostile to the Japanese aims for the identical reasons which inspired Czarist policy.

Meanwhile Japanese policy is trying to substitute Russia in Central

* The Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1924 has, to a certain extent, settled this question.

Asia, and obtain for herself free movement—on the coast of the Pacific Ocean—militarily and economically to dominate Manchuria, to deviate the old Russian land and maritime routes and exploit the resources of Siberia.

During the Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik struggle in Siberia, Japan no doubt played an important part. She used the chaotic state of the country to penetrate it and bought up large Russian firms, and Japanese capital has a hold over the entire country. Under the pretext of restoring order the Japanese took possession of the Russian possessions in the Far East, and closed the ways and ports of the Pacific Ocean to Russia.

Japan has thus become the great adversary of Bolshevism in Asia.

But is it really Japanese *Imperialism* which excites the rage of the Moscow Soviets against the Government of Tokio? Might this, perhaps, be an optical delusion of the manipulators of Soviet Policy in the Far East?

(b) *Confirming their Supremacy in China.*—The history of the Russian influence in China follows step by step the history of Russian domination in Siberia.

The advance of Russia towards China across Siberia has been going on for about five centuries; the first clash with China took place over the Amur.

Real diplomatic relations between China and Russia began with the first half of the nineteenth century. The shadow of Japan is cast over all the Russo-Chinese treaties. Its policy was a duel with Russia for the conquest of China and its great resources. For China the struggle merely means whether she is to become exploited for the benefit of the East or the West.

The Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689, recognized and sanctioned the territorial rights of China on the Amur and its territory. But by the Treaty of Aigun of 1858 the Amur was definitely made an integral part of Russian territory. Russia's failure to gain control of the Balkans and defeat in the Crimean War made her turn again to the Far East.

After her defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and failure in Manchuria, Russia in 1911 demanded new concessions in Mongolia from China, but receiving a curt refusal, proceeded to stir up the Mongolians to demand autonomy. China again refused these pretensions. But China was being shaken by revolution, and the Manchurian dynasty which had been the reigning house since 1644 was overthrown. Mongolia thought the moment had come to claim her independence and to sever with Russia's support her dependence upon China. After some intrigues and negotiations in 1913, completed in 1915, by the Treaty of Kiachta, Mongolia became apparently emancipated both from Russia and China, but this so-called autonomy placed her at the mercy of

Russia, who used her protection as a cloak for commercial and political penetration.

The consolidation of Bolshevism in Siberia resulted in increasing the territorial pretensions of the Soviets of Moscow in Mongolia. Pretexts were not lacking. They followed the tactics they had used in the Caucasus of setting up small autonomous republics on the Russian frontiers.

And for this purpose Mongolia, situated on the confines of Russian territory, seemed the best adapted. According to the Treaty of Kiachta, in 1915, Mongolia recognized Chinese supremacy but formed an autonomous state; but in 1919 China had repudiated this Treaty and considered Mongolian territory as Chinese. Mongolia had become the refuge of the anti-Bolshevik forces. Hence the Bolsheviks played the old game of pretending to free an oppressed people from the anti-Bolshevik forces and to restore order. Red troops were sent at the request of the Mongolian people, though probably these requests were prepared in Moscow.

But the military successes of the Bolsheviks did not solve the diplomatic question of the Chinese rights in Mongolia. The presence of Russian troops constituted a violation of Russo-Chinese treaties. Against these violations of the rights of her territory China, torn asunder by internal discords, could only put up barren protests.

There was the Pro-Japanese party in China and the Pro-Russian.

The recognition of the Soviet representative in 1920, and the sending of a Chinese military mission to Moscow to arrange a military treaty against Japan, deluded the Bolsheviks into thinking that they had won China to their cause, and that she might serve as an instrument in their hands for the overthrow of Japan.

Thus, as Czarist Russia had robbed China of Manchuria, which was then wrested from her by Japan, so Bolshevik Russia is endeavouring to strip China of Mongolia.

To eliminate the Japanese from Siberia and the Russo-Chinese frontier, the Bolsheviks fomented and approved the setting up of the Republic of the Far East, which was to maintain the continuity of territory and relations with China, and form a diplomatic obstacle to the Japanese expansion in Siberia and bordering Chinese territory.

But Russo-Japanese relations, from diplomatic skirmishes, became openly hostile. In face of the growing and extravagant pretensions of Japan, the diplomatic mission of the Republic of Chita had no longer any *raison d'être*, unless it was to become a dependence of Japan. Therefore its Government was dissolved, and it was again absorbed into Soviet Russia.

(c) *The Destruction of British Power in India.*—And now we come to the third point in the policy of the Czars in common with the Bolsheviks—the destruction of British power in India.

Let us first seek the motives of this policy, and then study the methods employed.

One genius alone had probably conceived the plan assigned by Providence to Greece—Alexander the Great. Death robbed him of the fruits of victory. The dream of a world civilization with a Grecian impress was dissipated, to be absorbed into the large, but nevertheless limited, confines of the Roman Empire. European culture, which through Rome emanated from Greek sources, reassumed the enterprises of Alexander the Great. Beginning with the Crusades, the West spread over the oceans and reached India, China, and Japan. Forty millions of Europeans carried Western civilization to the New World. Africa became a European colony.

This was a practical conquest of four continents by Europe—for the most part ruled by the Anglo-Saxon races. Great Britain thus holds to-day the strategic points of Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Aden, Bombay, Calcutta, Colombo, Singapore, and Hong-Kong. One link alone in the chain is missing—the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Those countries which are the most adapted for colonial development, such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, East and South Africa, and half Asia, fly the British flag. She thus controls the resources of the world in raw material, to which she has added the oil reserve of the petrol fields of Mesopotamia. The Bolsheviki also accuse Great Britain of aiming at the possession of the Black Sea and extension of her control over Kurdistan and the Caucasus, under the cloak of freeing oppressed nations. Therefore to Bolshevism Great Britain is capitalism and imperialism personified, and the destruction of the British Empire is her most important objective.

With regard to India, which the Bolsheviki call the "Pearl of the East," their political action is indirect. They seek to act upon India through intellectual and sentimental channels. On the one hand they magnify the cultural power of India, the necessity for the Indians to reawake from their torpor, to rouse their national consciousness, to throw off the political and economic yoke of Britain; on the other, propounding the theory of a racial brotherhood, ideals, and sentiments between Russians and Indians, of a spiritual affinity which links the two nations. To quote a German writer :

"In many ways the Russian has more affinity with the Indian than with the Chinese. Like the Indians, the Russians have a universal comprehension, a universal fraternity, and are eminently unpractical. The Russian heart beats more in harmony with the old heart of India: the two people have identical basic relations with regard to God and Nature, and the same religious fervour. And yet the Russians have a common origin with the Chinese. The foundation of all the Mongols is the infinite, the infinite in space and time. No European, no Indian

has this. But the Russian has it, and there is something Asiatic in him." *

The Bolsheviks, whilst waiting until they are sufficiently powerful and during the time necessary for the completion of their ambitious schemes, are leaving to the disintegrating forces in India the task of hastening the expulsion of the British from India. These six revolutionary forces, according to the Bolsheviks, are :

(i.) *The cynical and egotistical exploitation of the economic resources of India to the sole advantage of Great Britain.* In India the extremists have illusions. They think that India can not only provide for her own people, but for the whole world. Asia appears to them to be predestinated to fight Europe in the economic arena. She can produce European products at low prices. Rich beyond description in raw material, she is like a human anthill. The competition of Europe and America would become impossible on account of the low cost of labour in India in comparison to the former. If India had a mercantile fleet of her own, and her ships, under the protection of a national flag, could trade with the commercial ports of the world, the economic hegemony of Great Britain would cease.

These rosy schemes must, however, be accepted with reserve. Admitting the existence of the raw material, the skilled labour for the mechanical plant is lacking.

The Indian workmen have neither the physical force nor the mental discipline nor ability.

(ii.) *The unification of the national consciousness of India, indirectly effected by Great Britain.* According to Bolshevik theories, the revolt against British Imperialism would not have taken root if India had remained an agglomeration of different nationalities torn by the internal dissension of their heterogeneous structure.

Philologically India is the greatest polyglot state in the world.

India is without either religious or social cohesion.

(iii.) *The development of the Indian Nationalist movement whose Anglophobia is becoming more and more accentuated.* Hence the Bolshevik tactics with regard to India consist in fanning the flame of nationalism. It is certainly strange that in Asia the International should support the cause of Nationalism, but all is grist that comes to the mill when aiming at the destruction of European Imperialism.

(iv.) *The intellectual and spiritual influence of the two leaders of the autonomous India movement, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.*

(v.) *The insurrection of the Mussulman element in India against British rule.* The Bolsheviks are using the cry of Pan-Islamism to raise the standard of revolt against British domination in India.

One of her most serious problems is probably that of her relations with Islam. But in the event of an agreement being reached between Moscow, Angora, and Kabul, Russia in the pose of an Asiatic Power might play an important part in the future struggle for the emancipation of Asia.

(vi.) *The fatal transformation of India into a great industrial nation and the consequent development among the masses of Socialist and Communist ideas.* The evolution of India, an essentially agricultural

* "Das Reise Tagebuch eines Philosophen" (Keiserling).

into an industrial country, is not without its effects; not only changing the habits and ideas of the people, but its economic consequences are more serious than people realize.

These forces, according to the Moscow Soviets, are preparing the advent and triumph of Bolshevism in India.

Persia.—Though Persia deserves to be treated at some length, time precludes it, therefore I shall only touch on it from the point of view of its importance as the road to India.

Persia is the country which next to Afghanistan has been most exposed to the attacks of Bolshevism. The reason is obvious, both are on the borders of Russian territory, and both are on the road to India.

Persia might be compared to Belgium, and, indeed, suffered considerably during the war from her geographical position.

Following the traditions of Czarist policy the Soviets wish to conquer India.

The first axiom of their policy is "strategically Persia is necessary to Bolshevism, therefore the Bolsheviks have the right to conquer it."

It should become the centre of the Pan-Islam world, the link in the chain between Polar Asia and Tropical Africa, and at the present moment this connecting-link is more important than might appear to the casual observer.

Its importance for Internationalism is also very great.

The diplomatic history of Persia is really a history of Anglo-Russian rivalry.

Russia's aim has always been to obtain a warm water port.

Her designs against Constantinople were to gain hegemony in the Mediterranean. Across Siberia she reached the Pacific.

The Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean could be reached either across Persia or by way of Armenia, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia or by Turkistan, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan.

The diplomatic relations of Persia with Russia date back to 1561, and by a strange anomaly, according to Palmieri, the Russian envoy also represented England.

Peter the Great entertained designs of adding Persia to the Russian Crown, but for this purpose it was necessary to subdue first the Caucasus and Daghestan.

It was impossible to repeat the action of Alexander the Great, and therefore had to be carried out gradually.

The Russian penetration began to expand after the taking of Daghestan and Baku in the early nineteenth century.

The Persians, supported by Napoleon I., still resisted the conquest of the Caucasus, especially in Georgia, but after the defeat of Napoleon Russia gradually absorbed Georgia, Daghestan, and gained control of the Caspian.

In 1828 she added the provinces of Erivan and Nakhichevan.

By the possession of the Eastern Caucasus, Russia extended her dominion from the mouth of the Terek to that of Astara, thus acquiring her Eastern "Rock of Gibraltar."

In the struggle for balance of power and influence between Russia and England in Persia, it may be said that the Russians followed an "active and aggressive," the British a "passive and defensive, policy."

Russia was the great constructor of roads in North Persia. Great Britain parried the "road" penetration of her rival by gaining control of banks and telegraphs.

The long history of Anglo-Russian rivalry is well known and too long to enter into here.

Northern Persia is, above all, the goal of Bolshevik ambitions because across Khorasan and Siestan, skirting Afghanistan, the way to India is opened.

By another way the Bolsheviks may thus attain the dream of Czarist Russia.

The Soviets aim at convincing the Asiatic nations that their policy is the antithesis of the Czarist régime.

The Bolsheviks contend that Russia is destined to effect the cultural and economic regeneration of Persia and develop her natural riches.

But the Persians have had enough of Anglo-Russian rivalry in the past and distrust the Russians. Although the Bolsheviks pretend to condemn Czarist policy, and by cancelling the Persian debts and concessions to Russia think they have gained the sympathy of Persia by their generosity, the Persians have little trust in them, as is seen in their reluctance to sign the trade negotiations.

In reality, Persia, like the West, is afraid of the Soviets.

The latter barely conceal their secret designs. Will they soon show themselves faithful disciples of the former Russian schemes? For Persia—for Bolshevik, as for Czarist policy—comes within the orbit of their territorial ambitions, both for economic and for strategic reasons.

And it is possible Afghanistan may become the arbitrator of the destiny of Asia!

Conclusion.

The subject is given, the outline sketch is made; I now submit to you the colour schemes to complete the picture.

To paint it truly we must strain our eyes to the far distant horizon of time and try to distinguish the landmarks and features.

But we must be careful of our perspective.

We must not lose our values or paint our picture too dark, or exaggerate our high lights.

Our colour scheme must harmonize and tone with the whole effect. The colours I offer are somewhat vivid, but it is not for me to mix the paints.

Let us first settle the basis and from it work up these tones.

Strange to say we see, to begin with, that the Bolsheviks have failed to understand the psychology of the East. First they have tried to undermine religion, which is the very soul of Asia.

Communism is not making any real headway either in China, Japan, India or Persia—at least, not to any great extent.

There are not enough industrial workers to produce it, and for many reasons an agrarian revolution as it took place in Russia is hardly possible.

Czarist diplomacy has traced the main lines of policy to be followed in Asia, and, as we have seen, Russia is reverting to her old policy of annexation and advancement. Her designs are becoming no less imperialistic than those of the old Russia and the capitalist countries she denounces so strongly.

But the Russian penetration into Asia took place at a period when Asia was comparatively impotent.

What does the future hold? Let us suggest the colour.

The Asia of the future, roused partly by Bolshevik Russia herself, may turn as much against her as against the white races.

For Asia to look backwards to her ancient exhausted civilization would be but a retrograde movement. Therefore we must be prepared for something new.

If there is no immediate change, and Bolshevism has failed in the East to bring about all her aims, she has nevertheless succeeded in giving a severe shake to the old life of Asia and in arousing national feeling and hatred against Europe.

Is the centre of gravity moving towards Asia whilst European Imperialism is dying?

In the far corner of our picture we see the blue stretch of the Pacific Ocean, on the face of whose waters a stirring page of future history may be written.

We may see a peaceful and gradual elimination of the white races from Asia. But the Bolsheviks have worked for something different. They are trying to stir up the Asiatic hordes, and through a new Attila completely to destroy Europe, and from this chaos they hope to build up a new civilization for the whole world, bearing a Russian impress.

Shall we see a Europe decadent, sinking in the West in the sunset reflection of the world-war and revolution, followed by the red dawn of a barbarian invasion, the prelude to a new day of civilization?

And if this day should come, what position will Russia assume?

Will she form the vanguard of the Asiatic hordes that sweep Europe? Or will she—too late—try and throw in her lot with the

West? Will she hesitate again, only to realize that she is neither East nor West?

Or will her dream come true, and will she like a Phoenix arise from the ashes to create a new civilization?

Will it really be a struggle of Asia against Europe as we speak of it geographically, or a struggle of race?

Can it be that destiny is working out an entirely new future for mankind? Does this latent power exist in the Slav, or is it our own lack of vision that makes us sceptics?

I will conclude by quoting a passage from Dante's Seventh Canto of the "Inferno," Virgil's description of "Fortune" or "Fate," leaving you to form your own conclusions.

Colui, lo cui saver tutto trascende,
 Fece li cieli, e die lor chi conduce,
 Si, ch' ogni parte ad ogni parte splende,
 Distribuendo egualmente la luce ;
 Similmente agli splendor mondani
 Ordino general ministra e duce,
 Che permutasse a tempo li ben vani
 Di gente in gente, e d' uno in altro sangue,
 Oltre la difension de 'senni humani.
 Per ch' una gente impera ed altra langue
 Seguendo lo guidicio di costei,
 Ched e occulto, com' in erba l' angue.
 Vostro saver non ha contrasto a lei :
 Ella provvede, giudica, e persegue
 Suo regno, come il loro gli altri Dei.
 Le sue permutazion non hanno triegue :
 Necessita la fa esser veloce ;
 Si spesso vien chi vicenda consegue.

He whose omniscience transcends all
 Created the heavens, and gave them controlling forces,
 So that each shines on each in turn,
 Distributing the light in equal measure ;
 Likewise for the worldly splendours,
 He ordained one who should guide,
 To transfer from time to time the earthly splendours
 From nation to nation, from race to race,
 Beyond the power of human intellect,
 So that one people rules, another languishes,
 According to the decision of her
 Whose judgments are as deep hidden as the snake in the grass
 Your wisdom cannot compare to hers :
 She foresees, judges, and carries out her reign like the other
 deities.
 There is no truce to her decision ;
 Necessity makes her actions sudden
 That each may have his chance.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. GEORGE SEATON: Could the Lecturer indicate in any way to what extent she separates in her mind the Bolshevik Government of Russia and the sentiment or idea that underlies the great mass of the Russian people? Of course, I am quite aware that in all our minds there is a sort of confusion at present existing as regards the relations of the Soviet Government imposed upon Russia and the sentiment or feeling of the whole population of Russia.

The LECTURER: I think it becomes a purely Russian question. I think we should rather forget the Bolshevism and anti-Bolshevism in looking into the future. Remember that any expansion into Siberia or Asia in any way would become a national Russian question which would be as agreeable to anti-Bolsheviks as to Bolsheviks.

Major BLACKER: Sir Raleigh, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I think we all have reason to be very grateful to the Lecturer for a remarkably lucid description not only of the world politics of Moscow, but of the way in which Muscovite psychology reacts in regard to those world politics and to the relations with other races. There is a point that stands out very remarkably in the thread of the discourse; the Lecturer asks us—Does Russia represent the struggle of Asia against Europe or the struggle of the Mongoloid against the Nordic? I venture to take up the attitude that we now are in the middle of a phase of the age-long struggle of the Mongols and the Nordics in the Old World, and in this struggle Moscow represents the vanguard and a recrudescence to the days of Attila. If one looks at the Old World on the map, and carries one's mind back in the history of Asia to the third century A.D., one cannot help thinking of the pendulum swinging across from East to West and from West to East. In the third century Attila and his Mongols by the use of a new weapon and new military tactics penetrated as far west as Châlons on the Marne from a headquarters which was probably slightly to the south-west of Lake Baikal. That represents a thrust not to be measured in hundreds but in thousands of miles, across the immense plain of Northern Asia and Central Europe. The methods of Attila were probably a nail in the coffin of the Roman military and civil system. It was owing to the intervention perhaps of the Goths and Scythians under Theodoric that Attila was eventually stopped on the Marne. But the thread was taken up by a successor, Jengis-Khan. His grandson Hulagu, and his lieutenant Prince Sabutai, participated in a fresh swing of the pendulum in the years 1238, 1239, and 1241. This swing of the pendulum did not, it is true, go quite so far west as the Marne. It, however, swept across what we call Russia. It overwhelmed the Varangian or Scandinavian principalities and the semi-Greek states of the Ukraine. It swung through Galicia and drove into Bohemia—which we now call Czecho-Slovakia; overran Silesia

and was stopped at Wahlstatt by the battle of Wahlstatt or Liegnitz in the year 1241. We need not follow that Mongol drive to the days of Tamerlane, but it is sufficient for the purposes of the present discussion to realize that when that Mongol wave came into Europe or Central Europe, over the great plain, the Mongols were pagans. Their belief was what we now call Shamanism, which is in actual fact the real belief and religion of Tibet and Mongolia. The Buddhism of Mongolia and Tibet is nothing more than a veneer which has been borrowed from the Nordic Gautama. The belief, changing from one race to another, has been transformed in the process. The real basic religion of the Gonpas of Tibet and Mongolia is Shamanism or Demonism. When the great masses of Mongoloids came westward and came in contact with Western and Arab cultures and civilizations they adopted their religions. Those that came in contact with the Arabs became Muslims—for instance, the Kazan Tatars, the Turks, and the Tatars of Azerbaijan and Khorasan. Certain of the Mongoloids—Lapps, Finns, Prussians, and Estonians—became Christians. One important tribe, the Khazars, became Judaized. That extraordinary phenomenon is the key to a great number of Russian problems. It is fashionable to say that nineteen-twentieths of the Commissars of Moscow to-day are Jews. That is true; yet it is not true, because you have only to look at the photographs of Trotsky, Lenin, Zinoviev, and others to see the broad skull, the high cheekbones, the brown eyes, thick lips, and yellow complexion of the Mongol. To carry the story of the Mongolian wave a little further, the pendulum recoiled partly owing to the drive of the Cossacks. Russia was largely rejuvenated by the Cossack, Polish, and Lithuanian Nordics, the Cossacks being a strongly Nordic element descended from the Varangians, who would not submit to either serfdom or domination. The Cossack became an outlaw, and the Cossack Nordic carried the war into the enemy's country to such good effect that I think it was in James I.'s reign, the Cossack penetrated to the Pacific. Then came the day of the Nordic, and in the year 1900 Nordic troops sacked the Winter Palace in Peking. The Mongol did not have to wait very long before a movement took place in his favour. A Russian army, whose officers were largely Nordic, was defeated in Manchuria in 1905. In 1917 the predominant Nordic aristocracy, the ruling dynasty of Russia, were destroyed by the Khazar Mongol band of commissars and their followers. Not only have the Nordics of Russia been destroyed, but the great majority of them, the Nordic elements of the Cossacks and of the aristocracy, are either exiled or dead. At present you may say without the slightest hesitation that Moscow is ruled by Mongols. The last speaker alluded to the gulf between the ruling element and the great mass of peasantry. I venture to suggest that the great mass of peasantry were always either Mongoloid or Alpine, which is very much the same thing, and

that the Nordic element in Russia was never more than a veneer or fringe. This veneer or fringe of Nordic, which is mainly due to another wave of the Scythians from the shores of the Caspian in the fifth century A.D., has been driven out of Russia, and this represents an important swing of the Mongol pendulum back again towards the west. This leads us to another point. If we accept Moscow as being dominated by Mongolism, what is the connection between the Mongol psychology and Bolshevism? In a word, to get this we must remember how and where the Mongol's ancestors have lived for innumerable generations. We say in a loose sort of way the Mongols came from Central Asia. We also say in an equally loose way that the Nordics and their ancestors came from Central Asia. Both are equally true, but the Central Asia of the Nordics around the Caspian basin is an entirely different Central Asia from the Central Asia of the Mongols about Lake Baikal. The basin of the Caspian is a great plain hardly above sea-level. The country south and south-east of Baikal is a high plateau at a great height above sea-level. The Mongol's ancestors for countless generations have lived in an environment where emulation, competition, rivalry were out of the question. There was nothing for them to strive against one another for. Hence we have a levelling and anti-individualism. On the other hand, our Nordic ancestors have always been up and doing, and striving one against another in the rush for fresh lands and to the sea. Hence anti-individualism is the very life-blood of the Mongol and so of the Bolshevik. (Applause.)

Mr. ROSE: Miss Blackwood has carried us so rapidly over so broad a field and has made so many stimulating suggestions that I feel rather overwhelmed. The eastward and westward plunges of Russian energy were just beginning to swing backwards and forwards comfortably in my mind when Major Blacker introduced even another factor, the tug-of-war between the Nordic and Mongol types. All these factors, all these forces, are no doubt influencing the current of events in Eastern Asia. When one travels by railway from Moscow to Vladivostock, across the vast undeveloped tracks of Siberia, or across the Central Asian desert from the Caspian to the borders of Chinese Turkistan, one is conscious of an immense vital force, emanating from Russia and hurling itself eastward with great imaginative power and a complete disregard for natural obstacles. Its sense of vitality is almost staggering in comparison with the placid atmosphere of the East. But it is not possible to let loose such vitality without something happening. It woke up Japan and changed her whole outlook on life. She recognized a menace to her security, abandoned her policy of isolation, and quickly transformed herself into a progressive and military nation. And now the same Russian vitality is having its effect on China, though we cannot yet see what the results will be. It has taken longer to produce results there because China is so vast and her machinery of communi-

cations is so slow. China is shaking herself from the long repose, developing a vigorous sense of Nationalism and powers of resistance to pressure from outside. It is not Russia alone which has been responsible for this, but Russia has played a big part in China's awakening. The building of the Chinese Eastern Railway, as an essential part of the Trans-Siberian route, through the Manchurian province of China, created a zone of active Russian influence and colonization actually within the Chinese borders. Up to the Russian Revolution the position of Russia in North Manchuria was one of absolute dominance. Then came a short period during which the Russian power waned, and China made a bid to recover her position. But Russia has again become very active in Eastern Asia. It is not convenient for her just now to mobilize fighting forces at the eastern end of that long Siberian railway. But her diplomacy has taken the place of fighting forces. On May 31, 1924, she concluded with China a "Treaty on General Principles" which made valuable concessions to Chinese national pride. In return for Chinese recognition of Soviet Russia, she expressed her willingness to abandon exterritoriality, to draw up a transfrontier tariff on reciprocal lines, to retrocede all the territorial concessions of Czarist Treaties, to meet Chinese susceptibilities in regard to the administration of the Boxer Indemnity funds, and to frame new treaties with China "on a basis of equality." I do not recall that any surrender of practical privileges on the part of Russia has yet resulted from that Treaty. But it was a handsome gesture. And Russia has secured the one thing that really mattered to her, the business control of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The concessions promised to China will only take effect as a result of a subsequent Conference, which was to have been convened on June 30, 1924, but which has not yet met. And so Russia is once more a living force in China, with active agents established at the big Chinese centres, and with an apparent determination to reconstruct and even to extend the old Russian influence which seemed for a brief space to have waned in Eastern Asia.

The CHAIRMAN: Would any lady or gentleman like to carry on some of the very novel suggestions which Miss Blackwood has put before us as regards Russian methods and the possibilities of Russian development in Asia?

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The time is getting on. I do not think I need attempt to add anything to what has been said to-day; I think we may all agree that there are many very interesting points put before us by the Lecturer. We must remember that the lecture was based on the writing of an Italian author, and the views are those, not of an English student of these affairs, but of an Italian who has studied them. They are, therefore, perhaps the more interesting because he very likely regards these things from a different

angle from what we do. If I may say so, I think the six reasons or levers which he ascribed to the Bolsheviks as their intention to use against us in India were rather interesting, because some of them were based on such fallacious grounds—such as our exploitation of the Indians. We are much obliged to Mr. Rose for the very interesting description he gave of what has recently happened in China, as to the relations between China and Russia. I finish by asking you to give your thanks to the Lecturer for the very interesting lecture she has given us. (Applause.)

BURTON MEMORIAL LECTURE :* THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE HIJAZ

By H. ST. J. PHILBY

WE are assembled here this afternoon to honour the memory of Richard Burton.† The actual centenary of his birth fell on March 19, 1921, and was then duly celebrated at the cemetery at Mortlake, where he was buried thirty-five years ago, after a lifetime of prodigious turmoil and labour. But to-day we meet to give practical effect for the first time to a scheme then set on foot for the celebration of his memory in a manner which, I venture to think, would have appealed to him more than any amount of adulation at the tent of grey stone which he exchanged at death for the tents of black hair in which in the full vigour

* By kind permission of the Royal Asiatic Society.

† The first Burton Memorial Lecture was delivered by the Arabian explorer, Mr. H. St. John Philby, C.I.E., at a meeting of the Society held at the hall of the Royal United Service Institution on June 16, when there was a large attendance.

The President, Sir Edward Maclagan, said that it was his privilege, before calling on Mr. Philby to address them, to present to him the first medal which had been awarded under the terms of the Burton Memorial Fund. The Fund was started with the help of a committee which included a number of influential and distinguished persons. The patron was the Duke of Connaught, the chairman Sir Richard Temple, and the deputy-chairman Sir Percy Sykes. The committee were greatly indebted in particular to the honorary secretaries, Dr. Grenfell Baker, a personal friend of Burton's, and Mr. N. M. Penzer, and to the honorary treasurers, Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr. R. Campbell Thompson. The restless and inquiring spirit of Sir Richard Burton led him to travel in many countries, but it was more especially in connection with the Middle East, and with Arabia in particular, that his fame was established. It was therefore fitting that the first medal should be awarded to Mr. Philby. (Cheers.) He had spent the greater part of the last ten years in Arabia or in countries in close proximity thereto, and he had published a most fascinating and useful book on the country under the title of "The Heart of Arabia." They had in Mr. Philby a gentleman who resembled Sir Richard Burton not only in his enterprise as an explorer, but also in a very remarkable knowledge of the languages of the East. That useful publication "Who's Who" showed that Mr. Philby's recreation was "Oriental languages." (Laughter.) In this and many other respects much of the mantle of Sir Richard Burton had fallen on the shoulders of Mr. Philby. It was to the speaker a matter of great satisfaction that it should fall to him to present the medal, for Mr. Philby was a fellow-member of the Indian Civil Service and commenced his career therein in the Province, the Punjab, with which he himself was closely connected. He hoped that the Punjab would continue to develop and turn out men of the enterprise and ability of Mr. Philby. The medal was then presented amid applause.

of his vigorous life he spent so many of his happiest days observing and recording those portentous additions to the sum total of human knowledge for which he is mainly and justly famous.

It is my good fortune to have been selected not only to receive the memorial medal instituted to commemorate the life-work of Sir Richard Burton, but to deliver in his honour the first memorial lecture designed to illustrate and encourage the special activities to which he devoted the greater part of his life. Apart from the fact that I have been a humble worker in the same Arabian field in which Burton first won his spurs and laid the foundation of the brilliant work and reputation that awaited him, the only links I can find between him and myself are, firstly, that like him I served an apprenticeship of seven years in India before launching out into other fields; and, secondly, that I was born in the year in which his translation of the "Arabian Nights" first saw the light of day.

Those are, perhaps, slender grounds enough for the generous recognition with which my work has been met, and I would like to explain that, when, about a year ago, I was informed that the Burton Memorial Medal had been awarded to me, I made up my mind that before the date of presentation came round I would prove my worthiness of such a distinction by achieving a feat which even Burton himself failed to achieve. You will perhaps recollect that in 1853, when Burton set out for Arabia, his primary intention was to traverse and explore the great unknown region of the South Arabian desert, the Empty Quarter as it is called. He was unable to carry out that intention because the Arabian tribes on his route were in a state of general effervescence—a not unusual state of affairs even in these days. Disgusted at his failure he made the best of it, and consoled himself with a pilgrimage to Mecca, which at once placed him in the front rank of those adventurous spirits to whom the British Empire, as we know it to-day, owes its existence.

From Mecca Burton passed to other fields and never found another suitable opportunity of attacking the southern desert of Arabia, though I believe he was contemplating and preparing for such a venture when he was somewhat abruptly relieved of the post of British Consul at Damascus. That venture has ever since remained unattempted or at any rate unachieved, and the Empty Quarter is one of the few remaining tracts of the earth's surface which the white man has never traversed. I hoped to be the first to do so in company with one or two others when last October I left England for Arabia, but circumstances, into the details of which I need not enter, proved altogether too strong for me and put an end to my schemes. I did not even have the consolation of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and all I have to show for my efforts to prove worthy of the medal is a sojourn of three months at Jidda during the siege of that town by the Wahhabis.

During those months I was able to collect a great deal of infor-

mation and gossip about the history of the Hijaz in modern times, and it seemed to me that by placing the knowledge thus gained on record in this memorial lecture I might make amends to the memory of Burton for my failure to achieve the great ambition of his life. There is, moreover, a certain appropriateness in the selection of the Hijaz as the subject of the first Burton memorial lecture in that it was in that country that he began his career of exploration. It was also to that country that he returned twice in later years to explore the mysteries of Midian, and it may even be said that, except for Syria and Palestine, which he knew very well, Burton's actual experience of Arabia was limited to the Hijaz. I need, therefore, make no apology for selecting the recent history of the Hijaz as my text for this afternoon, though I should explain that, in doing so, I had originally intended to trace briefly the history of that country from the time when Burton first knew it in the middle of last century to the present day. I soon realized, however, that it would be quite impossible to deal adequately with such a theme in the course of one hour, more particularly as it has been impressed on me that I must not trespass on the political arena. I decided in consequence to confine myself to a mere sketch of recent events, which I hope some day to develop more fully. And I may perhaps be allowed to state at the outset my qualifications for dealing with the subject. Apart from the three months I recently spent at Jidda, I visited the Hijaz at the end of 1917 when, coming from Central Arabia, I traversed it from its eastern frontier through Taif and the Wadi Fatima to Jidda, where on that occasion I spent a fortnight; at the end of that period I enjoyed a week's cruise northward along the Hijaz coast, visiting the seaports of Yanbu', Wajh, and 'Aqaba; again in July, 1919, I spent three dreadful days in a steamer in the harbour of Jidda as King Husain would not on any account allow me to set foot on his land; and latterly during the years 1922, 1923, and 1924, I had many opportunities of making myself acquainted with the northern districts of the Hijaz, the districts of Shaubak, Petra, Ma'an and 'Aqaba.

As you all know, the historical importance of the Hijaz rests on the fact that it was the birthplace of Islam. For less than forty years in the seventh century of the Christian era Mecca* was the capital of the Arabian or Islamic Empire, such as it was then. For the next eleven and a half centuries the Hijaz was a mere province, a more or less derelict province, of the Empire to which it had given birth, and which was ruled in turn by the Califs of Damascus, Baghdad, Cairo, and Constantinople. During all this time its part in history was an entirely subordinate one, and its only link with the world was the annual pilgrimage, a festival which, for all the difficulties and inconvenience it

* As pointed out by Dr. Hogarth, it was Madina, not Mecca, that was the capital during this period.

involved, to say nothing of its potential dangers to the public health of the world, has survived all the vicissitudes of time and provides the hundred millions of devotees of Islam with a political focus the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Owing to the pilgrimage, and the pilgrimage alone, cosmopolitan populations have grown up in the seaports and chief towns of the country, each of which is, as it were, an epitome of Islam. Those centres of population exist for the sole purpose of supplying the spiritual and physical needs of the pilgrims for a consideration out of all proportion to the value of the services rendered. And the Badawin population of the Hijaz exists mainly by plundering the same pilgrims of whatever remains to them after the townsfolk have done with them. This may be a somewhat drastic statement of the case, but, to understand the Hijaz, one must realize that its sole *raison d'être* is to batten on the annual influx of pilgrims. And the Arabs as a race are so thriftless that they would think nothing of killing the goose that lays the golden egg for one final and glorious debauch of plunder. The maintenance of the pilgrimage is in fact a blessing for which the Muhammadan world has to thank the circumstance that the Hijaz has almost from the beginning and almost to the end of its career up to date been a subordinate province of the leading Islamic temporal power of the day. Its administration was always for the Turks a thankless task without any great prize as its reward; but they did maintain after their own fashion a semblance of order which enabled the pilgrims to perform in reasonable safety the chief and culminating rites of their religion, and the inhabitants of the Hijaz to batten on them regularly and within reasonable limits. On the whole, both parties had reason to be satisfied with the opportunist policy of the "Terrible Turk," and I imagine that, if anyone had up to ten or fifteen years ago thought of taking a vote of the pilgrims as to the most disagreeable part of their experiences, a great majority would have been found to have nothing to complain of except the quarantine regulations imposed on them by the unreasonable solicitude of the Great Powers for the public health of the world. At any rate, Burton had a good deal to say to the discredit of the quarantine station at Tor on the coast of the Sinai peninsula, and, although his criticisms were not listened to or acted on by the authorities, it must be admitted that on such a subject he spoke with the authority of a pilgrim's experience.

Be that as it may, the Hijaz was, comparatively speaking, a happy country during the long period when it was without independent historical importance. The first nail in the coffin of its happiness was driven in when under the auspices of Sultan 'Abdul Hamid the first bolt of the Hijaz Railway was well and truly riveted in 1904. The Hijaz Railway is, perhaps, one of the finest examples of railway engineering in the world—a fact which is not surprising considering that funds, collected by voluntary subscription throughout the Muhammadan world,

were practically unlimited and 'Abdul Hamid was able to secure the services of the well-known German engineer, Meissner Pasha, who ultimately constructed a great part of the still unfinished Berlin-Baghdad railway. The excellence of his work is attested by the great difficulties encountered by Lawrence and his Arabs in their attempts to demolish it during the war, and the extraordinary facility with which 'Ali, the present King of the Hijaz, was able to restore the most heavily damaged southern portions of the line sufficiently to run trains to Madina in connection with the pilgrimage of last year. For that achievement King 'Ali deserves a great deal of credit.

Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, of course, never regarded the line as anything but a strategic railway for the control of Western Arabia, but in that capacity, owing to the failure of the Turks in face of natural Arab opposition to extend it to Mecca itself before the war, it proved to be a double-edged weapon, and was used to some purpose by the enemies of Turkey during the war. Since the war it has been cut up into three separate sections under the control respectively of Great Britain, France, and the Hijaz, each of which operates its section independently with different sets of rules and tariffs—not a very satisfactory state of affairs, and one of which we shall probably hear more in the future. But no historian of the Hijaz can afford to ignore the history of the Hijaz Railway.

The second nail was driven into the coffin of the Hijaz in 1908, when the Young Turk Government selected Husain ibn 'Ali for the important post of Grand Sharif of Mecca. Sultan 'Abdul Hamid had already on a previous occasion flatly refused to appoint Husain to that post, and when he heard that he had been appointed by the Turkish Government he made a remark which was justified by the event within seven or eight years. "The Hijaz," he exclaimed, "is as good as lost to Turkey." In point of fact, the failure of the Hijaz Railway to reach Mecca was due to no one so much as to the new Grand Sharif.

For the third nail we must pass to the summer of 1916, when the British fleet bombarded Jidda and the Turkish garrison surrendered. It is generally believed that the departure of the Turks was hailed with delight by the people of the Hijaz, but that is far from being the case. Under the cover of the British guns bombarding the port the Amir Zaid, youngest son of Sharif Husain and now a student at Balliol College, invested Jidda on the land side. To stir up local opposition to the Turks he sent a message to the leading citizen of Jidda, Saiyid Muhammad al Tawil, who held the high and lucrative post of Deputy-Director of Customs, offering him the post of Director if he would desert the Turks. The position of the Turks was desperate enough, but Saiyid Muhammad replied that, having served them faithfully for a quarter of a century, he would not desert them in the hour of their need. And not only that, but when the Turkish commander invited

him to join the council of war, which was to deliberate the advisability of surrender, he declined the invitation on the ground that he could not be a party to a development which, though inevitable, he regarded as fraught with disaster to the Hijaz. The Turks surrendered and the Amir Zaid's army marched into Jidda, but Saiyid Muhammad did not make his obeisance to the conqueror until after he had said his last farewell to the Turkish officers, whom he accompanied for the purpose to the steamer which was to carry them into captivity. On his return to land he informed the Amir Zaid that, the Turks having released him from his obligations to them by departure, he was ready to place himself at the disposal of the new rulers of his country. This incident is, I think, worthy of the best traditions of Arab chivalry, and be it said to the credit of the Amir Zaid and of his father that Saiyid Muhammad was immediately appointed Director of Customs. They had no more faithful servant during the years that have passed since then, and he is commonly reputed to be the only man in the Hijaz who was able to stand up to King Husain. And only at the beginning of the present year history repeated itself when Ibn Sa'ud, after his triumphal entry into Mecca, despatched a message to Saiyid Muhammad offering him the governorship of the whole Jidda district if he would desert the cause of King 'Ali. He replied that Ibn Sa'ud would be justified in doubting his worthiness of such a post if he secured it by treason towards his present employers; and, of course, nobody but he will be governor of Jidda when Ibn Sa'ud occupies that town. He is one of the most remarkable characters of modern Arabian history, and is certainly the outstanding hero of the recent history of the Hijaz.

As Director of Customs he holds the purse-strings of the country—an all-important function in the East as, indeed, in the West—but his activities are not confined to finance. He is the effective ruler of the country, and one of the most remarkable sights I have ever seen is Saiyid Muhammad at work. Bare-headed he sits at his table furnished with nothing but pen, inkstand, and telephone. By his side is his invariable companion, a hukka, or hubble-bubble, and from time to time he sips a cup of Turkish coffee. Round him is a howling mob of Arabs—his own clerks, local merchants, divines from Mecca, pilgrims from Java, India, and elsewhere, and Badawin Arabs of cutthroat appearance armed to the teeth. Never departing from his amazing suavity of manner, he polishes off the business of the day with amazing rapidity. Men literally at daggers drawn with each other exchange the kiss of peace in this strange court and depart arm in arm beaming blessings on the judge, and on occasion even women enter his presence to depart again either reconciled to or happily divorced from their husbands. He alone dared to release prisoners committed to gaol by King Husain, and on one occasion the King, being annoyed with something that had happened in the Customs Department, telephoned from

Mecca ordering the offending clerk, Hasan Effendi, to appear before him at once. Hasan immediately took sanctuary with Saiyid Muhammad, who called up Mecca on the telephone. King Husain hastened to assure him that some mistake had been made, and that it was not Hasan Effendi but another person of the same name whom he required.

But to return from this digression, the departure of the Turks and the capture by the Arabs of Jidda, Mecca, and Taif in the summer of 1916 left the Grand Sharif master of the situation in the southern Hijaz, and free to proclaim himself King of the Arab Countries. This claim, of course, brought him into sharp conflict with his eastern neighbour, Ibn Sa'ud, the ruler of Central Arabia. And a *casus belli* was found in the rival claims of the two rulers to a petty oasis on their common frontier called Khurma. That proved to be the fourth nail in the coffin of the Hijaz, though it was not fully driven in until May, 1919, when the rival armies met at the neighbouring oasis of Turaba, and the Hijaz army was annihilated in a night attack on its camp.

History will, in due course, give Ibn Sa'ud the credit due to him for the moderation which he exercised in face of the victory, which left Mecca open to him. Instead of advancing, he retired into his deserts, and thus gave King Husain an ample respite to reconsider the implications of his ambitious policy. But the more he was thwarted in his designs, the more ambitious did he become, and the more reckless in his methods. The five years that followed saw him steadily overtaken by his doom, while by the time of his fall he had succeeded in alienating the sympathy of every element in his own territories. Ready as he was to profit by the sentiment of self-determination that swept over the world during the latter part of the war, he was far from being a believer in constitutional government. The Arabs, in his view, had every right to demand Arab government of Arab countries, but there their freedom of choice ended. Within the Arab world the theory of the divine right of kings applied without any possible exception, and the divine decree that gave the world the blessing of Islam clearly destined the progeny of the Prophet to hold the temporal sceptre of Islam in the fulness of time. And now the time was ripe.

But there was one prize to which he dared not openly aspire, though fate conspired with him to place it within his grasp only to tear it away again, and use it somewhat unkindly as the fifth and last nail in the lid of the coffin. Islam was never easy in its mind about the Arab revolt led by King Husain against the lawful Calif, and when Turkey lay broken by the power of the Allies, the Muhammadan world made it perfectly clear that the temporal vicissitudes of a world dominated by the infidel could not be allowed to affect the spiritual prerogatives of the Prophet's representative on earth. It is idle to consider whether such an attitude has the support of historical or theological precedent.

Islam, like other religions, is conservative in character, and having been accustomed to an Ottoman Calif for four hundred years, had no intention of approving any innovation on that system. But Islam did not reckon with Republican Turkey, which, being ostentatiously radical, knocked the bottom out of the Ottoman Califate by abolishing that institution just over a year ago.

King Husain was at that critical moment on a visit to his son, the Amir 'Abdullah, in Trans-Jordan, and it was there in the royal camp in the Jordan valley that occurred his formal assumption of the vacant Califate. Day after day deputations and messages poured in from the neighbouring Arab countries, from Syria and Palestine, from 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan itself, and the Hijaz, acclaiming Husain as Calif. But he and the countries concerned would perhaps have been better advised to remember that they are at best only the Arab kernel of an Islam which extends far beyond the borders of Arabia, and that even Arabia was far from unanimous in the matter, as its strongest state, the Wahhabi Sultanate, was hostile to such a development. Egypt and India hastened to disassociate themselves from that development, but it was Ibn Sa'ud, the Wahhabi leader, who took time by the forelock, and, setting aside all idle talk of conferences and committees, launched his armies against the capital of one whom the rest of the Islamic world was denouncing as a usurper. The result is well known. Last September the first of the Hijaz towns, Taif, fell almost without a blow struck. A few days later Mecca was occupied without opposition, and Ibn Sa'ud himself arrived there in December to organize the conquest of the Hijaz. King Husain was forced by public opinion to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, 'Ali, who ascended the throne as a strictly constitutional King, and King of the Hijaz only. His father's claim to the Califate and the kingship of the Arab countries was definitely and finally written off as an unattainable ambition. Since then King 'Ali has been shut up in Jidda, which the Wahhabis have been besieging in their desultory fashion for the last six or seven months, while Ibn Sa'ud has been steadily extending his tentacles over the outlying districts of the Hijaz. On the Red Sea coast he holds the ports of Qunfda and Lith south of Jidda, and Rabigh and Wajh north of it—a coast-line of some four hundred miles—while so far as can be made out with certainty, the only parts of the Hijaz remaining to King 'Ali are the ports of Jidda and Yanbu', the city of Madina, with the Hijaz Railway northwards, and the provinces of Midian and Ma'an in the north.

Such in brief outline is the history of the rise, decline, and fall of the Sharifian kingdom, and I propose to devote the rest of my time to a brief account of the curious jumble of ancient and modern institutions which made up the administration of King Husain. To understand his character properly it is necessary to realize that, until he

returned to Mecca as Grand Sharif in 1908 at the age of nearly sixty, his life had been passed in alternate spells of existence among the Badawin tribes of the Hijaz and of honourable exile amid the luxuries of Constantinople. In his knowledge of the Badawin he stood unrivalled, and he believed in dealing with them on the principle of the mailed fist, but a curious strain of niggardliness in him reduced his Badawin administration to futility. In this respect Ibn Sa'ud has succeeded where he has failed, for no one realizes like the Wahhabi Sultan that the only way to control these turbulent and predatory tribes is to strike them, seldom, but suddenly and without sparing, and then to receive them back into favour with gifts and honours as if nothing had happened. It is the most remarkable fact about Ibn Sa'ud that all those who have at one time or another during his reign of a quarter of a century incurred his severest displeasure are to be numbered among his most honoured counsellors. And it is equally remarkable about King Husain that not only has he never succeeded in conciliating an enemy, but has seen all his best friends depart one after another to the enemy's camp. In his fall he was alone and deserted, while the Wahhabi commander who captured Mecca was only seven years before an officer in the Sharifian army, who left the King's service in disgust for an unmerited affront.

And in dealing with his administrative officials and the merchant populations of his towns he was not less unsuccessful than in dealing with the Badawin, and for the same reason. The corrupt practices of officialdom at Constantinople had created in him a conviction that all officials are essentially and innately corrupt, and in dealing with them he brought his niggardliness into play. While in India and other Oriental countries British experience has tended towards the conclusion that the standard of honesty in subordinate officials rises in direct ratio with the standard of their pay, King Husain adopted the principle that as his officials would be corrupt in any case, it was useless to pay them at all out of the State treasury. The consequence of such a policy may be better left to the imagination, but one direct result of it was that when the crisis came there was practically no army in existence to defend the Hijaz from the Wahhabis. The present army at Jidda has been recruited *de novo* since last October by King 'Ali, to whom also is due the fact that Madina has not fallen. He was governor of that district during his father's reign, and did not neglect to pay an army to defend it.

And King Husain pursued somewhat similar methods with the civilian population of his towns. He acted on the assumption that all sensible men evade the payment of taxation if they possibly can, and that the greater part of the taxes paid are dissipated by official corruption. He therefore resorted frequently to the expedient of a capital levy on the merchants of Jidda and Mecca, and so frequently

did he do so that he brought the commercial development of those towns almost to a standstill. Many merchants simply left the country in disgust, and those who remained perforce restricted their business to an absolute minimum until reminded by a period of imprisonment that a merchant's duty to the community was to make as much money as he could for the King to raid periodically.

But it was not so much the fact that they were fleeced by the King that the merchants complained of as the fact that the money so procured was not spent on the betterment of conditions in the Hijaz. Their whole outlook being a commercial one, they realized the urgent need of education in the country, but their idea of education differed from King Husain's as widely as the poles. They wanted practical education to prepare their children for business and the other activities of the modern world. Restricted until the war to Arabic and Turkish as the sole languages included in the educational curriculum, they demanded the inclusion of Hindustani, French, and particularly English. King Husain abolished the teaching of Turkish, which was practically a second mother-tongue of the Arabs and is regularly used by them for conversation not intended for the understanding of strangers, but he considered Arabic the sole fit medium for all education, and many of the leading citizens of Jidda have to send their sons to Syria, Egypt, and India to get the knowledge of foreign languages essential to a commercial life. And they demanded also the teaching of book-keeping, general history and geography, science and other modern subjects; but King Husain was a strong believer in a purely classical education, and the classical teaching of the Hijaz schools has a strongly Quranic flavour—logic and grammar and jurisprudence, theology, interpretation of the Quran, and so forth.

But King Husain himself was an enthusiastic student of the art of despotic government, and he believed that the only proper use of the funds of the State was for the betterment of the administrative machine, whose mainspring was himself. He realized the advantages likely to accrue from modern scientific methods to an absolute despotism, and he was lavish in expenditure on what is perhaps the best system of wireless communication to be found in any of the more backward countries. Here he, of course, had the advantage of the work done during the war by the Turks, to say nothing of the trained personnel left behind by them. At Madina and Ma'an there were first-rate and fully equipped wireless installations capable of covering the whole area of the country, while at Jidda and 'Aqaba there were subsidiary installations, which were duly multiplied at Yanbu', Tabuk, Qunfida, and other places, and on the four ships which constitute the Hijaz Navy. At Mecca itself the King was in telephonic communication with Jidda, whence he was able to communicate with the outer world by the Red Sea cable or with the various parts of his own territories by wireless. By this system he was

enabled to maintain personal control over all his district and provincial governors, and those who failed to keep him informed of every detail within their ken were easily brought to book.

I have already mentioned the Hijaz Navy, and it is perhaps unnecessary to say more about it than that it was a luxury without much practical advantage. Nevertheless it cost a good deal of money to maintain, and its ships were mainly used for the purpose of carrying troops from one part of the country to another and for carrying distinguished persons with their retainers. The King himself only used these ships on two occasions, once on his grand tour of 1923-24, which brought him to 'Aqaba and in due course to Trans-Jordan, and the second time when last year he went into exile after his abdication.

The third branch of his administration on which he spent a great deal of money to little purpose was the Hijaz Air Force. It would be difficult to say how many aeroplanes in all have been purchased by the Hijaz Government, or how many of them have come to an untimely end. It is a fact, however, that they have never achieved any useful purpose whatever, and the Wahhabi force besieging Jidda seems to be supremely contemptuous of the coming and going of aeroplanes over their heads. The great shortcoming of the Hijaz air service was its almost total lack of repairing facilities and spare parts. King Husain would gladly pay thousands of pounds to a foreign firm for aeroplanes supplied, but when his Russian pilots and mechanics pointed out that the machines could not be maintained in serviceable condition without spare parts and constant overhaul, he sent them about their business convinced that they too were in league to cheat him. Two of these Russians have lost their lives in the recent operations against the Wahhabis. The first, Bobroff by name, was ordered to proceed to Taif without being warned that that town had already fallen. On landing on the aerodrome he was welcomed by a Wahhabi fusillade and was killed. The other, Sherikoff, was sent with two observers and a cargo of home-made bombs to create havoc among the Wahhabis, but it seems that one of the bombs exploded before they reached the scene of action and all the occupants of the machine were killed.

For all his navy and air force and his efficient scheme of wireless communication King Husain never achieved even the semblance of efficient administration, and this is scarcely to be wondered at seeing that he set himself to rear the structure of a modern state on thoroughly unsuitable soil without paying the slightest attention to its foundations. A corrupt administration and a primitive system of education were scarcely calculated to fit the country for the higher flights of modern civilization. The complete absence of personal security owing to the concentration of the government in the King's person and the lack of an army to defend the country from external aggression were further elements of weakness. His great mistake was to begin from the

top instead of from the bottom, and to attempt, with a view to impressing the world, the impossible task of grafting the latest achievements of the twentieth century on to a body politic which has all the characteristics of the age of the patriarchs and on to a country in which trial by the ordeal of fire is still a recognized method of settling disputes and domestic slavery is accepted without question as part of the natural order of things.

Tabuk, a station on the Hijaz Railway some distance south of Ma'an, is a recognized centre for the trial by ordeal of fire. There are other localities in the Hijaz in which persons versed in this method of settling disputes reside, but perhaps the best-known seat of the practice is at Al 'Arish, a station on the Sinai Railway just within the Egyptian frontier. The office of judge is, of course, an hereditary prerogative of the families concerned and is handed down from sire to son. The ordeal by fire is presumably a very ancient institution, and in Arabia, I imagine, comes down in unbroken descent from pagan times. The process is probably not familiar to you, and I must confess I have never seen it in operation; but I may be pardoned for describing it briefly on the authority of King Husain, who, while admitting its inacceptability according to the canons of Islam, is nevertheless a believer in its efficacy. He promised to arrange for a practical demonstration for my benefit, but in the excitement of the Califate development, to which I have referred, he did not fulfil his promise. The process is known by the Arabs as *Malass*, or "licking," because, when the disputants in a case agree to settle it by this ordeal, they appear by appointment before the officiating judge, whose necessary equipment is only a fire and a poker or skewer of iron. This instrument being warmed to a white heat, the judge administers the requisite oath to the party concerned and then passes the white-hot poker over his tongue. If he has spoken the truth the poker leaves no trace, and if he has lied he is duly convicted by a sore tongue. The principle of the ordeal is simple enough. The parties are supposed to be in the invisible presence of their Creator, who knows the truth, and he who speaks the truth has nothing to fear. Hence his organs function normally and the natural spittle on the tongue is sufficient to defy the brand. The liar, of course, is dry-throated and dry-tongued with fear and is easily convicted.

As for domestic slavery, it is still one of the burning questions of the time. It is a century ago since the civilized world definitely set its face against slavery and put an end to it in the more accessible areas under its direct control. More than that, it concerted measures to prevent it as far as possible by intercepting cargoes of slaves passing over the high seas, but its efforts cannot be said to have met with more than partial success. Slavery, it must be admitted, still persists in Arabia as a normal institution, and slaves still come from the only source which has always supplied them to the Arab markets—namely Africa,

which is divided from Arabia by the width of the Red Sea. Cargoes of slaves still cross the Red Sea, which with its reefs and creeks is difficult to patrol effectively, and the annual pilgrimage constitutes another source of supply which is practically impossible to control. Africans proceeding on foot to Mecca may be kidnapped by the Badawin and sold, while parents rendered destitute by the pilgrimage cannot be prevented from selling the children accompanying them to get the price of return tickets to their homes. To inconvenient questions on the other side they reply simply that the children have died. The whole problem is a very difficult one, and I am inclined to think that the traffic in slaves cannot be stopped altogether so long as there are purchasers any more than the traffic in drugs can be absolutely prevented while there are consumers. Restrictions in such matters tend to be an incentive to the dealer by raising the prices of the commodity in which he deals, but the range of slave prices in Arabia would not seem to suggest that the vigilance of the civilized world has produced any marked shortage in the market. At Jidda and Mecca, for instance, the price of slaves varies from £30 to £80, according to quality, the higher prices being charged for sturdy negroes from the Sudan, while the feeble health and impaired lives of the Abyssinian variety affect the value of slaves from that country. I was told at Jidda that ordinarily the slave-cargoes land on the Yaman coast, where the sea is less broad and spanned by archipelagoes of little islands where the dhows can take shelter against bad weather and patrols. The pick of the market is therefore bought up in the Yaman, while the Hijaz only receives the residue. Slaves who are ill-treated by their masters or are unhappy can always secure emancipation by taking refuge at any of the European consulates at Jidda, and Mr. Bullard, the present British Consul, has always attended to this part of his duties with unflagging zeal; but, after all, the number of slaves who seek release in this manner is but small compared with the slave population of Arabia. And one frequently hears of cases, particularly of women who have been set free by their owners as a reward for faithful service, and who, marrying men of their own race settled in the Hijaz, have every reason to complain of the household drudgery which is their lot to the end of their days in comparison with their former comfortable service in the houses of the rich.

At that let me leave the subject and my account, which for want of time has necessarily been a mere sketch, of the recent history and present conditions of the Hijaz. In dealing with such a country one has to remember that it is a country of which the European world gets only occasional glimpses through the medium of passing visitors. Burkhardt has left us an excellent account of conditions as they were in the early part of last century, and it was not till the fifties that we get another detailed account of the country from the pen of Richard

Burton, who came down from Madina along Wadi Fatima. In the seventies we have Keane, who performed the pilgrimage as a servant of an Indian potentate and discovered living in Mecca a mysterious Englishwoman who was apparently kidnapped during the Indian Mutiny, and, having accepted the Muhammadan religion, visited and remained in Mecca. In the seventies we again have Burton and his detailed accounts of the northern Hijaz or the land of Midian, as well as Doughty, who emulated Burkhardt's discovery of Petra by discovering the ruins of Madain Salih, and after two years of wandering in Arabia visited Taif and Jidda. In the eighties the eminent French traveller, Charles Huber, was murdered by his Badawin escort at Rabigh and was buried in the European cemetery at Jidda. And some years before the war we have another pilgrim in Wavell. Then came the war with its great opportunity of study of the country, of which no man took advantage to better account than Lawrence, though, for some reason best known to himself, he has not yet seen his way to publishing an account without which the history of the Hijaz must be regarded as incomplete. Of all those who have contributed to our knowledge of the country Burkhardt, Burton, and Doughty stand out by themselves, with Lawrence to join their number when he tells his story. Doughty and Lawrence are happily still alive. Burkhardt, who was of Swiss nationality, was buried at Cairo, and his neglected grave evoked the criticism of Burton, who commented somewhat caustically on the comparative failure of a movement which had shortly before been initiated to procure funds for the adequate maintenance of the "discoverer of Petra's humble grave." By the irony of fate his own grave at Mortlake has already begun to occasion anxiety among those who are concerned for the adequate perpetuation of the memory of our national heroes. Monuments of stone are by no means imperishable if not properly looked after, and they cannot be looked after without expenditure. The least I can do on such an occasion as this is to suggest that Burton's fame is already sufficiently established to justify the classing of his last resting-place as a monument of national and historical interest and importance. It deserves to be kept in an adequate state of repair for the benefit of posterity, and in suggesting that the British Government should give the matter its consideration I have the support of an interesting parallel. When Charles Huber was murdered in the Hijaz in 1884 the French Government was not slow to recognize his services to science and exploration by erecting over his grave at Jidda a simple and effective tombstone of granite at the national expense. And that monument is looked after by the French Government and is one of the very few monuments in the European cemetery at Jidda which has survived the ravages of time. The other tombs look rather as if they had been subjected to some sort of bombardment, and I am not sure that that is not the case, though, of course, the bombardment was accidental.

And in view of possible further bombardment by the Wahhabis the ancient Javanese custodian of the cemetery has taken the precaution of preparing in the cemetery a dug-out for his temporary occupation, which will doubtless in due course serve someone else as a grave. This gentleman is paid his wages of about £4 per month by the British, French, and Italian Governments in alternate years, and it might, perhaps, be suggested that the British Government might set apart the equivalent of his wages for one or two years, when they fall upon the French or Italian Exchequers, to be funded for the maintenance in perpetuity of the grave of one than whom no Englishman has done more to make his countrymen acquainted with the birthplace of a creed which occupies a high position in point of importance among the creeds of the British Empire.

In the discussion following the lecture Dr. Hogarth said that while it was undoubtedly the case that very much of the fame of Burton amongst the general public was due to his pilgrimage to Mecca, that venture was intended to be but the prelude to the greater enterprise of crossing Arabia and of reaching the Southern Provinces of Nejd. Burton's first idea was to go through the pilgrimage and become a Moslem in the true sense of the word; he professed to be a Moslem up to the day of his death. He believed the pilgrimage would furnish him with sufficient prestige to enable him to travel eastwards in much greater safety than if he had not undertaken the Haj. He was a young man at the time, but on inquiry he found that to pass through Central Arabia to the South was a very different proposition to undertaking the comparatively easy and safe pilgrimage route. It would mean venturing among very fanatical tribes of the interior. Therefore, instead of continuing the journey from Mecca he returned and wrote his famous book, which caught the public fancy and stereotyped his fame as a pilgrim. The lecturer had enumerated various causes for the decay of the kingdom of the Hijaz. For himself Dr. Hogarth did not regard the Hijaz as any more dead even in the political sense than it had been for the last thousand years and more. This was not the first time it had been seized by the tribes of the interior. Such a seizure took place in the tenth century and also again a hundred years ago. It would not surprise him to find a Sharifial family again in power before many years were over. But he agreed with the lecturer that the Hijaz Railway would prove to have inflicted a very serious blow on the prosperity of the Hijaz. This prosperity rested solely and simply upon the pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina. The railway was opened in 1904, and he thought it would be useful if reliable statistics could be obtained to indicate how far the pilgrimage had been affected numerically. While the Sultan Abdul Hamid built the railway for strategic purposes, he appealed for and received, on

religious grounds, the financial support of the Islamic world. But the railway had taken away so much of the labour and what might be described as the other-worldliness of the venture of the pilgrimage that it had tended to deprive it of the great merit it had in Moslem eyes. It was not surprising that by the time the railway reached Madina there was strong opposition on the part of the tribesmen to the contemplated extension to Mecca, which would mean the loss to them of the lucrative trade in camel transport. The opposition so far succeeded that the line was not extended to Mecca, which still retained something of that other-worldliness that had been taken away from the sister city. It would have greatly interested Burton to know what the effect of the building of the line would be, more particularly upon the pilgrimage from Turkey. It had been the custom for many years to send out advance agents to India, Turkistan, Turkey, and other Moslem countries to whip up pilgrims. He would like to know what their success had been in recent years, and whether they were received with the honours formerly bestowed upon them in various countries, and notably in Asiatic Turkey. Upon the basis of figures showing the numbers and nationality of the pilgrims a judgment could be formed whether the Haj was likely to be maintained in the future. Neither Mecca nor Madina had or were likely to have a prosperous economic existence apart from the pilgrimage, and if this was not maintained they would relapse into Arab townships of no importance.

Referring to the expressions of regret by the lecturer that Lawrence had not given to the world the results of his explorations, Dr. Hogarth said that as a matter of fact there was in existence a comprehensive record by Lawrence. A very few copies of the record were in existence, and there was good reason to anticipate that in a short time the book would be published privately in a limited edition. It should be published, at any rate, not later than next year.

Lord Raglan said a few words, and Mr. Penzer, co-founder and secretary of the Burton Memorial Fund, spoke from the practical standpoint. There were two points he wished particularly to call attention to: firstly, the deplorable condition of Burton's mausoleum at the Mortlake cemetery, and secondly the fact, generally unknown, that Burton's library and relics of his travels were divided between the Kensington Central Library and the Camberwell Library.

Although Lady Burton left a large sum to be spent in preserving the mausoleum from any chances of decay, and actually bought up all surrounding ground, by some mismanagement not only had fresh graves sprung up in close proximity to the tomb, but both the outside and inside of the mausoleum itself were in a terrible condition. At the present moment there was a tree slowly growing towards the top of the tomb which would do serious damage if not cut down in time.

With regard to Burton's library, owing to the fact that Lady

Burton's sister, Mrs. Fitzgerald, conceived the idea of burning his books, Miss Plowman (Lady Burton's secretary), with the help of Mr. Herbert Jones, Librarian of the Central Library, Kensington, managed to get the books out of the house and convey them to the library. Unfortunately, there was no room for them all, and for a time no library or institution could be found where such a room was vacant. Finally, however, space was found at the Camberwell Library, and so all Lady Burton's books and the Burton relics were conveyed thither.

Thus to this day the collections were divided and practically unknown to anyone. As it would be Burton's dearest wish for his library to be used by students and scholars of the East, it seemed a thousand pities that no effort could be made to unite these two collections and possibly place them in some public institution such as the British Museum, or failing that the Royal Anthropological Institute, of which Burton was a founder.

Mr. Penzer pointed out that the value of the collection laid not alone in the fact that the books belonged to Burton, but that it contained many highly important works such as Doughty's "Arabia Deserta," which are largely annotated in Burton's hand throughout. Apart from this, there are several MSS. which had not yet been published, including an important Hindustani version of the Hitopadesa recension of "Pilpay's Fables."

THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR, 1924-25

A MEETING of the Society was held at the Royal United Service Institution, S.W., on May 22, Lord Peel in the chair, when a very interesting and valuable lecture was given by Mr. Leonard Woolley on the results of last season's work of the archæological expedition sent out to Ur by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Woolley is the leader. It is very much regretted that the lecture, which was illustrated by excellent slides, cannot be given in full.

After giving a description of the progress made during the year, the discovery of the foundations of the Ziggurat, the finding of an arch dated 1400 B.C., the oldest known example of this form of architecture being used above ground, the finding of a great hoard of tablets of about 2000 B.C., and of a museum of antiquities attached to the Convent built by Nabonidus, and, most important of all the finds, a colossal *stela* of Ur-Engur, the founder of the Third Dynasty, Mr. Woolley said that enough had now been discovered to prove the immense value of the work, and to show what was yet to be done. The difficulty lay in finding the money necessary to carry on. The funds at the disposal of the British Museum were not sufficient, and though the help given by the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania was very great, they were compelled to ask for help from people interested in the subject. The residents in Mesopotamia had given most generously; but the expenses were necessarily heavy, and it would be a very great loss if the excavations, which so far had proved of such value, could not be thoroughly carried out.

Sir FREDERIC KENYON said he would like to take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Woolley, and of thanking him on behalf of the British Museum for the excellent work he had carried on during the winter. It was now six years since the series of campaigns had commenced on the ruins of Ur, and they had been attended by very great success. The reason of starting the excavations there had been to try and trace back as far as possible the history of the very earliest civilizations, and though it was impossible to say where this was to be found, it was evident that in the valleys of Mesopotamia valuable results would be obtained by excavating sites known to date back to the dawn of history as we knew it.

There was another excellent reason for going there: we had taken the country, and it would have been a scandal if we had allowed the chance so given to escape us. In 1918 Captain R. Campbell Thompson, one of the most eminent of British Assyriologists, was acting as an Intelligence Officer in Mesopotamia, and the task of making the preliminary survey and diggings was entrusted to him; the following year Dr. Hall took up the work, and, since he could no longer be spared from the British Museum, Mr. Woolley went out to carry it on.

"A good deal has now been done; this year we have gone back to 2300 B.C., but in the earlier campaigns at Tel el-Obeid we have had the lion heads of bronze and the bull friezes, which carry us a millennium farther back. In digging, of course, one cannot command success; digging merely to get 'museum objects' and leaving many things unexplored is not to be thought of, and we are sure now and then to get a fallow year." But so far we have had great success, Mr. Woolley has had good luck as well as good skill, and though we should have had no right to complain if he had found nothing of first-rate importance, but had merely amplified what had been done already, he has found quantities of tablets and minor works of art, and the most remarkable *stela* ever discovered in Iraq. Moreover, the way in which they were found shows that there is still more to be discovered, and we hope to send yet another expedition and to get still farther back.

And now let me take this opportunity of emphasizing the note on which Mr. Woolley ended his lecture. The British Museum could not have found anything like the necessary amount of money without the generous collaboration of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and it is in the true spirit of collaboration that Dr. Gordon has joined in the work. But even then it would not have been possible to go on without the very liberal assistance of certain generous friends of the Museum, Mr. Reckitt (who has promised to help us again when we arrange the next expedition), Sir Arnold Wilson and the English residents in Baghdad. Let me beg all who are here to strengthen our hands for further excavations; it is true that there is no limit to the possibilities of the work, but the British Museum cannot provide enough funds, and they must find friends who will contribute.

Before I sit down I should like to thank Mr. Woolley, not only for his skill as an archæologist, but also for the admirably clear way in which he has reconstructed for us the history brought to light by the discoveries which he has made and of which he has given us such a delightful account this afternoon. (Applause.)

Mr. SIDNEY SMITH said he would like to add his appreciation of the lecture and his thanks to Mr. Woolley for the fascinating history he had shown them; the early civilization of Babylonia was being slowly made out through these excavations; we knew now what these people, living about 2000 B.C. could do in copper and mosaic work, we knew

something of their buildings and decorative work, and the audience would be able to see for themselves the wonderful *stela* which Mr. Woolley had discovered. The varied civilization of Babylonia could now be followed century by century, but much remained to be done, and he wished he could impress upon the members of the Central Asian Society the importance of the work and the unique opportunity that they now had for fresh discoveries if only the necessary funds could be found. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN in thanking Mr. Woolley on behalf of the Society, said that he felt a work of such interest and importance would not be stopped for lack of funds, and while wishing Mr. Woolley every success, he much hoped that he would give them again next year the great pleasure of hearing of the progress of the excavations. (Applause.)

ANNUAL DINNER

THE annual dinner of the Central Asian Society was held in the Edward VII. Rooms, Hotel Victoria, on June 30, with Lord Peel, Chairman of the Society, in the chair. The attendance numbered nearly 250, and the special guests of the evening were the Right Hon. the Earl of Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, and the Right Hon. L. C. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Earl of BIRKENHEAD, proposing the toast of the Central Asian Society, said that he received with great pleasure the invitation to be present that evening and to make a few observations. He confessed that the title of the Society occasioned him some slight confusion. His knowledge of geography was perhaps general rather than particular, and if he were asked to indicate by the drawing of a circle which part of Europe or of Africa was central, or what part of any other continent was central, he would find himself in some considerable doubt whether he could discharge the task with a tolerable degree of accuracy. As he was suffering from this disadvantage, he took the opportunity to consult Lord Lamington, and asked him what was the particular part of the world associated with Central Asia. With perhaps a little more vagueness than was his custom in the House of Lords, and giving force to his meaning by a gesture, he replied: "East Africa and places of that kind." (Laughter.) It seemed to him that this reply was not very helpful, and therefore he was thrown back upon his own resources. They all knew that that part of the world numbering 320 millions for which he had some responsibility had been interested, and continued to be interested, in Central Asia, and that many members of their Society had served in that country. He could not doubt that the habit of continuing through the Society associations which were the result of long residence in India, in China, and in other Asiatic countries, was helpful. That night they were reproducing those associations in a most agreeable form, and one that was characteristic of the habits of the English people. Many of those present, men and women alike, had consecrated and devoted the best years of their life to service abroad, and here he was not confined by considerations of geography, for whether they had lived in the Middle East, in India, or in the Far East, their careers had the same element of sacrifice and service. There was something magnetic in the adoption of a career in the East which drew men and women, partly because it was different from the life lived by

their relatives and friends who spent their whole time in these sober islands.

It was said once by him who was regarded, and justly regarded, as the English poet of our day :

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

In one sense those lines might be a paradox and in another a commonplace. It was perfectly true that there were in Eastern mentality traces and tendencies which never could be discovered among persons of Western origin, and which could hardly be completely apprehended even by those who spent their whole lives in the East. But on the other side, there had been contact for many generations between East and West which had brought a realization that the East could contribute something to the West which it did not possess, and that the West, with its scientific resources, its inventive genius, its long tradition of statecraft, could contribute that of which the storied East had never dreamt.

It seemed to him, however, that we were approaching to-day a period in which we should have to re-examine the whole basis of the relationship of the East to the West. If one looked to-day over the Eastern countries of the world, one saw something of our greater Western rapidity and of our accelerating fermentation of political ideas being transferred to the East, where they had about reached a point which the West, to its misfortune, had achieved long ago. The new wine had been placed in old bottles and it went to the heads of those who liked it. (Laughter.) For his part he was amongst those who had had the satisfaction of indicating their dislike of it in the past. If they looked round the East to-day, they observed that in China—and he had the authority of Lord Lamington for affirming that China was a nation—the young men were unaccountably neglecting the study of the wisdom and learning of Confucius, to which, so far as he was concerned, they might have been left in exclusive enjoyment. (Laughter.) Instead of reading Confucius they were reading articles in the *Daily Express* (laughter), and the result, so far as he could ascertain, was that the university students of China, instead of imbibing the doctrines of those hoary-headed sages of the past, were at this moment throwing themselves into armed crusades against the foreign “ devils.” He would draw the attention of the Colonial Secretary—who had been an academic figure of great distinction—to the fact that throughout the world the principal enemies of the British nation were the student classes. Whether they took Egypt or India or China, it was always the students who were most certain that the British Empire was not only doomed but damned, and that they had been happily appointed to be the instruments of its immediate execution. He could not himself profess

to explain this circumstance, but it might not be unrelated to what he had been told was in India a not entirely uncommon circumstance. One could see in the large towns over the door of a hairdresser's establishment the name of the proprietor followed by the words, as a recommendation for his professional skill, "Calcutta B.A. failed." Presumably that was a qualification which made the profession of a hairdresser more flourishing than otherwise it would be. (Laughter.) These reflections of his were somewhat general, though he held that they were not entirely unfriendly in character to the East. They might very usefully ask themselves what was to be the future development of the relations between the East and the West.

A vigorous, if undisciplined and intemperate, potentate informed the world some fifteen years ago, and was never tired of the theme, that the future would necessarily disclose an immense and incalculable conflict of the yellow races of the world with the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, and Latin elements of the world. He was not able on that occasion to examine even the bases which led the then Emperor William to come to this conclusion, which he might or might not have sincerely held. But unquestionably, when one devoted thought to the study of the problems of the relations of East and West, one did well to give close attention to what was taking place to-day in China. At this moment they had there a country with an immense population, which for a longer period than he suspected many of those present could very readily define had been in a condition of civil war. It was a country in which Great Britain had immense commercial interests. At the present time it was the happy hunting ground of those Bolshevik elements which were making their principal effort the destruction of the British Empire in the East. The part which had to be played in the extrication of the present dilemma in China, by ourselves, by the United States, by Japan, and by other great Powers would, he hoped, receive the most careful attention of the many members of the Central Asian Society who by virtue of their training and experience were familiar with the factors of this great problem.

He felt he ought on this occasion to make a very few observations upon the subject of the country with the welfare of which he was specially charged. A population of 320 millions in India was under the protection of our Parliament, and thus Great Britain was called upon to sustain an exclusive responsibility for the protection of a very considerable proportion of the total population of the world. (Cheers.) In facing those problems they must never close their eyes to the realities of a situation which might easily be rendered dangerous either by the eyes of blindness or the language of optimism. The fundamental fact of the Indian situation was that we went there centuries ago composing, if he might put the case paradoxically, by the sharp edge of the sword differences which would have submerged and destroyed the

ancient civilization of the sub-continent. We went there upon that basis, and we hold our trust by that charter. It was as true to say to-day, in the year 1925, that if we left India to-morrow it would be submerged by the same anarchical and murderous disturbances as those which devastated it in the days when the names of Clive and Warren Hastings became illustrious. (Loud cheers.)

There was not, in his judgment, reason for supposing that any man entitled to speak as representing for the time our trusteeship for India, whether he belonged to the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, or the Conservative Party, would find himself in a position in which it would be possible for him to liquidate the obligations which were imposed upon us both by history and by honour. (Cheers). He knew in this connection appreciatively that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was Prime Minister of this country last year, and was exposed to influences which neither he nor his colleague the Colonial Secretary had to meet, spoke plain and manful words which might have come from the lips of a Conservative Prime Minister. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Ramsay MacDonald spoke of the irrational and dangerous claims which were made by many elements in Indian politics.

Their chairman, Lord Peel, had borne with great distinction for two years the burden which he (Lord Birkenhead) now discharged, and the problems now facing the Indian authorities were at least as familiar to the chairman, and perhaps more so, than to himself. He could assure Lord Peel that nothing but good could result from the existence of a Society like this, which brought to bear an instructed and experienced outlook upon the problems of civilizations wholly different from their own. He did not call attention to the difference in a spirit of claim to superiority to Asia, with its history, its architecture, its art, and its ancient philosophy. That man would be rash and ignorant who claimed any superiority for our own architecture or civilization. They were there to make no such claim. The object of the Society, if he apprehended rightly, was to promote greater harmony, greater sympathy, and greater understanding between East and West, in the assurance that increased harmony, sympathy, and understanding could be of enormous advantage to those in public life who had not the experience derived from long years of residence in Asia. Speaking on behalf of the great Indian dependency, he acknowledged with great thankfulness the kindness of their invitation to him to be present and to speak as representing in the Imperial Government many millions who were of Asian birth and Asian outlook, and yet whose fate it had been to be associated with ourselves for generations, and who, in his judgment, would continue, to their own advantage, to be so associated. He gave the toast of the Society, coupled with the name of Lord Peel. (Loud cheers.)

Viscount PEEL, in responding, first made reference to the great loss the Society had sustained by the death of the very distinguished man who was for many years their president, the Marquis Curzon. Many

present would remember that he attended the last annual dinner of the Society, and addressed to them a magnificent speech, which showed that the enthusiasm and interest he had displayed in Eastern problems throughout his life had been maintained to the end. He mentioned that beside other distinguished guests, they had with them two American gentlemen—Mr. Putnam, who had done so much to effect recognition in the United States of the copyright of British authors, and Mr. Everett, a very distinguished lawyer, who had the further claim on their regard if not of being educated, at least of spending some period of his life at the University of Cambridge. (Cheers.)

Speaking on behalf of the Society, he wished to say that they had been most grateful that they had been able to induce Lord Birkenhead to address them that evening. The Secretary of State for India had shown great versatility during his career. He was a very great Lord Chancellor, and was now Secretary of State for India. He (the speaker) had been looking through Lord Curzon's monumental work on Indian government lately published, but had not been able to discover an instance in which the converse transfer had taken place, and a Secretary for India had subsequently become Lord Chancellor, but he hoped that such a precedent might be set. (Laughter.) One of the problems to which Lord Birkenhead addressed himself was that of the name of the Society. His great intellect could scarcely cope with the problem why it was called the Central Asian Society. He must tell Lord Birkenhead that the question had exercised for a long time other minds than his. (Laughter.) He must also say that they did not confine their attention to countries which could strictly be regarded as in the centre of Asia. For this course they had good precedent. Such conquerors as Timur and Jengis Khan had started from the high uplands of Central Asia, and carried their arms and such civilization as they had not only into other parts of Asia, but also into Europe. The Society was following this precedent, and he hoped with rather better manners than those of the conquerors he had mentioned. (Laughter.) Lord Birkenhead seemed surprised that the Society had any concern with East Africa, but here again they had good precedent, remembering that Cambyses conquered Egypt; so Egypt as well as East Africa was a part of their appanage.

In addition to receiving the papers of men of distinction as officials, travellers, soldiers, statesmen, administrators, and discoverers, they were also archæologists, for among the papers recently read to them had been a learned exposition of the useful researches being carried on in Ur of the Chaldees, the birthplace of Abraham. They also studied the religions of Asia, and they were well aware that it was from that continent that all the great religions of the world sprung. But even in Asia he feared there was some religious scepticism. He remembered some few years ago when the Emir Ali Hassan was visiting this

country and lunched with him, the talk turned upon the Mount Everest Expedition. The Emir asked him what the English thought they were going to get from the attempt to scale Everest. He replied: "I will give you the explanation of the Tibetan porters of the expedition. They said to its leader: 'We know why you want to reach the summit; it is to get nearer to the Divine.'" The Arab potentate replied, looking at him closely: "Yes; but now tell me the real reason." (Laughter and cheers.) So he did his best in the very feeble Arabic at his command, which bore no comparison with the fluent Arabic with which Mr. Amery could address assemblies in Iraq. (Laughter.)

The Society paid close attention to the effect of Western thought and influence on Eastern civilization. They wanted to know how it was that India seemed so anxious to absorb and improve upon those parliamentary institutions which somehow seemed to have lost their popularity throughout the whole of Southern Europe. (Laughter.) They might be under the impression that there were two Secretaries of State present that evening, but as a matter of fact they had with them three Secretaries of State, for Mr. Amery, while retaining the Secretaryship of State for the Colonies, had lately been made Secretary of State for the Dominions. (Cheers.) He did not know in which manifestation or incarnation (they were familiar with these matters in Asia) Mr. Amery would appear before them that evening.

Some of them might wonder what the exact relations of the Secretary of State for the Dominions to Asia might be, and in this connection it was sufficient to mention the Singapore Base. (Laughter.) In the capacity of Secretary of State for the Colonies Mr. Amery was interested in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong, and particularly in the Bolshevist activities in the latter colony and at the Treaty ports. But he appeared before them in still another incarnation, for he was the Minister responsible for the mandated territories—that wonderful political discovery revealed by the Treaty of Versailles. He had responsibility in respect to Iraq and to Palestine. In the former he was called upon to try to relieve the anxieties of the British taxpayer and at the same time to introduce something like British order into the finances of that country. In Palestine he was called upon to seek to reconcile the differences of the two great branches of the Semitic races. They had had Secretaries of State for the Colonies in the past who not only did not go to any of the dominions for which they were responsible, but who found some difficulty in discovering their exact location upon the map. Mr. Amery would be able to tell them where every one of those dominions were. (Laughter and cheers.) He had visited most of them, and recently, forsaking the old familiar ways of travel, the rolling steamboat and the shaking train, he had gone by air both to Palestine and Mesopotamia, where he addressed

the fortunate inhabitants in fluent Arabic. (Laughter.) He would now propose the toast of their distinguished guests, coupled with the name of the Secretary of State for the Dominions, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Minister responsible for the Mandated Territories. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. AMERY, who was heartily received, said that if he went over all the ground suggested in the speech of their Chairman, they would have an all-night sitting. Lord Peel had spoken of the remarkable versatility of his colleague, Lord Birkenhead, but he would rather speak about his modesty. He had said nothing about a certain expedition into the heart of Asia Minor which they took together nearly thirty years ago, or of the fortitude of his comrade and of the many sufferings they both heroically endured until they emerged at Constantinople primed with an immense mass of information which Lord Birkenhead had not yet given to the world, but which he could produce in the form of a work of six or seven volumes in a very short time. He (Mr. Amery) would tell them of only one incident to illustrate the desperate perils they encountered. Once, benighted in the wild mountains of Southern Asia Minor, they in their extremity at last discovered a hut occupied by some villainous-looking brigands. The only accommodation available was on the floor of the hut, and exhausted by their long journey they sank into a deep sleep. But he was awakened soon after by the low-pitched conversation of their hosts sitting round the fire and discussing something which seemed to be of tremendous importance. He heard one of them say: "I think we had better kill the little one first." (Loud laughter.) While anxiously fumbling for his revolver, and indulging in indignant reflections on the unfairness of this preference, he gathered from further remarks that it was only a question as to which chicken was to be sacrificed for the breakfast of the visitors. (Laughter.)

Since those adventurous days he had occasionally visited Eastern lands, and only the other day he was able to obtain a bird's-eye glimpse of the Middle East. It was literally a bird's-eye view, thanks to the help received from the Air Force. After a picturesque description of the varying phases of life and scenery observable from the air during the journey, and more particularly of the clearness with which traces of the ancient history of the country could be seen from above, Mr. Amery said that he could do no more on that occasion than to give them a few of the chief impressions which he derived from that short tour. One of the first was that of the wonderful efficiency of the Air Service, and its value in the protection and control of a great open and undeveloped country. When Mr. Churchill decided in 1921 to entrust the whole of the defence of Iraq to the Air Force, and to make a vast reduction in the armed forces occupying that country, he was running a tremendous risk. At that time we were still at war with Turkey; we had to face

the possibility not only of a Turkish invasion of the frontier, but also of attack all along our right flank, and of a general rising behind us in a country which only a few months before had been in open rebellion and which, though reduced to peace, had never been disarmed. We were confronted with difficulty in facing this situation, but even more difficult would it have been to withdraw, for that would at once have invited an advance of the Turkish forces and the Kurds on our front, and revived insurrection in our rear. To stay where we were, despite the difficulties and dangers, was on the whole the easiest and safest course.

The result had been the efficient protection and peace of the whole of that vast country, with the exception of perhaps a few inaccessible valleys in the highlands. The country was more completely at peace than it had ever been since the days of Harun al Rashid. To-day as taxpayers we were reaping the fruits of that policy. In 1921 we were spending in Iraq nearly £21,000,000 a year for the upkeep of a great force, which included 33 battalions of infantry, 6 cavalry regiments, and 15 or 16 batteries of artillery. To-day we were spending less than £4,000,000 on 8 squadrons of the Air Force and 4 battalions of infantry, with a few local troops, and he hoped that even that force could be still further reduced when the frontier question had been finally settled by the League of Nations. (Cheers.) We should soon be in a position in which Iraq would be able to find the cost of purely local defences, and any imperial money spent in the country would be spent not so much on Iraq, but only in Iraq in connection with the general purposes of our imperial defence organization. He did not think that any person who had not been in Iraq could understand what a splendid training-ground it was for the Air Force. In his judgment, for all-round efficiency the Air Force in that country could not be equalled in the world. (Loud cheers.)

A second thing that impressed him even more deeply than the work of the Air Force was the splendid work done by the British in the years since the war in creating out of the chaos which the country had known for centuries the framework of a good administration. This had been accomplished not by the easy methods of direct authority, but by the method of enlisting the support and co-operation of the people of the country themselves. The principle on which we had worked ever since Mr. Churchill took over the affairs of the Middle East had been to encourage and co-operate with the national sentiment of the country. It had its own Arab Government with its own King, its own constitution, its own administration, subject only, in return for the support we were giving, to accepting a certain measure of advice and guidance from the British High Commissioner on matters vital to the welfare of the country, and to the help in the district local administration of a certain number of British advisers. That policy had been

a real success. It had not been, as so many of them had feared, a mere pretence of responsible government, a mere façade, from behind which British officials settled everything. It had been a real co-operation and partnership, to which the Arabs had contributed something of great value. At headquarters there were men with such profound knowledge of the Eastern mind as Sir Percy Cox, whom he was glad to see there that night (cheers), and Sir Henry Dobbs. They had succeeded in inspiring both King Feisal and his ministers with complete confidence in the sincerity of the British Government in wishing to build up a healthy and prosperous Arab State. In the districts nothing struck him so much as the real spirit of comradeship between the Iraqi district officers and the British officers who were appointed to assist and advise them. He noted with great pleasure that the British officers habitually bore testimony to the great sense, loyalty, and goodwill of their Iraqi colleagues, and to the resulting smoothness of the working of the machinery of government. This achievement was due to years of strenuous, patient, and sympathetic effort on the part of a little band of devoted Englishmen, of whom very little had been heard in this country, and who had received even less recognition than attention, of whose work we could well be proud. (Cheers.) The work was exactly of the same kind as that which was done in the early days in Egypt. He only wished that there was someone to-day with the power of expression and the gift of description which Lord Milner had as a young man to describe in a detailed volume the work of England in Iraq during and since the war. He would like to give them one sentence from the speech of Lord Curzon at their dinner a year ago: "Believe me, no Englishman can offer greater service 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." That was what their fellow-countrymen had done in Iraq in the face of great difficulties and with very little recognition during the last four or five years.

Another impression he formed was that in Iraq, though the financial situation might be difficult, there was every reason to anticipate that the country, once the richest and most powerful in the world, could be brought back by its own government and with the co-operation we could give to something of its past greatness. But there was one thing essential there, and that was to get rid of existing uncertainties. Any uncertainty as to the frontier should be removed by the decisions of the League of Nations. As regards any uncertainty that might seem to attach to future relations with this country, he had no doubt that we could before long arrive at a satisfactory permanent arrangement. We were in Iraq now not under mandate, but under a treaty of co-operation, which was effected only for a short period of years because it would have been impossible for us three years ago to make sure

of the co-operation to which he had referred. All he need say on the matter of a fresh agreement was that it must be on the basis of not requiring the people of the country to sacrifice their legitimate aspirations, nor requiring the people of this country to sacrifice hard-won revenue. He believed an arrangement could be made for a system of co-operation by which both Iraq and the British Empire would be gainers.

He would like to answer the question of those who asked what saw the justification of this country in being there at all, and devoting itself to the hard toil of the work of reconstruction. We had more than one justification. He could say with perfect truth that he believed that before many years were past this country would see there, in actual commercial development, a very reasonable and indeed substantial return for what it had done for Iraq. He was convinced that the whole of the Middle East was about to go through a period of great development, and if this country had given a lead there and acquired a position in the trade of Iraq, it would gain not a little from the subsequent trade development of adjoining countries.

He could give another reason as a justification of our work in Iraq. This was from the point of view of the defensive communications of the British Empire both in future railway developments and still more in the development of air communication. There were very great advantages in having, at so central a point for future world communications as Iraq would be, a strong, prosperous, and friendly government which looked to the British Empire as a protector and an ally. (Cheers.) But he thought the main justification was even stronger than those to which he had alluded. We could not either with decency or with honour have withdrawn after the war and left chaos and ruin in a country which we had succoured in the war and liberated from the Turkish yoke. The obligation to remain was embodied in more than one definite pledge during the war and was confirmed by humanity and by our treaty obligations—obligations not suddenly and thoughtlessly undertaken. Our connection with the country, our special position in the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia went back at least two centuries, and just as in India, as Lord Birkenhead had told them, we began two hundred years ago to bring peace and order out of chaos, and the responsibility thus incurred had been maintained, so we had similar obligations in respect to Iraq. What might be the ultimate result of that responsibility, what great advantages it might or might not bring, no one could say with certainty. What we could say assuredly was that we should be false to our whole traditions if we threw up our hands and abandoned those who had placed their confidence in us. To quote again the speech of Lord Curzon last year, which perhaps gained the greater importance from his being no longer with us, "we must not take our hands from the plough."

THE TOAST OF THE CHAIRMAN.

Lord BIRKENHEAD said they ought not to part without drinking the health of their Chairman. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had told them something of the story of their travels in Asia Minor. He had made no allusion to it himself since in his judgment Asia Minor could not be described as a part of Central Asia. There was, however, one incident which Mr. Amery had not recalled. When they reached Smyrna and took boat they found themselves on a pilgrim vessel with very inadequate sanitary accommodation. When the vessel stopped at some island it occurred to them to take the opportunity to bathe. The pilgrims were amazed to think that any man should plunge into water voluntarily and when under no compulsion to do so. They stood gaping at the sight, and he heard one of them say: "Well, at any rate the big one is not so very dirty." (Loud laughter.)

They were all grateful to Lord Peel for the sustained and informed interest he took in the affairs of the Society. For himself he wished to say how grateful he was for the friendly help and counsel Lord Peel had given him in the anxieties of his office, many of which he had inherited from the Chairman's régime. (Laughter.)

Lord PEEL in reply said that Lord Birkenhead had broken the rules of the Society in proposing the health of the Chairman. He noted for future guidance that the Secretary for India had laid down the rule that Asia Minor was not part of Central Asia. He must rule out of order papers dealing with that interesting part of the world. Lord Birkenhead had alluded to the difficulties piled up for him when he (the speaker) was Secretary for India; but he was quite certain that these were nothing to the problems, difficulties and responsibilities which he would accumulate for his successor.

REVIEWS

INDIA AS I KNEW IT—1885-1925. By Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Constable. 1925. 18s.

It is well that at this critical period in the history of India the British public should be told the plain truth about our great dependency by those who know. This was done last year in a remarkable book, "The Lost Dominion." Here it is done again in a still more remarkable book. The author declares his main purpose to be "to emphasize the responsibility of the people and Parliament of Great Britain for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, and to show where that responsibility is being lost sight of or inadequately discharged."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer refers to the earlier volume, and in his concluding chapter gives a denial to the assumption that India is a "Lost Dominion." The note of hopefulness in which he concludes his survey of the mischief wrought by politicians in India and in England is reassuring.

The book may be treated as in three parts, the early chapters dealing with the life and work of an Indian civil servant in such a variety of responsible posts as to give him experience of, and insight into, conditions in almost every part of the Indian Empire.

The following chapters tell of the administration of the Punjab during the war, the various revolutionary conspiracies, and the Punjab rebellion of 1919. The concluding part of the book is a severe criticism of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and an exposure of their results in weakening the British administration in India.

The writer begins with an account of his early years, showing how he derived from his upbringing in rural Ireland, and from his family traditions, an instinctive sympathy with the agriculturists who form the vast majority of the population of India, and with the martial races of the Punjab. There are interesting remarks about the influence that the movement for self-government in Ireland has had upon that in India, and showing how mistaken are the analogies that have been drawn between the two.

In recalling his Oxford days the writer dwells upon the difficulty of recruitment for the Indian services under present conditions, "as rash political experiments have made those conditions so altered that British officials find it difficult to serve there with honour and self-respect."

However, in the closing pages of the book the belief is expressed that the weakening of British administration is only a post-war phase. It is hoped that this view may encourage candidates of the right stamp to come forward.

A chapter is devoted to each phase of the author's varied Indian career—as a young official in the Western Punjab, as Settlement Officer in Gujranwala, and in Rajputana; on the North-West Frontier in stormy times, as Resident at Hyderabad, and as Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

In each case a vivid picture is drawn of life and conditions in the particular part of India by one who had great opportunities and knew how to use them. These chapters are written in a humorous vein, with a wealth of racy anecdote, sporting reminiscences, and stories of personal adventure, that makes them fascinating reading.

The appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to be Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab opens the second part of the book. Five chapters deal with the seditious and revolutionary movements among Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs before and during the war. The connected history of these events tells much that is new to the general public, and, with the subsequent chapters on Punjab internal administration and the Punjab rebellion of 1919, reveals the magnitude and complexity of the tasks involved in the administration of the Punjab in such critical times. The British Empire has good reason to be thankful that a man was there whose shoulders were broad enough to carry the burden.

For dramatic interest the occurrences related surpass any fiction, nor can one say which is the most romantic—the Pan-Islamic movement with the "Silk Letter" plot, the world-wide machinations of the arch-seditionists, Har Dayal and Mahendra Pertap, or the Sikh-Ghadr conspiracy with the landing from the *Komagata Maru*. The unravelling of these plots and the hunting down of the criminals are striking evidence of the efficiency of the Criminal Investigation Department and the staunchness of the Punjab police. That these seditious movements were foreign to the real spirit of the people is proved by the magnificent and sustained war effort of the Punjab. The Lieut. Governor tells it with justifiable pride, and quotes his enthusiastic message of acknowledgment to the province he loved and served so well. An interesting statistical summary in the closing chapter of the book shows by how far the Punjab surpassed all other parts in sacrifice for the Empire.

Perhaps the most thrilling chapter of the book is the one on the Punjab rebellion of 1919. A graphic description is given of each of the various outbreaks incited by Gandhi's "non-violent" propaganda. Few realized at the time how great was the peril to the Empire, and how narrowly incalculable disaster was averted by the resolute action of a handful of British officials headed by Sir M. O'Dwyer himself. The

writer maintains that General Dyer's action at the Jhalianwala Bagh was justified by the greatness of the crisis as well as by the previous instructions from the Central Government itself, and the writer reproaches the Government with having shown practical approval of Dyer until long afterwards, when he was "thrown to the wolves" as a weak concession to the clamour of politicians. Under the heading "British Justice" the recent libel case, *O'Dwyer v. Nair*, is reviewed, in order to show that the acts of Sir M. O'Dwyer and of General Dyer, which were condemned by the Government, were justified when submitted to the unbiassed judgment of a British court of justice. A telling comparison is made between the Punjab and Malabar rebellions to show that in the latter case the weak-kneed policy of concession and compromise led to far worse results than the firm suppression exercised in the former.

So we pass to the concluding part, the main theme of which is searching criticism and condemnation of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

The writer expresses himself in favour of wise reform commensurate with the slow political development of the country and that will "promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian masses." He holds that this object will not be effected by the Montagu scheme, that the principle of diarchy is unworkable, and that the scheme is a concession to extremist politicians neither representative of, nor sympathetic with, the mass of the people whose interests the British Government is bound in honour to protect. Sir M. O'Dwyer writes with unsparing forcefulness, having the subject too much at heart for anything but the plainest words.

This book ranks high in the records of Indian administrators, and deserves to be studied by all who have the interests of the Empire at heart.

It is regrettable that the otherwise clear maps are marred by the omission of such names as Kabul from the general map, and Lahore of all places from that of the Punjab, also by mistakes in spelling and differences from the spellings in the text.

J. K. T.

THE HEART OF THE MIDDLE EAST. By Richard Coke. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 18s.

The future of the Mandatory State of Iraq, or Mesopotamia, which is the country described in this book as the "Heart of the Middle East," is at the present time a matter of great interest. In common possibly with other sympathetic observers Mr. Coke fears that, for financial reasons or through the lack of a comprehensive grasp of the facts, the British may fail to give complete and sufficient support to this new-born State while it is still in a raw and unfledged condition or may

even relinquish prematurely their attitude of tutelary supervision. This book has therefore been written in the hope of stimulating the interest of the general reader in this complicated problem. The author aims at presenting, as far as possible, an impartial and unbiassed exposition of the principal factors which affect the immediate reasons for a continuance of British control and interest in the country.

Starting with a short account of the fate of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia in the very dawn of history, the narrative is carried right through to 1924, when Sir Percy Cox, the creator of the new Iraq State, gave up his charge in Baghdad. It shows how this unfortunate but naturally wealthy country, situated as it is on the highway between the Mediterranean and the East, hemmed in on the south by the hardy and virile people dwelling in the inaccessible deserts of Arabia—that land of mystery—and on the north by the equally hardy inhabitants of the uplands of Central Asia, has ever formed a cockpit for contending hordes of warriors. Its final and complete ruin occurred in the thirteenth century at the time of the invasion of the Mongols, who ruthlessly destroyed the canal system, on which the economic prosperity of the country had been built up literally through thousands of years. From this act of wanton destruction the country has never recovered, nor could recovery be expected under the listless and apathetic rule of the Turk during the last six centuries. Can it be that Great Britain will succeed in giving sufficient moral and material assistance to this young State to enable her to place her feet firmly on the road to a slow recovery of her past glories, a recovery which the undiminished natural wealth and resources of this fertile and richly-endowed land still render possible in process of time? Or will England, exhausted physically and financially by the struggles of the Great War, prove incapable of executing this enormous and self-imposed task? If she fails, the country must inevitably lapse into a state of semi-barbarism unless, as will surely happen, the previous Turkish rulers are recalled.

Mr. Coke has done a great service in bringing this important and difficult problem before the general reader in an illuminating, popular and lucid form. The book is not overburdened with detail, is enlivened with much anecdote, and is easily read. In a natural enthusiasm for his subject the author at times makes statements which are somewhat in exaggeration of the facts, but these do not annul the value or general usefulness of the work.

For instance, while everyone will agree that England, both from the point of view of her own interests as well as of her honour, had no alternative other than to shoulder the burden of responsibility which had been thrust upon her in consequence of the events of the Great War in that particular country, still few will accept the statement that "Great Britain has been slowly conquering Mesopotamia for many years, and having at last accomplished the conquest she is in honour

bound to accept the consequences of her action." Were this statement true, it might with equal truth be asserted that we have been slowly conquering many other lands into which trading relations have carried our representatives. Where, then, could we stop?

Again, Mesopotamia is referred to in more than one passage as "the cradle of mankind." The "Encyclopædia Britannica," whose authority Mr. Coke acknowledges in other matters, points out that there are many theories with regard to the cradle of the human race, but that the weight of evidence is in favour of Indo-Malaysia and not of Mesopotamia. Nor can it be agreed, as the author asserts, that to the Arab we "owe the foundation of modern mathematical study." It is true that the mediæval Arabian invented our system of numeration and developed Algebra, but the foundation of modern mathematics is far older than the Arab, and is justly to be accredited to the Greeks, who originated the science of mathematics, working on pre-existing fragmentary lines of thought derived from the Egyptians and Phœnicians.

After the world-wide experiences in the Great War of 1914-18 it is also surely a mistake to assert that the disturbances in Mesopotamia in 1920 involved "one of the most difficult campaigns in which the British Army has been engaged in modern times."

In an account of the events during the Great War we also find the statement that the futile and costly attacks on Townshend's garrison in Kut at the end of 1915 were due to the interference of Field-Marshal von der Goltz. In justice to the Field-Marshal it must be pointed out that the very reverse was the case. As soon as von der Goltz reached Baghdad at the end of 1915, he hurried on to the scene of operations at Kut. Riding boldly on to the battlefield, accompanied by his staff, he at once discovered from personal observation that Nureddin Bey was not dealing, as he imagined, with the remnants of Townshend's army which had been unable to retreat, but with the whole of the force which had voluntarily decided to take up a position there and await reinforcements. Von der Goltz promptly ordered all further attacks to cease. Such as were undertaken after that day were in direct opposition to his orders. From the British side we have a curious confirmation of this personal reconnaissance by von der Goltz. General Townshend has related how he observed a party of mounted officers riding on to the battlefield well within range of his guns. He recognized the Field-Marshal through his field-glasses, and from a sense of chivalry towards a brave and long-respected veteran of the art of war, he forbade his guns to open fire. Von der Goltz's Staff Officer has described how on this occasion he felt particularly anxious for the safety of his chief. He has probably never realized that this safety was perhaps due to the chivalry of an equally gallant opponent.

The concluding chapters of the book are devoted to a careful

study of the working of the modern Iraq State. They reveal clearly the enormous progress that has already been made, and give a forecast of the hopes for the future. Political, administrative, social, educational and industrial conditions are all reviewed. The lack of money is, as usual, the chief impediment to greater and faster progress, but this difficulty can be overcome by patient and economical administration. Greater stress might with justice have been laid on the recuperative and productive qualities of the wonderful soil of Iraq, where the alluvial stratum is so rich and deep in the middle and lower reaches of the rivers that the difficulty is to find a stone, and where a few feet below the surface the soil is often impregnated with oil. If the experiment of introducing the cotton plant into Mesopotamia proves successful—and there seems to be every hope of eventual success—the potentialities of this land as a cotton-producing area are greater than those of Egypt and the Sudan combined, provided, of course, that money is found for a restoration of a system of irrigation which, as the author explains, must have been in full operation nearly six thousand years ago.

Mr. Coke is not impressed with the rate of progress so far made under the British régime in the matter of internal communications, which he compares unfavourably with those in Palestine. He seems unduly pessimistic on this subject. The opening of the Baghdad-Beyrout motor route under an energetic management has already made a great transformation in the communications of the country. Further developments are already planned and shortly expected. The country already looks West, instead of East as heretofore, for its main line of communications. The possibilities of aviation developments in the near future are increasing. These will add greatly to the importance of the country. Before the discovery of the Cape route to the East Iraq acquired much wealth through her position on the sole highway between the Mediterranean and the East. It is quite conceivable that aviation will restore to her once more the proud position of which she was robbed some centuries ago. With the vast interests of the British Empire in the East, it is more than important that this possible future highway should not fall into hostile hands, and that it should be peopled by a rich, prosperous, and friendly nation. The friendliness of the people to the British Empire will depend on the disinterestedness and whole-heartedness of the aid, material and moral, which can be given to this country in her present hour of hope and need. Sacrifices will be necessary, but will be amply repaid in the contentment of the people and their consequent belief in the advantages to be gained from a close alliance with the British Commonwealth of nations.

ASIATIC ART IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (Sculpture and Pictorial Art).
By Laurence Binyon, Officer in charge of the Oriental Drawings
and Paintings at the British Museum. Thick paper cover, $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times$
 $10\frac{1}{2}''$. 75 pp. and 44 plates. G. van Oest, publisher, Paris and
Brussels. Three guineas.

The French edition of this fine work forms Volume VI. of the "Collection Ars Asiatica," published by G. van Oest et Cie. Volume I. was on the Chinese paintings at the Musée Cornuschi, Paris.

Mr. Binyon explains that owing to the superabundance of material, he has confined the scope of this volume to sculpture and painting, and no one is more capable of dealing with these subjects. His "Painting in the Far East" is a classic.

The history of the formation and growth of the collections of Oriental art in the British Museum, the notes to the different classes, and the detailed descriptions of each plate are admirably written, and form a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the art of the Far East.

The British Museum had long been possessed of a collection of Indian sculpture, but the collection of paintings was only begun by the acquisition, in 1881, of the works brought to England by William Anderson, a pioneer of the study of Japanese art, who lived for six years in Japan, and the author of the British Museum Catalogue of Chinese and Japanese Paintings, published in 1886, and of the well-known "Pictorial Arts of Japan."

In 1897 Sir Wollaston Franks bequeathed to the Museum his Chinese pictures; in 1910 the greater portion of the collection made by Frau Wegener in China was acquired; in 1913 the collection of Arthur Morrison, author of "The Painters of Japan," was presented by Sir William Gwynne-Evans. In addition many gifts and purchases have enriched the collections in the Museum, where, unfortunately, only a few pictures are exhibited owing to lack of space. The reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement* aptly writes, following Mr. Binyon's remarks at the commencement of the book: "Turning over the pages of this sumptuous volume, one ponders wistfully on what a museum devoted to Oriental art would be like that should hold not only the masterpieces which Mr. Binyon has selected with such loving care, but the various specimens preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum; for we Londoners do not realize that, owing to our past wealth and energy in trade and travel, we own a mass of Eastern treasure unrivalled in range and bulk by that of any other centre in Europe."

Oriental art is now so well known and appreciated and so many works have been written on the subject that a disquisition on its essential qualities and any comparison with Western or European art would be unnecessary here. The book under review commences with the history of the formation of the collections in the Museum, followed

by notes on each of the separate schools of sculpture and paintings, with an account of the way in which the collections have grown. The examples are divided into the following sections :

Indian sculpture, represented by pictures of ten objects, stone and bronze, dating from the seventh century B.C. to the tenth and fourteenth centuries A.D.

Sculpture of Siam, Burma, Tibet.—No illustrations of this section are given.

Chinese and Japanese sculpture, represented by pictures of twelve objects—figures, animals, bowls, etc.—in stone, bronze, wood and pottery, including the familiar pottery figurines from tombs of the T'ang dynasty. Plate XII., marble lion, Ming dynasty, is finely modelled.

Bactrian art is represented by the illustration of a gryphon (lion) found in Afghanistan, and presumably *c.* the second century B.C.

Chinese paintings are represented by reproductions of twenty pictures. The section of examples from about four hundred in the Museum collection must have been difficult; several of those reproduced have been previously published in works by Messrs. Binyon, Giles, Waley, and others.

The author considers the long roll illustrating “Admonitions of the Instructress to the Ladies of the Court,” by or after Ku K'ai-chih, *c.* 344 to *c.* 406 A.D., as the most important painting in the collection, and two portions from the roll are illustrated (Plate XIV.). The entire roll reproduced in colour-woodcut is published by the Museum. Specimens of the numerous works of the T'ang era, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang in 1908, are given, and the author writes of a large painting of a Buddhist Paradise: “Of the silk paintings found at Tun-huang this is the finest, as it is also the largest in size [about 6 feet 9 inches × 4 feet 6 inches]. What at first impresses most in the picture is the glowing beauty of the colour, with its strange and subtle harmonies. . . .”

The admirable paintings, “Two Geese” (Plate XX.) and “Lotus, Heron and Kingfisher” (Plate XXI.), are given, and the author's note says of the latter picture: “This painting, like the last [“Two Geese”], combines delicacy with breadth in an extraordinary degree. As design the lotus plant is monumental; yet how sensitive is the line in every detail!”

Illustrations of several paintings in ink include the masterly works “Wild Geese and Rushes” (Plate XXV.), by Lin Liang, one of the greatest artists of the Ming period, and “Winter” (Plate XXVI.), by Shēng Mou, fourteenth century.

Japanese paintings are represented by twenty-two pictures, and, as in the section of Chinese paintings, a selection from the three thousand five hundred and eighty pictures in the Museum must have been very

difficult; but the examples given show the beauty of design and indicate the brilliancy of colour so attractive to Western connoisseurs.

Plate XXVIII., "Amida Buddha descending from Heaven," attributed to Yeshin Sōzo, 942-1017, is a beautiful example of the early Buddhist art of Japan "in its depth of feeling, its majestic serenity, and delicacy of execution."

Plate XXXII., "Daruma," by Sōami, fifteenth century, Plate XXXIII., "The Chinese Poet Tu Fu," by Unkoku Tōzan, sixteenth century, and Plate XXXV., "The Rishi Shōriken crossing the Sea on a Sword," by Kanō Moton'obu, 1477-1559, are fine examples of bold and vigorous brush work so characteristic of Japanese painting.

The exquisite and poetical landscapes of Sesson, sixteenth century, and Kanō Tanyu, 1602-1674, are represented on Plate XXXIV., and the brilliant colouring and powerful drawing of the Kanō schools are represented by reproductions from pictures by Kanō Yeitoku, 1543-1590, "Bridge and Willow at Night" (Plate XXXVI.).

"The Great Decorators," thus called by Mr. Binyon in "Painting in the Far East," are represented by Sōtatsu, early seventeenth century, "Descent of the Thunder God on the Palace of the Fujiwara" (Plate XXXVII.), by Kōyetsu, 1555-1637, "Fragment of a Screen-painting" and "Coloured Stones, Berries, and Pine Shoots" (Plate XXXVIII.); and by Kōrin, 1637-1716, who continued the gorgeous colouring and the superbly decorative and original style of Sōtatsu and Kōyetsu. Plate XXXIX., "Young Pine and Acacia," is by Hoitsu, 1761-1828, who revived the Kōrin style in an original manner and purity of colour.

The well-known painters of the Ukiyoye school—Mori Sosen, 1747-1821, famous for pictures of monkeys and deer, Hokusai, 1760-1849, and Hiroshige, 1797-1858, more popularly known from their numerous colour prints—are represented by pictures and drawings reproduced on Plates XL. and XLI.

Tibetan painting is represented by a reproduction of a painting in distemper on linen (Plate XLII.); "Avalokitesvara seated on a Lotus," obtained at Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein, and probably the earliest Tibetan painting known.

Korean painting is represented by "A Family Group," sixteenth century (Plate XLIII.), and a note to the picture says: "The personages and costumes in this picture are Korean, and presumably the paintings also. Pale blue and grey, black, white and gold, with a few touches of red, make up a harmony of colour recalling some of the early Italian frescoes."

Persian paintings are represented by twenty-one reproductions, mostly from the exquisite and minute paintings to be found in manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Plate L., "The Ascent of the Prophet to Heaven," is thus described: "This glorious page, blazing with crimson, gold, and white and orange, and deep lapis-

lazuli, this is called by Martin 'the most magnificent painting ever produced in Persia.' If, as religious art, we cannot place this above, or even on a level with, the early masterpieces in China and Japan, still in its sense of cosmic movement and ethereal ecstasy it has, perhaps, no parallel in Persian art. . . ."

Indian paintings are represented by seventeen reproductions of pictures and books; all are characterized by delicacy of line and richness of colour, and date from the sixteenth century.

Two Siamese and one Burmese picture complete the sixty-four plates which are in collotype, and give fair impressions of the objects and pictures; but it is regrettable that there are no colour plates. It is impossible to judge of the beauty of so many of the paintings by the black and white illustrations.

The production of this valuable work—paper, type, and printing—is admirable. J. O.

GUIDE-CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE GUIMET: LES COLLECTIONS BOUDDHIQUES (Exposé Historique et Iconographique); INDE CENTRALE ET GANDHÂRA, TURKESTAN, CHINE SEPTENTRIONALE, TIBET. Par J. Hackin, Conservateur du Musée Guimet. Paper cover, 9" × 5¾". 175 pp. G. van Oest et Cie, Editeurs, Paris et Bruxelles. 1923.

The Buddhist religion claims 500 million adherents as compared with 327 million Christians and 155 million Muhammadans.

The founder of the family of Goutama was the son of Sudhadhana, chief of the Sakya tribe (born c. 543 B.C., died c. 412 B.C.), and is variously named Siddhartha, Sakyamuni, etc., but universally known as Buddha.

M. Guimet says in the 1880 catalogue that the essence of the religion consists of the renaissance of the soul in various phases of existence, so that it becomes sufficiently pure to enter into Nirvâna, a place of celestial beatitude and complete happiness, though some Buddhists claim that Nirvâna is only a state of the soul.

Profound meditation, mastery of passions, prayer, mortification of the flesh, and solitude are recommended, naturally leading to monastic and mendicant life, which is thereby developed in the Buddhist to a greater degree than all other religions. The supreme Buddha, being deeply plunged in divine meditation, is served by numerous disciples, Dhyâna-Buddhas, who inspire and direct terrestrial Buddhas. Below these come the Bodhisattvas, who have nearly attained perfection and are destined to become Buddhas in their last existence. It is to the Bodhisattvas that worshippers address their prayers for safety, good fortune, good health, and crops.

Monsieur J. Hackin's erudite work is devoted to the study of the

Buddhistic religion as illustrated by the exhibits in the Guimet Museum at Paris, which was formed by M. Emile Guimet of Lyons, and opened in 1878. M. Guimet visited the Far East on an official mission, and the object of the museum was not only for the exhibition of art objects, but to create interest in the religions of the Far East. M. Guimet, in his catalogue of 1880, divides the museum into three parts:

1. Library of Eastern and European works, chiefly religious.
2. A museum containing the gods of India, China, Japan, Egypt, Rome, and Greece.
3. A school of Oriental languages.

M. Hackin's work is a great deal more than a catalogue; it contains an immense amount of research and information relating to Buddha and the numerous deities connected with the Buddhist religion.

The book commences with the legend of Buddha and tenets of the religion, proceeding to the earliest forms of the Indian monuments beginning with the reign of the Emperor Asoka (274-237 B.C.), and a chapter on examples of Greco-Indian art.

The second part of the book is devoted to Turkistan, whose art is illustrated by frescoes and paintings which are described in much detail.

The third part relates to Buddhist China. The extraordinary sculptures carved in the solid rock at Yünkang (Shansi province) and Lungmên (Honan province), fifth and sixth centuries, are described. The sculptures are mostly of Buddhist images, one at Yünkang being 36 feet high. M. Edouard Chavannes was the first explorer to express, in 1902, the archæological importance of these marvellous works.

The fourth part deals with Tibetan articles, principally bronzes and pictures, which are described in detail.

A list is given of the books in the museum library, and there is a glossary-index, which might have been made more complete.

Twenty-four excellent photo-print plates accompany the text.

J. O.

HAJJI BABA IN ENGLAND. By James Morier. World's Classics Series. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. Cloth, 2s.; leather, 3s. 6d.

Nearly two years ago we noticed in the "World's Classics" Series a reprint of James Morier's delightful book "Hajji Baba of Ispahan." We now welcome the appearance in the same series of its sequel "Hajji Baba in England."

Though the story is perhaps of less outstanding merit than its predecessor, the adventures of the hero as a member of the suite of a Persian Ambassador to England towards the end of the reign of George III. are always diverting, and the shrewd remarks of Hajji and

his companions regarding the manners and customs of our countrymen may still serve and bring home to us the wide gulf which separates Oriental from Western ideas.

J. A. D.

TWO SOUTH ARABIAN INSCRIPTIONS. Edited by Professor Margoliouth Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 2s.

Professor Margoliouth has lately communicated to the British Academy two South Arabian Inscriptions which he has edited from rubbings taken from stones that "form part of a large collection of South Arabian statuettes, etc., belonging to a Parsee gentleman at Aden." The first is a Sabæan inscription recording the warlike exploits of Il-sharah Yahdub and his brother in the first century of our era. The second is a tablet of Yaşduqil Far'm Sharah'at, King of Ausân. Four alabaster statues representing different rulers of Ausân are also reproduced and depict very striking physiognomies of unusual type.

The inscriptions themselves are short and not complete, but thanks to Professor Margoliouth's interpretations and inferences they may be said to constitute a distinct addition to our very fragmentary knowledge of the history of Southern Arabia.

It would be very interesting to know more of the other inscribed stones the "Parsee gentleman at Aden" has collected and of the "number of seals, gold ornaments and other small articles" which accompanied them. Curiosity is aroused, as ever, only to be balked, and it is to be hoped that in time a complete record of them may appear.

H. A. M.

THE WANDERING SCHOLAR. By David G. Hogarth. Oxford: Humphrey Milford. 1925. 8s. 6d.

Dr. Hogarth has signalized his accession to the Presidency of the Royal Geographical Society by publishing the best chapters of his two former books of archæological travel in the Near East—"A Wandering Scholar in the Levant" and "Accidents of an Antiquary's Life"—in a single volume as "The Wandering Scholar." There is, of course, little to say of the new "conflate" book to those who are acquainted with its two originals, but that in it they will find all their old favourite chapters, for both those books contained chapters which those who are familiar with Turkey, Greece, and Egypt, and of course more especially those who have been engaged in archæological work in those countries, read with pleasure when they first appeared, and read again with undiminished pleasure now. But those who have not already known them are recommended to read the present book at once. The humours of the Near East have always appealed to Dr. Hogarth, and the humorous touch appears in nearly all these records of his adventures. But to those who should think that archæological travel in the Near East is nothing but a joke the necessary corrective is not slow in coming.

Sleepless nights in a flea-ridden Turkish khan or on the floor of a bug-infested Greek *καφενέλιον*, complicated sometimes with the misery of fever; nightmare rides with fever on one, shivering beneath coat or capote in pouring rain or fierce light and heat; insect-bitten "siestas" from ten to four, protected only by the thin barrier of a tent from the blaze of Shamash in his fury on the open Mesopotamian desert in May—these are no joke. Yet the unconscious absurdities of some sorry moth-eaten Turk with his "enfin nous sommes civilisés"; the sordid attempts of an odoriferous Arab to get ever more and more *flûs* out of his employer or blacken to him the character of his next-door neighbour; the challenge of a pathetically ridiculous Greek, on the ridge of Taygetus, to combat with one in the pankration (no less) of his ancestors—these will, in spite of miseries, provoke a laughter which mollifies rage: the smile of hilarity turns aside the whip of calamity. Yet, lest some should seek the adventure of the pankratiast within the covers of this book, let me hasten to add that he is my adventure, not Dr. Hogarth's, unless he has perchance himself met the heroic Pappadakis of Langadha (and St. Louis, U.S.A.), and received the self-same challenge. I can parallel his picture of the pasha and his *harim* on the rolling and pitching Scotch steamer, and the saving of the principal wife from a watery grave by the Scotch mate, by the spectacle of the *harim* of another Turk (it was twenty years ago) being hauled out one by one from the cabin of a Greek steamer, and slung out shrieking, with ropes round their waists, like horses, to hang suspended and then be dumped, with a succession of thuds, on the bottom of a Candiote lighter, which now rose unwieldily almost to the level of the steamer's bridge as she rolled towards it and now fell deeply as her baring keel rolled away in the heavy swell of a Cretan "norther." Dr. Hogarth can beat most of us with his absurd experience recounted here in "Nile Fens," the laughable adventure of the Spier, the Serpent Slayer, and the Invisible Man. And several merry tales will reward the reader of this book to show that the ever-present miseries of Near Eastern travel, for which the *bandobast* of India does not exist (unless one is a Cook's tourist, and then one sees nothing worth seeing), have their minor compensations. And of their major compensations, of important discoveries and awe-inspiring experiences, Dr. Hogarth also tells us much. For instance, his description of his discovery of the archaic treasure of Artemis at Ephesus and of the wonderful storms and flood which he witnessed at Zakro in Crete. This last is a really fine piece of descriptive writing. Dr. Hogarth, for all that occasionally he turns a rather scholastic phrase for variety's sake, is a master of the *mot juste* and of vivid description. The life of an archæologist, while by no means so eternally delightful as the fair questioner of the dinner-table may imagine, is not without its thrills (which may be pleasurable or not at the moment), and not by any means without its positive pleasures, of amusement, and, much more, of accomplishment.

H. R. HALL.

APPENDIX

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA*

BY H. B. MORSE, LL.D.

AT Versailles, in 1919, the Chinese delegates demanded the abrogation of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, as being a derogation from her sovereign status. The claim was rejected; but in 1921 it was again preferred at the Washington Conference. There the claim was admitted to the extent of recognizing that the privilege is a derogation from China's sovereign status and a Commission has been appointed to proceed to China and examine into the further assertion that the administration of justice in that country has so far improved that foreign jurisdiction may with safety be abolished. The same claim has now been made for the Turkish dominions (April, 1923), and it is advisable to see how the privilege was acquired in China, and what it is.

From the earliest times peregrinating traders have claimed the privilege of carrying with them the law to which they had been born: the Phœnician traders along the coasts of the Mediterranean, the Greek traders following in their steps, and the Arab traders voyaging to China in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. Foreign conquering invaders have generally left the conquered in the full enjoyment of the law to which they had been accustomed: the Frank in Gaul, the Norman in England, and the various Kitan, Nuchen, Mongol, and Manchu invaders and conquerers of China. In A.D. 824 the Constitution imposed by Lothair on the city of Rome provided that each resident was required to designate the code—Roman, Frankish, or Lombard—under which he wished to live and be judged; the Roman might elect to be hanged for murder, and the Frank to be allowed to compound for it by payment of wergeld.

For traders the privilege endured to a late period. In his *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303 Edward III. of England granted to foreign traders the right to have suits, by or against them, tried by a jury of six citizens of London and six merchants from the same town as the foreigner party to the suit. In 1199 Venice obtained a capitulation from the Emperor at Constantinople granting extraterritoriality to her traders, and in 1207 a treaty in the same terms was negotiated between Venice and France; in 1304 Geona obtained at Constantinople a similar *privilegium aurea bulla nostra munitum*.

* This article was published in Vol. X., Part II. of the *Journal*. This number is now out of print, and republication has been considered advisable.

The States of Europe abandoned this practice between themselves as, in each case, the Government came to be based on law and not on the will of the governors ; the law of the place then became paramount, and it was not to be set aside for the benefit of a foreign trader. But when European traders came into relations in the Levant with Asiatic rulers, their respective laws were found to be incompatible : no Venetian or Genoese would willingly, or could in reason be expected to, submit himself to Moslem law, based on the Koran, and no Moslem could obey a law whose chief exponent was the Pope. The Saracens at Alexandria entered into an extraterritorial arrangement with Pisa in 1554 ; and at Constantinople the Turks took over the same procedure from the Greek Empire which they displaced, maintaining it in force until October 1, 1914.

The Europeans coming to China found a vast and well-organized empire, with a reputation for unconquered strength. The first comers, the Portuguese, had had no trade with the Levant and no experience of extraterritoriality ; nor had the next comers, the Spanish ; nor, as an independent State, had the next, the Hollanders ; and none of these claimed the privilege in China. The English had had a grant of extraterritoriality in the Levant since 1583, and the French since 1535 ; but coming to China, the one in 1637, the other in 1660, they both followed the example of the earlier comers.

The absence of extraterritorial protection created no difficulty in matters of trade during the whole of the factory period, which ended in 1842. The Chinese have never in the past brought their own civil cases into court, but, having experience and a wholesome dread of the action of their own magistrates, they have invariably settled them in their gilds. The foreign merchants trading at Canton were in the hands of their "security" merchant, a member of the Co-Hong, or Gild-Merchant, of Canton ; if a dispute arose between the two, it was settled amicably, or when that was not found possible, the settlement was subject to the dictation of the security merchant. This method worked smoothly, and the foreign traders, engaged in a profitable trade, accepted the situation as a necessary evil, quite dwarfed by the extortion to which they were subjected.

It was the execution of the criminal law which drew their attention to the need of further protection. Against the foreign merchants there was not one charge brought during the whole of the factory period ; but their trade was carried in ships manned by heavy crews, and at Whampoa (the anchorage, ten miles below Canton) there would at times be thousands of sailors, full of life, rejoicing in the touch of land after many weary months of the sea, and bent on pleasure. Bloody murder might have been expected on many occasions ; but during a period of two centuries, from 1637 to 1833, only sixteen cases of violence are recorded committed by foreigners, and during the same

period five cases of murderous assault by Chinese on foreigners. The death penalty was inflicted on four foreigners only for the cases in which they were implicated; but those four brought home to the responsible authorities the necessity for the protection of their own laws. One (an Englishman) had been tried by the Portuguese court at Macao and acquitted, but was retried by the Chinese and executed; one Frenchman killed a Portuguese in self-defence, but was tried by the Chinese and executed; one, English, was executed as being the gunner on the ship *Lady Hughes* from which a salute had accidentally killed a Chinese; one, American, on the ship *Emily*, had dropped an earthen jar which struck on the head of a woman in a boat and caused her to be drowned, for which he was executed.

The Chinese criminal law had been codified very clearly, and is accessible by Staunton's translation of the *Tatsing Leuli*. The law of homicide may be summarized as follows :

1. Wilful and premeditated murder is punishable by beheading.
2. For homicide during an affray, though without any express desire to kill, or killing another on suspicion of theft, or being accessory to a murder, the penalty is strangulation.
3. Persons who kill or wound another purely by accident (in such way that no previous warning could have been given) may redeem themselves from punishment by paying a fine to the family of the person killed or wounded. The legal amount of this fine, fixed by the Code, was Tls. 12.42 (£4 2s. 9d.).
4. Killing in lawful self-defence is justifiable, and not punishable.

To this law, if justly administered, little objection could be made except on one point; but that was vital. Chinese law judged solely by the result. If a life was lost (except when judged by the court to have been by pure accident) the law took a life in payment. The Chinese carried this to an extreme, and in several recorded cases they demanded a number of lives equal to the number lost, in order to satisfy public opinion among the fellow-villagers of the dead.

The nations of the West adopted a different principle. With them it was the intention which was important. In England (during the period of the factory days at Canton) any attempt at premeditated murder, even if neither death or wound followed, was punishable by death. By two laws of 1828 and 1837, attempts which did not result in wounds were removed from the category of murder; and in 1861, for the first time, was the death of the victim made a necessary factor. The English (the most numerous element among the merchants and in the shipping) insisted on the necessity of proving intention and premeditation; and, after the surrender of the gunner of the *Lady*

Hughes in 1784, refused to surrender any more accused persons for trial in a Chinese court.

The spirit of the Chinese judges was another factor which had to be taken into account. In their opinion, foreigners had no proper understanding of the principles of reason. A truly civilized people, such as were the Chinese, must understand that "reason is never so feeble that it must needs be reinforced by might"; whereas, during three centuries of common relations, foreigners had shown a facile inclination to resort to force whenever any impediment arose to prevent the attainment of their end. The Chinese then, confident in their monopoly of reason, confident also in the unshaken strength of their universal Empire, held an innate conviction that, *prima facie*, their countrymen, belonging to a civilized race, must be in the right as against those of a rude and unlettered stock. These judges, too, belonged to a class of officials who were notoriously the most corrupt of any then existing in the world; who, even a century later, had made no advance in the direction in which the rest of the nations were moving, to integrity and impartiality in their public officers; who were always ready to prostitute their official position for the sake of gain or for racial prejudice.

Another element was the certainty that torture would be applied to any person under trial in a Chinese court. Torture was not unknown to the nations then represented at Canton, but its use had long before been discarded in the West. Of the three most numerous nationalities, the Americans had never known it, except as applied to them by the Red Indians; the Dutch had abandoned it in their legal procedure; and it was not in common use in England after the time of Elizabeth, or in Scotland after James I. and VI. In England it endured longest to break down the obstinacy of accused persons who "stood mute," refusing to plead; in 1658 Major Strangeways, standing mute, was pressed to death in about ten minutes, "iron being laid on him as much as he could bear and more"; in 1726 one Burnwater, accused of murder and standing mute, was pressed for an hour and three-quarters with 4 cwt. of iron, and then consented to plead; in 1772 it was enacted that standing mute should be taken as equivalent to a plea of guilty, and in 1827 as a plea of not guilty. For extracting evidence from witnesses torture has not been applied for more than three centuries in the more advanced nations of the West; and in England and America an accused person is further protected by being exempted from interrogation, and by the legal presumption that he is innocent until the prosecution has proved him guilty.

In China, the foreigners found, the theory was the same as in the West, but in practice the prisoner was presumed to be guilty until he was clearly proved to be innocent; and his trial was for the purpose of publicly establishing the charge and determining the penalty. In the case of the American ship *Bimily*, in 1821, the magistrate conducted

a first trial on board; he heard the evidence for the prosecution, refused to allow that evidence to be interpreted, refused to hear argument or testimony for the defence, and adjudged the accused guilty. After this mockery of a trial and farce of a judicial decision, the accused was put in irons on board ship, but was not surrendered. The trade of all flags had been stopped, and the stoppage continued; and, a week later, the prisoner was surrendered. He was taken into the city, tried again (no one from the ship or the foreign community being present), was again adjudged guilty, was executed by strangulation, and his body returned to the *Emily*, all within twenty-four hours.

China, it was further found, was governed on the doctrine of responsibility; for every unlawful act, someone must be found to accept responsibility—the act of God, *force majeure*, circumstances over which one had no control, were excuses not recognized in Chinese law. Among the Chinese the father is held responsible for every act committed by any member of his family; the whole village for any act committed within it; the magistrate for the detection and punishment of any crime in his district; Governor and Viceroy for the maintenance of order in their jurisdiction. This responsibility is personal; a village elder might be executed (or, perhaps, tortured and ruined in purse) for a murder committed by some person unknown; a Viceroy might be cashiered (or, perhaps, left in his office humiliated by the deprivation of his honours and titles) for failure to suppress brigandage.

The same doctrine of responsibility was applied to the foreigners. In one case (British ship *Neptune*, 1807) fifty-two sailors of the crew were involved in a riotous affray in which one Chinese lost his life. Every effort was made during two months to fix the personal responsibility; twice were investigations conducted on board, but the guilty person could not be found; the supercargo was held personally responsible for producing the guilty man; the responsibility was transferred to the English Headman (the President of the Select Committee of the Honourable East India Company); during the whole of these two months all the English trade was stopped; and finally the Chinese accepted one sailor as guilty of “accidental homicide” (penalty 12.42 taels = £4 2s. 9d.) and trade was re-opened.

In every case that occurred the foreigners contended that the charge should have been one of accidental homicide or of killing in self-defence; while in every case the Chinese held that it was killing in an affray, with or without intent, the penalty for which was strangulation. The English surrendered none of their accused after 1784; but, in several later cases, offered to send their men as prisoners to England, there to be tried and punished according to English law.

The Americans had at that time in their own country laws which were much less ferocious than those of other Western nations; but, in their dealings with the Chinese, they accepted the Chinese stand-

point to a date much later than the others. In the case of the *Emily*, in 1821, they declared to the Chinese authorities: "We are bound to submit to your laws while we are in your waters; be they ever so unjust, we will not resist them." This was their public policy; but their personal feelings as expressed in their private correspondence, were the same as those of the English.

The idea of granting extraterritorial jurisdiction to the foreigners was not at first repugnant to the Chinese. In 1867, at Amoy, a sailor of the *London*, being drunk, broke into the Custom House and committed a robbery, involving under Chinese law the penalty of death; all that the authorities demanded was that "a due punishment might be given to him by ourselves according as, in our opinion, y^e crime meritted; w^{ch} was inflicted in Publick view ashore by 100 Stripes wth a Catt of nine Tails & Pickle, to their satisfaction."

In 1729 the supercargoes of four of the English Company's ships, bargaining for admittance to the port of Canton, demanded "that we desire there may be no Punch houses erected at Wampo, that so all quarrells between our Sailors and the Chinese may be prevented, and that we may not at Canton be accountable for any such accidents, it being impossible for us to be answerable for them at such a distance; and that if any of our people should be found to be the Aggressors in any Broils between them and the Chinese, that we ourselves only shall inflict such punishments upon them as they shall deserve and according to the Laws of our Country."

This was extraterritoriality, granted at haphazard, but never acted on for over a hundred years.

The English fought with China the war which was ended by the treaty of Nanking in 1842. In this treaty, imposed on China after her defeat at all points, any terms might have been inflicted; but Lord Palmerston, in his instructions, had directed his plenipotentiary that, if the Chinese Government were willing to cede an island [Hongkong or Chusan] to serve as an entrepôt for the trade, then only the national questions, and not those concerning trade, should be definitely settled. Accordingly the treaty provided for the cession of Hongkong, the opening of five staple ports, the appointment of Consuls, a money indemnity, the abolition of monopoly, a uniform and moderate tariff, and equality between the officials of corresponding rank of the two nations; but it made no stipulation for jurisdiction by British courts over British subjects. This was secured by the General Regulations for Trade published in 1843, in which it was declared that "regarding the punishment of English criminals, the English Government will enact the laws necessary to attain that end, and the Consul will be empowered to put them in force; and regarding the punishment of Chinese criminals, these will be tried and punished by their own laws."

The American policy had been to accept Chinese jurisdiction over

American citizens; but Mr. Caleb Cushing, Commissioner of the United States to negotiate a treaty, found good reasons for abandoning this attitude of acquiescence. There had been several attacks by Cantonese rowdies on foreigners in the grounds of the foreign factories. On June 16, 1844, a party of Americans was attacked, and they were driven to defend themselves; and, in the affray, a Chinese was killed. The Chinese soldier guard gave no protection; and the Viceroy Kiyung, a Manchu, declaring that the Cantonese were a turbulent people, warned Mr. Cushing that they would probably demand a life for a life. They did so demand, but Mr. Cushing refused to submit the case to Chinese jurisdiction; and he convened a jury of six Americans, who found that those implicated in the affray had acted strictly in self-defence. During the same period an American was killed by Chinese soldiers, and in this case Mr. Cushing left the offenders to the jurisdiction of the Chinese authorities.

In the American Treaty of 1844, signed two weeks after this affray, the procedure in criminal cases was declared somewhat more explicitly, but in similar terms to that laid down in the British Trade Regulations; but in his instructions to Consuls, Mr. Cushing declared categorically: "In my opinion, the rule which obtained in favour of Europeans and Americans in the Mohammedan countries of Asia is to be applied to China. Americans are entitled to the protection and subject to the jurisdiction of the officers of their Government." This policy he maintained in later years in his considered opinions as Attorney-General of the United States.

The French Treaty of 1844 was very precise in its assertion of criminal jurisdiction, declaring in addition: "*Il en sera de même en toute circonstance analogue et non prévue dans la présente convention, le principe étant que, pour la répression des crimes et délits commis par eux dans les cinq ports, les Français seront constamment régis par la loi française.*"

Extraterritoriality was now fully established in criminal cases. The need for it in civil cases had, as has been stated, not been felt during the factory period at Canton; but, with the abolition of the monopoly of the Co-Hong, foreign merchants of all nations and of all classes were brought into direct relations with Chinese merchants of all classes. The monopoly had come to an end, but the Chinese merchants continued to work together in their guilds, while the foreigners, always individualistic and self-dependent, were as a flock of sheep in the presence of the united Chinese. Protection in civil cases was felt to be necessary, but the foreign merchants had not yet put into concrete form the best way of supplying their need, when the plenipotentiaries of four Powers (England, France, America, and Russia) negotiated their treaties of 1858. All these treaties provided clearly for consular jurisdiction in criminal cases, but, for civil cases, only provided for the

recovery of debts through the courts of the debtor; the French Treaty, however, repeated word for word the clause in the Treaty of 1844:

“ Il en sera de même en toute circonstance,” etc.

Extraterritoriality in civil cases, to the full extent of present-day practice, grew up through the weakness of China, and the inability of her officials to execute the functions of their offices. Through the first half of the nineteenth century sporadic risings had been of frequent occurrence in almost all of the provinces, loosening the bonds of obedience to the law, spreading everywhere a feeling of unrest, and interfering seriously with the ordinary emoluments of the officials; and, by 1850, there existed throughout the whole empire a condition almost amounting to anarchy. Order was not maintained, justice was not rendered, the officials were held in contempt; and these last were driven to expedients, beyond those customary, to supplement their emoluments which had been seriously curtailed. Then arose the Taiping rebellion. Starting in the poor and mountainous province of Kwangsi, the rebels marched north through Hunan, conquering, devastating, and increasing their forces, as they advanced; and, by the end of 1852, they made good their footing on the Yangtze, by the capture of the triune cities Wuchang-Haukow-Hanyang. They pushed down the Yangtze, and, on March 19, 1853, took by assault the former capital of the empire, Nanking, having overrun and devastated the major part of six provinces, while other risings gained their footing in other provinces. In the summer of 1853 not one of the eighteen provinces of China proper was free of rebels, and many—even the majority—were dominated by them. The Manchu resident garrisons were massacred to a man, and woman, and child; the Chinese armies were saved by timely withdrawal, the officials saved themselves by flight, and millions of civilian refugees streamed to places which, they hoped, would provide shelter from the devastating hordes, some thousands even as far as Shanghai.

Piracy, of the sea and of the river-ways, is endemic among the Chinese; and during this period sea piracy was rampant along the coast. The authorities, civil and military, were quite incapable of dealing with it, and such check as was imposed on it was imposed by the ships of the British Navy. In 1847 H.M. brig *Scout* brought into Amoy three pirate junks. In 1849 Commander J. C. D. Hay, with 3 ships, the largest mounting 16 guns, destroyed a piratical fleet of 23 junks, carrying 12 to 18 guns each and manned by 1,800 men; in the same year, with 3 ships, he destroyed 58 out of a fleet of 64 pirate junks, carrying 1,224 guns and manned by 3,150 men; and in March, 1850, with one ship, he destroyed a fleet of 13 pirate junks: these three actions were all in Cantonese waters. In 1855 H.M. brig *Bittern*, 12 guns, destroyed on the Chekiang coast a pirate fleet of 23 junks, carrying nearly 200 guns and manned by 1,200 men, the

Bittern's loss being 2 killed and 15 wounded.* During these years the Chinese authorities were in a constant state of friction with foreign interests ; even in May, 1858, when England and China were openly at war, and during the days when the allied British and French forces were taking the Taku forts by assault, H.M.S. *Surprise* destroyed a large piratical fleet at Lintin ; and all these operations, including that in 1858, besides many others of less importance, were undertaken at the request of the Chinese authorities, and were carried out with the co-operation, ineffective though it was, of Chinese government ships. During all these years the burden of protecting British merchants and shipping was thrown entirely on the British authorities and the British Navy, and was never assumed by the Chinese authorities.

If any foreign Power was to undertake the duty incumbent on the Chinese, it was obviously England, since the greater part of the trade was British. In 1855 there were resident in Hongkong and the five Treaty ports of China 1,038 adult male civilians, of whom 377 were at Hongkong, 334 at Canton, and 243 at Shanghai ; and this total of 1,038 was divided among 111 English firms, 45 British Indian, 23 American, and 31 of all other nationalities. The proportion of the trade may be gauged by the export trade of Shanghai in 1853, when the total value of all exports was 24,000,000 dollars ; of this sum, 14,500,000 dollars was the value of shipments by English merchants in British ships, 8,500,000 dollars by American merchants in American ships, and 1,000,000 dollars under all other flags.

These particulars serve to illustrate the extent of the foreign trading interests, and the impotence of the Chinese officials at the time, September 7, 1853, when the administrative city of Shanghai, protected though it was by strong walls, was seized by surprise by a body of Triad rebels, claiming affiliation with, but not recognized by, the Taipings at Nanking. The next day they made an irruption into the foreign settlement, sacking and burning the Custom House which dealt with the foreign trade ; but thereafter, for seventeen months, they remained besieged by tens of thousands of Chinese troops, but continuing to hold the city against all assaults. Of the territorial and fiscal officials, some were killed when the city was taken, and others escaped to the foreign settlement, finding there a refuge under the protection of the extraterritoriality enjoyed by the foreign residents.

The foreigners were confronted by a difficult problem. For many years they had not obtained the protection which it was the duty of the Chinese Government to give them ; and, after the events of the two days, it was obvious that the Chinese authorities could not offer any resistance to the rebels. On the other hand, the Government had for

* To commemorate this action a memorial window in memory of Lieutenant (Vice-Admiral) Vansittart was erected in the Parish Church of Bisham-on-Thames by public subscription of the foreign residents of Shanghai and Ningpo.

twenty years been in a state of acute conflict with the foreign interests, and this conflict had been temporarily alleviated, on paper but not in fact, by the Treaties of 1842 and 1844; and the foreign interests, while giving a personal refuge in their settlement to the dispossessed officials, could not agree to their exercising their functions, collecting their revenue, and conducting military operations, under the protection of foreign guns, foreign prestige, and foreign privilege. The foreign Powers in general were at the moment represented by merchant Consuls—Portugal, the Netherlands, Hamburg, Lübeck and Bremen, Prussia, Denmark, and Siam by English merchants, Spain by a Portuguese, Sweden and Norway, Russia, and the United States by an American (the first official United States Consul arrived in February, 1854); the French (official) Consul had national interests of very small importance; and it fell to the British Consul, Mr. Rutherford Alcock, to take the lead in all matters of common public interest.

Mr. Alcock was a man of marked personality. After a period of distinguished service with the British Legion in Spain, he was appointed one of the first Consuls to China under the Treaty of 1842. At Amoy in 1844, and again at Shanghai in 1854, he upheld the right of the Consul to protect from molestation Chinese subjects in foreign employment; in 1845 he re-established British prestige, which had been impaired, at Foochow; in 1848 at Shanghai, on an occasion in which he conceived that the Chinese authorities had been neglectful of their duty of protecting foreign life, he boldly, with one gun-brig, declared war against the Chinese Government; and, on many occasions, he had shown that he was not afraid to assume responsibility in a time when the monthly mail was slow and telegraphic communication did not exist.

The three foreign Envoys declared for a strict neutrality between the Imperial Government and the rebels—the British and American after the fall of Nanking, and the French after the seizure of Shanghai—but the neutrality was declared to be conditioned by the necessity of directly defending any threatened foreign interest when directly attacked. Under this declaration, Mr. Alcock induced his two colleagues, Consuls of the two Treaty Powers, to join with him in asserting the neutrality of the foreign settlement in the struggle between the rebels within the city and the Imperial authorities and forces outside.

This neutrality produced a threefold effect. While the rebels in the city were hemmed in on three sides by the besieging troops, and on the fourth, the northern side, by the neutral foreign territory, they were at the same time protected from all assaults on that northern side, from which the Imperial troops were excluded. This exclusion was not pleasing to these troops, who found there a degree

of personal safety not obtainable elsewhere; and in the Battle of Muddy Flat, on April 4, 1854, some ten thousand of them, who had drifted in, were forcibly expelled from their coign of safety by a force of 200 sailors from the British and American ships of war, and 200 merchants of Shanghai. The city was evacuated by the rebels in February, 1855, but the neutrality of the foreign settlement was still maintained. In August, 1860, on the days on which the allied British and French forces were engaged in the assault on the Imperial forts at Taku, other British and French troops were manning the walls of the Imperial city of Shanghai and defending it from an assault in force by a Taiping army; and, in 1862, the two Allies undertook to protect Shanghai and to keep clear of rebels the territory within a radius of thirty miles around it—a duty which, even at that date, the Imperial forces were quite incapable of performing. It is not too much to say that, without this declaration of neutrality, and without this foreign military intervention, the seaport of Shanghai would have been taken by the Taiping army and the course of history changed.

A second effect was that the Chinese Government was debarred from collecting its Customs duties from the foreign trade of Shanghai. The Consuls tried one expedient after another to enable it to obtain this revenue, by some method which would not involve, on the one hand, the entry of armed Chinese guards into the foreign settlement, and, on the other, the giving of armed foreign protection to the Chinese officials engaged in the collection; but in the end it was found expedient, in July, 1854, to introduce a system of mixed Chinese and foreign control of the Customs—leading ultimately to the creation of the Inspectorate-General of customs, the development of which owed so much to the genius of Sir Robert Hart.

A third effect was that the Consuls were driven to assume jurisdiction over the Chinese resident within the limits of the foreign settlement. In 1852 this territory comprised about 250 acres along the river-front, occupied by the houses and offices of the foreign merchants, and back of this about 400 acres, conceded later and intended primarily for purposes of recreation; within this square mile there were no Chinese resident, except the house and office servants of the foreign merchants. On the fall of Nanking many thousands of refugees fled to the only apparent place of safety, Shanghai; the disturbed state of the vicinity after the seizure of the city drove other thousands to the same refuge; and by the end of 1853 there were over fifty thousand, some with scanty means, some with none, all squatting in the open spaces of the foreign settlement. Year after year more thousands flocked in, and in 1860 the fall of Soochow and the consequent expansion of the area of Taiping domination drove in many myriads more, until, by the end of 1862, there were over a million and a half of Chinese refugees resident in the area reserved for foreigners,

finding there under the foreign flags the protection denied them under their own. Policing, sanitation, protection, and feeding had to be provided for this host, and the task, unwelcome though it was, was undertaken with Western thoroughness by the small community of English and American merchants.

Authority, however, did not lie with the merchants. Many attempts were made to throw the burden of police jurisdiction on the Chinese officials; but there was the double difficulty, that Chinese armed guards could not be admitted to the foreign settlement, and that there were no funds available unless the Chinese could be allowed to exercise the taxing power within the foreign limits. The mercantile community then evolved the plan of making Shanghai a "free city," independent of all Chinese jurisdiction, and existing under the joint protectorate of the three Treaty Powers; but they were promptly called to order by the three Envoys at Peking, who reminded them that "the (English) Concession at Shanghai was neither a transfer nor a lease to the (British) Crown . . . and the land so acquired remains Chinese territory."

With the enormous Chinese population to be administered, some authority had, however, to be exercised, and the task was undertaken by the official Consuls, the British and the American, for what was afterwards the "International Settlement," and the French for his own. They dealt with all ordinary police cases, and the penalties inflicted were fines of moderate amount or imprisonment for a few days; criminals requiring severer punishment were sentenced to be handed over to their own authorities, involving expulsion from the foreign settlement. Mixed civil suits were commonly settled by Gild action or by friendly arbitration, as they had been in the factory days at Canton; but when they came before any Court, it was before a Consular Court. One such case occurred at Hankow as late as May, 1864, when the Oriental Bank brought suit before the British Consul against two Chinese for enforcement of a contract; judgment was given for the plaintiff in the sum of 68,232 taels (£22,000). The Chinese defendants probably regarded the suit as an arbitration, and paid the sum awarded.

After the suppression of the Taiping rebellion in 1864, the foreign authorities at Shanghai took early steps to restore to the Chinese officials their proper jurisdiction over their own subjects; but they had, at the same time, to safeguard the extraterritorial status acquired for the foreign settlement. They accordingly moved the Taotai to establish a Mixed Court for the trial of charges or suits, in which there was a foreign interest, brought against Chinese resident in the foreign settlement, or taking shelter there. The rules were amplified in 1869, and from time to time since, the latest amendment being in 1903; and they are based on the principle laid down in the British Convention of

Chefoo, 1876, that "cases are tried by the official of the defendant's nationality . . . the law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case"—but always with the further proviso that nothing shall be done to impair the extraterritorial status of the settlement.

The Mixed Court is a Chinese Court, presided over by a Chinese official, who is the deputy of the magistrate of the district of which Shanghai is the administrative centre; and this official, with the rank of sub-magistrate, is assisted in his administration of justice by an assessor deputed by one of the foreign Consulates. Appeals lie to the Taotai, sitting jointly with a member of the judicial committee of the Consular body; and irreconcilable disagreement between the Mixed Court sub-magistrate and the foreign assessor is referred to the diplomatic arm, becoming the subject of correspondence and conference between the Taotai and the senior Consul or the Consul directly concerned. (The appellations of the officials under the Empire are used in this account; their names and their functions have been changed under the Republic, and it is probable that they will again be changed, and not once only.)

We are now in a position to study the working in practice of extraterritoriality at the port at which it has been most fully developed—Shanghai.

The foreigner charged with a criminal offence against a Chinese, whatever the residence of either, is charged before his own Consul at the nearest Treaty port (British and American at Shanghai before special Courts not subject to Consular control), and tried and sentenced according to the laws of his own land (British by the law as in London, Americans by common law supplemented by statute law applicable to the District of Columbia). The Chinese have the right to send a delegate to listen to the trial, but have not customarily availed themselves of the privilege.

The Chinese, not resident in the foreign settlement, charged with a criminal offence against a foreigner, is charged, on the application of the Consul to the Taotai, before the magistrate of the district in which he lives, and is tried and sentenced according to Chinese law. The Consul has the right to send a delegate to listen to the trial, and if he dissents from the decision of the magistrate, his report becomes the basis of diplomatic correspondence between the foreign legation and the Chinese Government; in cases of murder, especially of missionaries in the interior, this right has invariably been exercised.

Civil suits brought by Chinese against all foreigners, and by foreigners against Chinese residents outside the foreign settlement, are subject to the same procedure.

Criminal charges (including all police cases) and civil suits, brought by a foreigner against a Chinese resident in the foreign settlement, are

brought before the Mixed Court. The foreign assessor is supplied in rotation by the three Consulates—British, American, and (until 1917) German—having adequate staffs with a competent knowledge of the Chinese law and language ; but any case in which a foreigner of other nationality is interested as complainant or plaintiff is postponed to await the presence of an assessor from the Consulate of the plaintiff's nationality. The assessor intervenes actively in this Court, assuming the functions of a *puisé* judge. In case of need, he imposes his judgment on the sub-magistrate, head of the Court ; and, in case of disagreement, he may refuse to accept the decision of the latter. This Court decides all cases which may be settled by damages, fine, imprisonment, or the ordinary Chinese punishments of the *cangue* and the bamboo (flogging) ; but serious cases, for which, by Chinese law, the penalty is death, the cage, or banishment to the frontier, are remitted to the magistrate of the district for trial and ultimate decision ; but in such cases it is the duty of the assessor to assure himself that the charge actually before the Court is fully substantiated, and is not the cloak for ulterior designs on the life and liberty of the accused.

Suits brought by Chinese, whether officials or private persons, against Chinese resident in the foreign settlement are brought before the Mixed Court. These present a real difficulty. No foreign interest has any desire to intervene in purely Chinese cases ; but the foreigners hold that the extraterritorial status of the foreign settlement must and shall be maintained, and that this is impossible with two rival and incompatible jurisdictions covering the same field. In these cases the foreign assessor assures himself that the charge before the Court is fully substantiated, and is without ulterior motive ; but he does not otherwise interfere with the decision.

At Shanghai the French have always followed a particularist policy, and have refused to consolidate their interest with those of the general mercantile community ; there are two settlements, the French under solely French control, and the International under the control of all nations, including the French : and there are two Mixed Courts, one for each section. In criminal cases, the Chinese accused is brought before the Mixed Court of that settlement in which the crime was committed. In mixed civil suits, if the plaintiff is French, the case comes before the French Mixed Court ; if a foreigner (not French), it comes before the International Mixed Court. If the Chinese defendant resides in the other settlement, he is brought, by a regulated procedure, to the Court having jurisdiction. Suits between Chinese are brought before the Mixed Court of the settlement in which the defendant resides.

While every foreigner is amenable to the jurisdiction of the officials and the law of his own nationality, certain corporate bodies, notably

the Shanghai (International) Municipal Council, are not subject to the jurisdiction of any one nation. Suit may be brought against them, under the general principles of equity, before the Court of Consuls, composed of three members of the Consular body, elected annually by their colleagues.

This is extraterritoriality as practised in China, and specifically at Shanghai. It has been considered a necessary condition, if foreigners were to live and trade in China; and it has been a convenience to Chinese who, from 1853 on to 1923, have found at Shanghai, under foreign privilege, a shelter from rebels or from their own Government. It is not the object of this paper to consider whether the privilege should be abrogated or modified, or whether it should be retained; but it may serve a useful purpose to examine the points which must be borne in mind when the question comes up for consideration.

First, what is murder? The laws of Western nations require that to justify the death penalty proof of premeditation and intention to kill is essential; Chinese law prescribes the death penalty also for homicide during an affray, even when there is no intention to kill. How can these be reconciled? It would not be sufficient to change the Chinese law, since that is based on Chinese public opinion. No Chinese judge would be bold enough to brave the opinion of his countrymen by refusing to adjudge the death penalty if a Chinese life had been lost; and if the foreigner, charged with murder, were acquitted, the fellow-villagers of the slain man could be trusted to raise a riot, with its concomitant homicide and arson.

Suborned and perjured testimony is met in Western countries by cross-examination, but Anglo-Indians know the difficulty of applying this method to the East. In Eastern countries any evidence required is produced, even to the dead body of a victim still living; it has often happened that a body produced as that of a man murdered by violence has shown on medical examination no sign of external injury. In the East, when the Oriental judge suspects, or wishes to elicit, that evidence is false, torture is the method.

The accused, too, is tortured. The presumption is that he is guilty until he proves his innocence, and a refusal to confess his guilt is treated as contumacy and obstruction of justice. Moreover, by Chinese law an accused may not be condemned save on his confession of his guilt.

Chinese officials have always been corrupt; the best of them in the sense that Surintendant Fouquet was corrupt, while the worst may be likened to Verres in Sicily. The element common to Europe in the past and China in the present is that no suitor might win his just cause nor claimant obtain his just dues without feeling heavily the official who should decide, and all his subordinates. The Foreign Offices of Western nations will require to be well assured, beyond the adoption

of a new constitution, that the Republic has improved on the methods of the Empire before they will consent to entrust the interest of their nationals to Chinese officials.

Under the Empire the judicial and administrative functions were combined in one official, while the constitution of the Republic has severed them, and provides for an independent judiciary. This is an improvement, but it remains to be seen if the severance will, automatically and without strenuous effort, secure the impartiality and the independence which are essential to the proper performance of the judicial function. The judges will still retain their feeling that their Chinese civilization is of a higher type than that of any of the Western nations; they will still be psychologically incapable of offending the public opinion of their countrymen; and they will still entertain the universal Oriental notion that the salary of an office is only a stepping-stone to its actual emoluments. If China should succeed in the great task of reforming its judiciary, and of securing an upright and unbiased Bench, the result will be weak judges; the profits of public office in China are so vast, and those who will consent to accept a judgeship will be the failures in public life.

There is no doubt that China suffers from some remediable abuses of extraterritoriality, abuses more common from the action of protected subject of the British Empire than of natives of the United Kingdom. To the extent to which these can be remedied China has every claim to our consideration, but before she can claim the abstract restitution of her sovereign rights, before she can obtain the abrogation of extraterritorial privilege, she must convince the nations enjoying that privilege that she has risen to their level, in practice as well as in theory; and she must remember that extraterritoriality, honestly and impartially administered, is a safeguard to China herself, protecting her from coercion for alleged maladministration.

POSTSCRIPT (AUGUST, 1925).

This paper on "Extraterritoriality in China" was written six years ago; and in writing it I wrote as an historian, giving an account of the undeniable and immutable facts on which the privilege is based, and not as a publicist arguing for or against the abrogation of the capitulations. It was for this reason that no reference was made to the assumption by the Municipal Council of the administration of the Mixed Court. This occurred in October, 1911, when all the Chinese officials of the Court fled from their posts, and when neither the body of Consuls nor the Municipal Council were willing to recognize any of the Chinese factions warring for control of the Customs revenue and the administration of justice. This usurpation was only intended to be temporary, but the foreign control of this Chinese Court has continued,

although for some years past the Chinese civil authorities have been asking for its surrender. The foreign merchants have, in fact, obtained that "free city" status which they claimed for Shanghai in 1862, and which was then denied them (see my "International Relations of the Chinese Empire," vol. ii., p. 124). In this connection I would quote from a despatch from Sir Frederick Bruce (H.M. Minister at Peking) to Mr. Medhurst of September 8, 1862 :

"It is my duty to remind you that the Chinese Government has never formally abandoned its rights over its own subjects, nor has Her Majesty's Government ever claimed or expressed any desire to exercise a protectorate over them. The only case in which, consistently with the principles laid down for the guidance of Her Majesty's authorities in this country, the Consul has a right to interfere is where the Chinese is in the employ of a British firm, and where there is reason for believing that the arrest of the Chinese servant is an outrage through him on his employer. But it is the interest of the British subject, and not the Chinaman, which is protected. I do not understand what interest Her Majesty's Government has in lending itself to a system which is unjustifiable in principle, which would be attended with endless embarrassment and responsibility, and which the Chinese Government would never submit to willingly. Great Britain has no interest except in providing a secure place for British trading establishments; and whatever inconveniences may arise from the conversion of the Settlement into a Chinese town, I do not think that Her Majesty's Government will be induced to seek a remedy for them by extending its jurisdiction over a large section of the Chinese population. Because we protect Shanghai from falling a prey to a horde of brigands, it does not follow that we are prepared to interfere with the natural relation of the Chinese to their own Government."

The three B.'s—the three foreign Ministers Plenipotentiary then in Peking (Sir F. Bruce, Mr. Anson Burlingame, and M. de Bourboulon)—and the three Powers involved were in accord on this declaration of policy.—H. B. M.

LIST OF NEW MEMBERS AND MEMBERS AWAITING ELECTION

Abbott, Bt. Lieut.-Colonel R. S., M.C., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, I.A.
 Barry, Captain G. H., R.A.M.C.
 Brancker, Air Vice-Marshal Sir Sefton, K.C.B., etc.
 Brierly, Colonel G. T., C.M.G., D.S.O.
 Bromilow, Major D. G., D.S.O.
 Butterworth, Mrs. Thornton.
 Campbell, Ewen, Sudan Political Service.
 Cawdor, The Earl.
 Close, Miss Etta.
 Coldstream, W., I.C.S. (retd.).
 Cooper, Lieutenant H. J., R.A.S.C.
 Fisher, Captain F.A.B., 8th Gurkha Rifles.
 Fox Strangways, Captain V.
 Fraser-Tytler, Captain W. K., M.C., 25th Cavalry, I.A.
 Grant, Colonel R. D., V.C., 10th Gurkha Rifles, I.A.
 Growden, Captain W. E. N., Iraq Police.
 Holmes, Colonel R. B. W., C.B.E.
 Humphreys, Colonel E. T., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
 Hunter, Lieut.-Colonel J. S. Dalzell, Indian Political Dept.
 Johnston-Saint, Captain J. P., I.A. (retd.).
 Luke, H. J.
 Mackenzie, Dr. Melville.
 Maclaren, A. I.
 Marshall, F. W.
 Monckton, T. C., R.F.A., Iraq.
 Morgan, E. B.
 Nance, Major W. F., I.A.
 Noyes, Major C. D., M.C., 1/7 Rajput Regiment, I.A.
 Park, James Loder.
 Plumer, Field-Marshal Lord, G.C.B., etc.
 Pocock, Hugh.
 Prendergast, Major N., D.S.O., M.C., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, I.A.
 Prideaux, F. W. A., O.B.E.
 Ravenshaw, Colonel C., I.A. (retd.).
 Renton, Captain J. M. L., Iraq Levies.
 Rich, Captain E. P., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, I.A.
 Ross, Sir E. Denison, Director, School of Oriental Studies.
 Saunders, Colonel N., D.S.O., I.A.
 Schomberg, Lieut.-Colonel R., Seaforth Highlanders.
 Shelton, Captain R. C. M., Inniskilling Dragoons.
 Smith, Lieut.-Colonel Ian M., D.S.O., M.C.
 Teague, Captain R. J. D., 2/2 Bombay Pioneers.
 Wheatley, H. H., O.B.E., M.C.
 Wilson-Haffenden, Captain J. R., (R.A.R. of O.) Nigeria.

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OF
THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

CORRECTED TO MARCH 3, 1925

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1921. LIEUT.-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

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G.C.V.O., ETC.

1924. SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

1924. EDWARD MOON, ESQ.

1924. **Hon. Treasurer:** SIR E. PENTON, K.B.E.

1923. } **Joint**
1923. } **Hon. Secretaries:** { LIEUT. - GENERAL SIR RALEIGH
EGERTON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.
G. C. STEPHENSON, ESQ.

1924. **Hon. Librarian:** MRS. FRAZER.

Members of the Council:

1922. LIEUT.-COLONEL F. E. FREMANTLE, T.D., O.B.E., M.P.

1923. LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

1923. GENERAL SIR EDMUND BARROW, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., ETC.

1924. REAR-ADMIRAL C. M. STAVELEY, C.B., C.M.G., R.N.

1924. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEILL MALCOLM, K.C.B., D.S.O.

1924. SIR JOHN MAFFEY, K.C.V.O., C.S.I.

1924. THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE LLOYD, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.,
D.S.O., M.P.

Secretary:

MISS M. N. KENNEDY.

OFFICES: 74, GROSVENOR ST., W. 1.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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

A

1924. Abboud, Ahmed Bey, P.O. Box 2051, Cairo.
1921. Acland, Captain P. Dyke, attd. Aviation Dept., Vickers Ltd., Vickers' House, Broadway, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1922. Acworth, Captain J. P., 9/12 (F.F.) Regt., I.A., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
1921. Ahmed Bey Hassanein, F.R.G.S., Cairo.
1916. Ainscough, Thomas M., O.B.E., H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Post Box 683, 11, Clive Street, Calcutta.
1925. Airey, J. L., R.A.F., c/o Air Headquarters, Baghdad.
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.; Imperial Service College, Windsor.
1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
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.
1924. Amory, J. H., Knightsbridge Court, Tiverton.
1924. Anderson, Lieut.-Colonel B. E., D.S.O., 6th Royal Battalion F.F. Rifles, Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1924. Andrews, Roy Chapman, Leader of the 3rd American Asiatic Expedition to Mongolia, 2, Kung Hsien Hutung, Peking.
1921. Antonius, George, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1922. Armitage-Smith, Sidney A., C.B., 13, Sussex Place, N.W. 1.
1923. Armstrong, Captain F. H. C., O.B.E., Leverton, Boston, Lincs.
1924. Arnold, The Right Hon. Lord, 12, North Square, N.W. 11.
1924. Arnold, Sir Thomas, C.I.E., 19, Gloucester Walk, W. 8.
- 20 1924. Aston, C. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Austin, A. P. M., The Treasury, Tanga, Tanganyika Territory.

B

1908. *Baddeley, J. F.
 1910. Bailey, Major F. M., C.I.E., 7, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, N.B.
 1924. Bailey, W. H., M.D., 47, E. Leinster Square, W. 2.
 1914. Baillie, J. R., 1, Akenside Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 1923. Balfe, Miss, Ladies' Athenæum Club, 17, Stratford Place, 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., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1922. Bampton, R. E. Fitz-Symons, Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
 1920. Banerjee, Gauranga Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.L. (Professor of Ancient History, Calcutta University), 107/1, Mechua Bazar Street, Calcutta.
 1918. Banks, Mrs. M. M., 16, Hornton Court, W. 8.
 1923. Banks, R. Mitchell, K.C., M.P., House of Commons, Westminster, S.W. 1.
 1921. Bannister, T. H. C., Stanmore Hall, Stanmore.
 1924. Barke, Lieut.-Colonel C.R., D.S.O., 3rd Battalion Iraq Levies, Levy H.Q., Mosul.
 1905. Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 29, Campden House Court, W. 8.
 1922. Barnes, Sir George Stapylton, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Foxholm, Cobham, Surrey.
 1921. Barnett, Mrs. L., 8, Royal Crescent, W. 11.
 1922. Barnham, Henry D., C.M.G., Brooklands, Wray Park Road, Reigate.
40 1922. Barrett, Field-Marshal Sir A. A., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., A.D.C.Gen., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
 1924. Barrett, Major C. C. J., C.S.I., C.I.E., Assistant Resident, Aden.
 1921. Barrington-Ward, F. T., K.C., 8, Green Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
 1913. *BARROW, General Sir Edmund, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Artillery Mansions, S.W. 1. M. of C.
 1922. Barrow, Lieut.-General Sir George, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Commander of the Legion of Honour, H.Q. Eastern Command, India.
 1920. Barstow, Captain A. E., M.C., 15th Sikhs, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1921. Bartlett, Captain P. E., Indo-European Telegraph Department, Persian Section, Tehran.
 1925. Barton, Captain L. E., Political Dept. Govt. of India.
 1920. Base, Edward H.
 1924. Bassett, F. L., Chemical Adviser to Iraq Government, Shipley, Sussex.
 1919. Bateman, H. G., F.R.G.S., Kobe, 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.
1921. Beattie, Dr. J. Hamilton, United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Beatty, Colonel Commandant G. A. H., C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.D.C., 1st Cavalry Brigade, Risalpur, N.-W.F.P., India.
1923. Beckley, Major P. A., D.S.O., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Belgrave, C. Dalrymple, Junior Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1923. Bell, Major A. H., D.S.O., O.B.E., R.E., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Bell, B. H., Law Courts, Khartoum, Sudan.
- 60** 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.
1922. Bell, H. T. Montague, Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1; "Near East," 167, Strand, W.C. 2.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, King's Branch, P.O. Box 48, Bombay.
1921. Bennett, Captain S. G., M.C., 8, St. Albans Crescent, Bournemouth.
1922. Bennett, John G.
1921. Bentinck, Major A. W. D., Coldstream Guards, 53, Green Street, Park Lane, W.
1924. Bentinck, Mrs. Cavendish, 22, Little Welbeck Street, W. 1.
1923. Berry, Major E. S., O.B.E., Divisional Adviser, Baqubah, Iraq.
1923. Beveridge, Mrs., 53, Campden House Road, W. 8.
1924. Bickers, M. H. T., Dy. Inspector-General of Posts, Baghdad.
1922. Biggane, P.
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. Birch, Lt.-Col. J. M., D.S.O., 20, Bina Gardens, S.W. 5.
1924. Bird, A. E. C., Bush House, Aldwych.
1922. Birdwood, Field Marshal 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., c/o National Bank of India, Bishopsgate, E.C. 2.
1925. Birkenhead, The Rt. Hon. the Earl of, Secretary of State for India, India Office, Whitehall.
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.
- 80** 1924. Blackwood, Miss, Forum Club, S.W. 1.

1923. Blomfield, Captain H. M., Dept. of Overseas Trade, 35, Old Queen Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
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, c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Borland, Captain J. Mc. I., C.B., D.S.O., R.N.R., c/o P. and O. Co., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C.
1922. Borrie, Dr. D. F., O.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. Director Civil Hospital, Basra, Iraq.
- Bosanquet, Sir O. V., K.C.I.E., 1, Vicarage Gardens, Kensington, W. 8.
1921. Bourdillon, B. H., C.M.G., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Bourke, D. R. S., I.F.S., Adviser, Forest Dept., Bangkok.
1924. Bovill, Major W. J., O.B.E., I.A., c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1921. Bowman, H. E., C.B.E., Director of Education, Jerusalem.
1921. Braham, Major G. N., O.B.E., M.C., c/o A.P.O.C., Abadan, Persian Gulf.
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.
1924. Bremner, Major H. N. K., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
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), Great-bridge House, Romsey, Hants.
1922. Brock, Wing-Commander H. Le M., Royal Air Force, Bryntirion, Stanstead Road, Caterham.
- 100** 1925. Brooke, Group Captain K. G., C.M.G., Royal Air Force, c/o Air Ministry, W.C. 2.
1920. Bros, Major H. Alwyn, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Browne, Claude M., 10, Queensberry Place, S.W. 7.
1921. Browne, Lieut.-Colonel H. H. Gordon, D.S.O., Thornbury House, Kidlington, Oxon.
1924. Browne, Lieut.-Colonel J. G., C.M.G., D.S.O., 14th Hussars, Levy H.Q., Mosul, Iraq.
1924. Browne, Major-General J. P., C.B., D.S.O., 23, Dorset Square, N.W.
1924. Browne, Mrs., 23, Dorset Square, N.W.
1922. Brown, Mrs. Wynyard, Cooper's Hill Farm, Eversley, Surrey.
1924. Brownrigg, Lieut.-Colonel W. D. S., D.S.O., Sherwood Foresters, General Staff, War Office, S.W. 1.
- †Bruce, Brig.-Gen. C. D., C.B.E., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Bruce Hay, Colonel C. J., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., H.Q., Southern Command, Poona, India.

1922. Brunskill, Captain B. A. S., M.C., 39th Garhwal Rifles, Lansdowne, India.
1920. Brunskill, Major G. S., M.C., 18, Talbot Square, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1924. Bryant, A., 28b, North Audley Street, W. 1.
1920. Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., Kt., 310, St. James's Court, S.W.
- †Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth, Herts.
1921. Buchanan, Mrs, 32, Elsworthy Road, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
1921. Bunbury, Captain N. L. St. P., 1/13th F.F. Rifles, Staff College, Quetta.
1919. *BUNSEN, The Rt. Hon. Sir Maurice de, Bart., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., 43, Ennismore Gardens, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
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.
- 120** 1921. Burn, Major A. H., C.I.E., O.B.E., 6/13 Royal F.F. Rifles (Scinde). United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Burn, Major H. Pelham, 3 Cranley Gardens, S.W. 7.
1921. Burn-Murdoch, Major I., O.B.E., Umbala, U.P., India.
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.
1925. Burton, Captain L. E., I.A., Political Department, Assistant Commissioner, Hangu, N.-W.F.P., India.
1921. Butler, F. H. C., South End, St. Cross, Winchester.
1921. Buxton, Dr. P. Alfred, c/o Govt. Hospital, Apia, Western Samoa.

C

1924. Cade, Captain C. M. D., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
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., "Fernside," St. Fillans, Perthshire.
1922. Campbell, Captain W. F. C., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1924. Campbell, Major W. E. D., 17th Q.V.O. Poona Horse, Bannu, N.-W.F.P., India.
- †Carey, A. D., I.C.S., Hotel National, Montreux.
1920. Carey, Lieut.-Col. A. B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E.
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., Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi, India.
1924. Carter, Lieut.-Colonel J. H. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.

- 140** 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. Bateman, C.B., Oak Lodge, Ham Common, Surrey.
1922. Channer, Captain G. O. de R., 7th Gurkha Rifles, Quetta, Baluchistan.
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.
1924. Chauncey, Miss A., M.B.E., 40, Hertford Street, W.
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., Deane Lodge, Kingsgate Road, Winchester.
1920. Childs, W. J., Foreign Office, Whitehall, S.W.
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.
1925. Clark, Sir W. O., I.C.S. (ret.), 2, Barkston Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W. 5.
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.
- 160** 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, 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.
1925. Coffey, Captain J. P., M.B.E., Ministry of Defence, Baghdad 14, Glazbury Road, Baron's Court, W.
1923. Coghill, Captain Sir Patrick, Bart., R.F.A., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. Cohen, W. S., Amersfort, Berkhamstead.
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, Mrs., 38, The Ridgeway, Wimbledon, S.W.

1920. Connal-Rowan, Major J. F. Meiklewood, Gargunnoch, Stirlingshire; Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1920. Cooke, Captain R. S., Dalnottarhill, Old Kilpatrick, N.B.
1922. Cooper, Captain E. S. Storey, M.C., c/o Eastern Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1922. Cooper, Mrs. Bruce, Craigellachie, Burley, Hants.
1923. Cooper, W. H., 18, Finchley Way, Finchley.
1924. Cope, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1923. Corbyn, E. N., Singa, Fung Province, Sudan; United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1923. Cornwall, Lieut.-Colonel H. J. M., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., R.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
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.
1920. Costello, Brig.-General E. W., V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., 4, Rose Crescent, Cambridge.
- 180** 1919. Cowell, Mrs. M., c/o Barclay's Bank, Saxmundham.
1908. Cox, Major-General 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.
1925. Crawford, Wing Commander S. R., O.B.E., T.D., R.A.F., 171, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Cree, Thomas D., O.B.E., Beyt Cree, Carbery Avenue, Bournemouth.
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, Lieutenant St. John, R.N., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. Cumming, Sir John, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 52, West Heath Drive, N.W. 11.
1907. Cuninghame, 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.
1923. Cust, Captain L. G. A., R.A., The Governate, Jerusalem.
1925. Cutting, Heyward, 542, Fifth Avenue, New York.

D

1925. Dalton, Lieut. D. F., I.A., 6, Greville Road, Richmond, Surrey.
1921. Daly, Captain T. Denis, Royal Welch Fusiliers, Bath Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1924. Dane, Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., 24, Onslow Gardens, S.W.
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., Government House, Khartoum.
- 200** 1923. Davies, Miss E. B., 29, Francis Street, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1921. Davies, J. Fisher, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1918. Davis, Mrs., 46, Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1906. Davis, W. S., Cogan House, Longhope, Glos.
1925. Davison, Captain H. T., 3/1 Punjab Regt. (attached Iraq Army), c/o Ministry of Defence, Baghdad.
1920. Deedes, Sir Wyndham H., C.M.G., D.S.O., Oxford House, Bethnal Green.
1922. Dew, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Armine, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Dewing, Major R. H., D.S.O., M.C., R.E., Brompton Barracks, Chatham.
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., High Commissioner, Baghdad.
1925. Dodge, Lieut.-Colonel J., 26, Connaught Square, W. 2.
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., c/o Messrs. Hills Bros. Co., Basra.
1923. Drake Brockman, Brig.-General D. H., C.M.G., c/o Lloyds Bank, Winchester.
1921. Drower, Mrs. E. M., Credit Lyonnais Bank, 14, Cockspur Street, S.W. 1.
1910. Drummond, Miss, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
1925. Drury, E. J., Hertford.
- 220** 1921. Duggan, C. E., 9, Elsworthy Terrace, N.W. 3.
1921. Duncan, J. A. L., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
1924. Dunlop, Dr. W., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.; Royal Hospital, Baghdad.
1920. Dunsterville, Col. K. S., C.B., Artillery House, Knaresborough Place, S.W. 5.
1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., c/o Union Bank of Scotland, Cornhill, E.C.
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.
1925. Eastwood, Austin, British Cotton-Growing Association, 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.
1925. Eldrid, E. M., Mapledean, Linkfield Lane, Redhill.
1923. Ellis, Captain C. H., O.B.E., British Consulate, Berlin.
†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., Staff Quarter Q, Chelsea Barracks, S.W. 3.
1920. Empson, C., The White House, Fulford, York.
1925. Eskell, Sir Sassoon, K.B.E., Baghdad.

F

1923. Faber, George, 1-3, Mortimer Street, W. 1.
1920. Fardell, Mrs. H. A., 16, Brechin Place, S.W. 7.
- 240** 1925. Farquharson, Miss M. M., Bank Buildings, 16, St. James's Street, S.W.
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.
1924. Fisher, Frank, c/o Imperial Ottoman Bank, 26, Throgmorton Street, E.C.
1919. FitzHugh, Capt. J. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Flaxman, H. T. M., O.B.E., Assistant District Commissioner, Omdurman, Sudan.
1924. Foote, Flying Officer H. W., c/o Air Headquarters, Baghdad.
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., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1920. Fraser, Captain D. de M. S., Political Dept. Govt. of India, The Residency, Indore.
1923. Fraser, Donald S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Fraser, E., 14, Chester Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Fraser, M. F. A., F.R.G.S., Beaufort, Knaphill, Nr. Woking.
† Frazer, Mrs., Ladies' Athenæum Club, 17, Stratford Place, W. 1.
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, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Fraser, W. M., c/o Messrs. R. G. Shaw and Co., Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E. C.

1921. FREMANTLE, Lieut.-Colonel F. E., T.D., O.B.E., M.P., Bedwell Park, Hatfield. M. of C.
 1923. French, Bt.-Major B. R., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
260 1922. French, J. C., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
 1923. French, Lieut.-Colonel W., D.S.O., M.C., 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, 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

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.
 1919. Gaulter, Mrs., 152, Earl's Court Road, S.W. 5.
 1909. Gearon, Miss S., Ladies' Empire Club, 69, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
 1920. Geden, Rev. A. S., Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.
 1924. Gibson, J. P., c/o India Office, S.W.
 1922. Gillman, Major-General Sir Webb, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., R.F.A., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1922. Goldie, Major Henry, c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, 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.
280 1920. Gourlay, W. R., C.I.E., 23, Old Court Mansions, W. 8.
 1922. Govan, Mrs. D. M., 6°, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
 1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.C., 13th Hussars, Cavalry Club, Piccadilly.
 1923. Graham, Captain Alan Crosland, Clwyd Hall, Ruthin, N. Wales; Cavendish Club, 119, Piccadilly, W.
 1920. Graham, Colonel R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
 1923. Graham, Lieut.-Colonel, 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.
1919. 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. 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., War
Office, S.W.
1923. Groves, J. P. K., East Hoathley Rectory, Halland, Sussex.
1924. Gubbay, M. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., East India United Service
Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
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., I. G. Police, Srinagar, Kashmir.
- 300** 1922. Haig, Lieut.-Colonel Sir T. W., K.C.I.E., C.B., 37, Trinity
College, Dublin.
1924. Hailes, Major W. H., 9th Jats, I. A., United Service Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.
1925. Hale, Frederick, Imperial Bank of Persia, 33-36, King
William Street, E.C.
1920. Hall, Captain A. H., O.B.E., Annfield, Rothesay, Scotland.
1922. Hall, H. R., D.Litt., F.S.A., British Museum, Blooms-
bury, W.C.
1922. Hallinan, Captain T. J., R.A.M.C., 77, Southside, Clapham
Common, S.W.
1924. Halsey, Sir Lawrence, K.B.E., Gooserye Farm, Worplesdon.
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.
1924. Harding, H. J., British Consular Service in China, British
Consulate, Tengyueh.
1920. *Hardinge, The Rt. Hon. Sir A., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Cold-
harbour, West Hoathley, Sussex.
1924. Hardy, Major-General T. H., C.B., I.A. (ret.), 32, Stanhope
Gardens, Queen's Gate, S.W.

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.
1924. Hart, H. G., 63, St. James's Street, S.W.
1920. Haughton, Lieut.-Colonel H. L., 36th Sikhs, c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
- 320** 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.
1924. Heale, Major R. J. W., Political Department, Government of India, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Heath, Miss I. V., 21, Victoria Park, Dover.
1920. Hendley, Major-Gen. H., C.S.I., Hon. Surgeon to H.M. the King, Caxton, near Cambridge.
1922. Henry, Colonel Sir W. D., C.I.E., V.D., 6^o, Bickenhall Mansions, W. 1.
1923. Henty, Miss, 62, Inverness Terrace, W. 2.
1924. Higgins, Air Vice-Marshal J. F. A., C.B., D.S.O., 72, Palace Court, W. 8.
1921. Hiles, Major M., O.B.E., E. I. United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. Hill, Sir Claude H. A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1924. Hill, Lieut.-Colonel E. F. J., D.S.O., M.C., R.E., King George's Own Sappers and Miners, Roorkee, U.P., India.
1919. Hill, H. Brian, F.R.G.S., c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Calcutta, India.
1923. Hilleary, Mrs., 2, Tregunter Road, S.W. 10.
1923. Hitchcock, F. C., East Surrey Regt., Naval and Military Club, 94, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1925. Hoare, The Right Hon. Sir Samuel, Air Ministry, Adastral House, Kingsway, W.C.
1924. Hobart, R. C., I.C.S., Fyzabad, U. P., India.
- 340** 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.
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.

1922. Holt, Captain V., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
 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.
 1914. Howard-Bury, Colonel C., M.P., Bath Club, Dover Street, W.
 1923. Howell, A. B. B., M.B.E., Sudan Political Service, Khar-toum, Sudan.
 1908. Howell, E. B., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1; Waziristan, N.-W.F.P., India.
 1924. Howes, E. J., Renton, Beehive Lane, Chelmsford.
 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, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis H., K.B.E., C.I.E., H.B.M. Minister, Kabul, Afghanistan.
 1921. Hunt, Captain J. M., 87th Punjabis, I.A., 17A, Lower Belgrave Street, S.W.
 1921. Hunt, Captain W. E., Old Rectory Cottage, Bathampton, Bath.
360 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.

I

1922. Inchcape of Strathnaver, The Right Hon. Viscount, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
 1924. India, Army Headquarters, Simla.
 1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
 1915. Ingram, Captain E. 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.
 1925. Ives, Charles St. John, Mailoor Estate, Kullakamby, Nilgiris, S. India.

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., G.H.Q., Northern Command, Rawalpindi, India.
 1922. James, Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Cuthbert, C.B.E., M.P., 3, Ormonde Gate, Chelsea, S.W.
 1924. Jaora, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Iftikhar Ali Khan, K.C.I.E., Nawab of Jaora, Central India.
 †Jardine, Mrs., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.

1921. Jardine, R. F., c/o High Commissioner, Baghdad.
 *†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., 25, Nevern Place, S.W. 5.
 1924. Jeffery, G. H., O.B.E., F.S.A., Curator of Ancient Monuments, Cyprus.
 1920. Jeffreys, Major J. F. D., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, 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.
 1924. Jones, D. E., Imperial Ottoman Bank, Baghdad.
 1923. Joy, G. A., Port Vila, New Hebrides, Western Pacific.
 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.
 1924. Keeble, Mrs. Alexander, Mottingsden, Burwash, Sussex.
 1920. Keeling, E. H., M.C., United University Club, 1, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
 1924. Keith Roach, Major E., Royal Societies Club, S.W.
 1925. Kelly, Major C. H. Harvey, D.S.O., 10th Baluch: Regiment, Military Attaché, British Legation, Kabul.
 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., 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1924. Khalidi, Ahmed Sameh ibn Sheikh al, Department of Education, Jerusalem.
 1924. King, Colonel E. J., C.M.G., F.S.A., The Old House, Finchley.
 †King, Sir H. Seymour, K.C.I.E., 25, Cornwall Gardens, S.W. 7.
 1922. Kirk, Captain F. C. de L., 1st. Batt. Norfolk Regiment, Bermuda.
 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.
 400 1923. Knight, Charles, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
 1923. Knight, G. E. O., F.R.G.S., 6, Porteus Road, Paddington, W. 2.
 1922. Knollys, Lieut.-Colonel Denis E., D.S.O., 19th Punjab, 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., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1923. Lake, Lieut.-General Sir Percy H. N., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.,
United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1904.†*Lamington, The Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 11,
Lowndes Street, 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., 2,
Reynold's Close, Hampstead Way, N.W. 11.
1924. Lawrence, Sir H. S., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Bombay.
1921. Lee, W. H., 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.
1925. Leigh, Lord, 31, Grosvenor Square, W.
1920. Léon, Henri M., Ph.D., LL.D., 8, Taviton Street, Gordon
Square, W.C.
1921. Leslie, Lieut. L., Shropshire L.I., The Barracks, Shrews-
bury.
- 420** 1922. Lester, G. A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
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, The Right. Hon. Sir George A., M.P., G.C.I.E.,
D.S.O., G.C.S.I., 24, Charles Street, W. 1. M. of C.
1912. Loch, Major P. G., I.A., Political Dept., Government of
India, Srinagar, Kashmir.
1921. Loch, Lieut.-Colonel G. H., C.I.E., I.A. (ret'd.), 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., 11, Linton Road, Oxford.
1920. Lowis, H. R., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1921. Lubbock, Brig.-General G., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., Furze
Hill, Margurett, Essex.
1923. Luke, H. C., Government House, Sierra Leone.
1922. Lumby, Major A. F. Rawson, O.B.E., 69th Punjabis, Army
Headquarters, Delhi, India.
1924. Lumsden, Peter, Baghdad.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., I.A., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co.,
54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
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

- 440** 1909. *Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., Les Vaux, St. Saviour's,
Jersey, Channel Isles.
1923. McCallum, Major Duncan, 1st Batt. East Yorkshire
Regiment, Alexandria.
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.
1925. McConaghy, Miss M. B., Jaffa, Palestine.
1915. McCoy, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mills, and Co., 67, Lombard
Street, E.C. 3.
1922. Macdonald, Lieut.-Colonel F., I.A. (ret.), East India United
Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. McDonell, A. R., Royal Auto Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1925. MacGeagh, Colonel H. D. Foster, C.B.E., T.D., K.C., Con-
servative Club, 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., D.S.O., 28, Wilton Place, S.W.
1920. McGrath, Mrs. (Rosita Forbes), 28, Wilton Place, S.W.
1924. MacGregor, Flight-Lieut. A., D.F.C., c/o Messrs. M.
Macgregor and Co., 3, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.
1920. MacGregor, Lady, Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court.
1924. MacGregor, R. M., East India United Service Club, 16,
St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Machray, Robert, 37, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.
1921. McIntyre, Captain H. M. J., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Cox's
Branch, Rawalpindi, N.-W.F.P., India.
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.
- 460** 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.
1924. Maclaine, Major R. G., M.C., Argyll and Sutherland High-
landers, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1922. MacMichael, H. A., c/o Civil Secretary, Khartoum.
1924. McMunn, Major-General Sir George, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,
D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, 94, Picadilly, W.
1922. Maconochie, R. R., I.C.S., British Legation, Kabul.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., C.I.E., 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.
1924. Maffey, Sir John, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. M. of C.
1923. Makant, Mrs., Gilnow Lodge, Bolton, Lancs.
1903. *MALCOLM, Major-General Sir Neill, K.C.B., D.S.O., Singapore, S.S. M. of C.
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.
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., Royal Irish Regiment, c/o Bank of Dublin, Ireland.
- 480** 1920. Massy, Col. P. H., C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall.
1923. Mather, Norman F. H., Malay C. S., Singapore.
1920. Mathieson, Wilfred, Minchinhampton, Glos.
1920. May, Major W. R. S., C.I.E., Conservative Club, S.W.
1912. Medlicott, Lieut.-Colonel H., Cavalry Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1923. Medlicott, J. H., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Mellor, Donald, 25, Dault Road, Wandsworth Common, S.W. 18.
1920. *MICHELL, Roland, C.M.G., 22, Lansdowne Crescent, W. 11.
1923. Millar, Captain A. B., 2/13 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.
1924. Miller, Miss M. M., 6, Sussex Place, 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.
1924. Mirza Muhammad, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., Basra.
1922. Moberly, Brig.-General F. J., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., P.C.S., Historical Section, Committee of Imperial Defence, 2, Whitehall Gardens, S.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.
- 500** 1921. *MONRO, General Sir C. C., Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., A.D.C.Gen., Gibraltar.

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.
1922. Montgomery, Major-General Sir A. A., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Pitchford Hall, Shropshire.
1903. *MOON, E. R. P., 6, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7. Vice-President.
1921. Moore, Captain J. H., Walton Grange, Swindon, Wilts.
1920. More, Major J. C., D.S.O., 51st Sikhs (F.F.), Political Agency, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1920. Morison, Sir Theodor, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Principal, Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1922. Morland, Major W. E. T., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall.
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 Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1925. Morton, Miss A. Anderson, 410, Elm Tree Mansions, N.W.
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., C.S.I., M.V.O., O.B.E., 29, Bramham Gardens, S.W. 5.
1920. Mumin, Arnold L., F.R.G.S., 112, Gloucester Terrace, W. 2.
1924. Munro, Air Commodore D., C.B., C.I.E., Air Ministry, Kingsway.
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.
- 520** 1920. Murray, Major S. G. C., C.I.E., I.A., Agra, U.P., India.
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.
1924. Muzahim Beg Pachachi, Ministry of Works, Baghdad.
1915. Mylne, Miss Nina, Blenheim Cottage, Nuffield, Henley-on-Thames.
1916. Mysore, The Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

N

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., Civil Surgeon, Muzufferpur, India.
1921. Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1925. Nashet, Sabih Beg, Karrada, Baghdad.

1924. Neilson, E. F., Indian Police, East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1924. Nesbitt, Major F. G. Beaumont, M.C., Grenadier Guards, 56, Rutland Gate, S.W.
1924. Newstead, W. Cameron, M.C., West Yorkshire Regiment.
1921. Newton, Mrs. Frances E., 156, Sloane Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Nicolson, Major the Hon. F. A., M.C., 53, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1922. Nightingale, Brig.-General 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. Noble, Mrs.
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.
- 540** 1921. Norbury, Major P. F., D.S.O., I.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1922. Norris, Rear-Admiral David, C.B., C.M.G., R.N., Semington, Sherborne.
1921. Northcote, D. S., 23, Royal Avenue, Chelsea.
1925. Nour, Thabet Abdu, Baghdad.
1924. Nunn, R. L. H., 138, Coleherne Court, S.W. 5.

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.
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. Vice-President.
1923. O'Leary, Rev. de L., Christ Church Vicarage, Redfield, Bristol.
1921. Olver, Lieut.-Colonel A., C.B., C.M.G., c/o Messrs. Glyn, Mill, Holt and Co., Whitehall Place, S.W.
1923. Ormonde, Charles, 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C. 4.
1920. *Ormsby-Gore, Hon. W. G. A., J.P., D.L., F.R.G.S., M.P., 5, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.
1924. Orred, J. A., 37, Sloane Gardens, S.W.
1922. Osmond, Captain W. R. Fiddes, R.A., Judge Advocate General's Department, War Office; United University Club, Suffolk Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Outlaw, Captain W. H., 40, Charles Street, Berkhamstead.
1923. Owen, Captain Fenwick, 16, Prince's Gardens, S.W. 1.

P

- 560** 1920. Parker, Lieut.-Col. A. C., D.S.O., Governor of Sinai Peninsula, Arîsh, Sinai.
1920. Parr, E. Robert, Black Birches, Hadnall, Shrewsbury.
1925. Paterson, Dr. J., Civil Surgeon, Mosul.
1908. Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1922. Peake Bey, Inspector-General of Gendarmerie, Amman, Transjordan.
1920. Pearce, Captain M. Channing, Montagu House, Ramsgate.
1921. Pedder, Captain G. R.
1921. Peek, Sir Wilfrid, Bart., D.S.O., 5, Eastcheap, E.C. 3.
1922. Peel, E. G. B., C.I.E., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Peel, The Hon. Doris, 52, Grosvenor Street, W.
- †PEEL, The Right Hon. Viscount, G.B.E., 52, Grosvenor Street, W. 1. Chairman of Council.
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. Hon. Treasurer.
- †Perowne, Lieut.-Col. J. T. Woolrych, 32, Lowndes Square, S.W.
1924. Perry, Dr. Lionel B., c/o Director of Health, Baghdad.
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.
- 580** 1920. Pickthall, Mrs. W. M., 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.
1924. Pigot, Captain G., M.C., 1st Batt. Punjab Regiment, Junior United Service Club, Pall Mall, 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.
1925. Powell, Major-General Sir C. H., K.C.B., I.A. (ret.), The Lower House, Wickham.
1924. Press, Edward, c/o Messrs. Lloyds Bank, Alexandria.
1924. Preston, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., I.A. (ret.), 34, Carlyle Mansions, S.W.

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, Glamor-
ganshire, Wales.
1924. Prideaux, Lieut.-Colonel F. B., British Residency, Bushire,
Persian Gulf.
1921. Prior, Mrs. Upton, Eaton Grange, Cobham.

Q

1910. Qaiyum, Sir Abdul Khan Bahadur Sahibzada, K.C.I.E.,
Abbottabad, India.
1924. Queenborough, The Lord, 39, Berkeley Square, W.

R

1924. Radley, Major H. P., M.C., 2nd Punjab Regiment, I.A.
c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Rae, Major M. E., I.A., 9, Drummond Place, Edinburgh.
1923. Raglan, The Lord, 41, St. George's Road, S.W.
- 600 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.
1923. Raynor, 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.,
c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Redl, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Sycamores,
Newick, Sussex; Naval and Military Club, 94, Picca-
dilly, W. 1.
1924. Reed, Flight-Lieut. G. S., C.B.E., Air Headquarters,
British Force in Iraq, Baghdad.
1924. Reid, Miles B., 119, Church Street, S.W. 3.
1923. Reilly, Major B. R., Bombay Political Service, c/o Lloyds
Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Relton, T. L., Little Manor, Whyteleaf, Surrey.
1924. Rennie, E. A., M.V.O., British Legation, Helsingfors, Fin-
land.
1924. Rennie, F. P., C.I.E., 58, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1920. Reynardson, Capt. H. Birch, 1st Oxford and Bucks L.I.,
2, Devonshire Terrace, Hyde Park, W. 2.
1924. Rice, D. Talbot, Oddington House, Moreton in Marsh,
Gloucestershire.
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.
1922. Ridge-Jones, I., M.C., Health Directorate, Ministry of
Interior, Baghdad.
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.
- 620** 1921. Rivett-Carnac, Captain H. G., I.A., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Robb, Squadron-Leader J. M., 30 Squadron R.A.F., Baghdad.
1923. Robert, Captain V. G., M.B.E., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Roberts, Lieut.-Colonel Sir James, C.I.E., I.M.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, 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.
1924. Robson, Lady, 26, Eaton Square, S.W.
1922. Roche, The Lady, Parkwell, Clewer Green, Berks.
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 Right Hon. The Earl of, P.C., 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., Church Manor, Bishop's Stortford.
1924. Ross, George, 7, Recreation Road, Sydenham.
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, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1925. Russell, J. G., c/o 30 Squadron R.A.F., Kirkuk.
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

- 640** 1924. Salvesen, Captain H. K., I.A., New College, Oxford.
1923. Samuel, Miss M. Sylvester, 19, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
- †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.
1925. Sassoon, Mrs. S. J., 51, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.
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.
1924. Sellers, H., Public Works Department, Baghdad.
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., C.B., C.B.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. Silberrad, C. A., I.C.S., Forest Side, Epping.
1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
- 660 1921. Simpson, B. Lenox, c/o British Legation, Peking, China.
1921. Sinclair, Major R., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1923. Sinderson, Dr. H. C., New General Hospital, Baghdad.
1923. Skinner, Major-General Sir P. Cyriac, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., "Thornton," Burke's Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
1924. Skliros, J., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Skrine, Clarmont Perceval, I.C.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Skrine, F. H., C.S.I., 147, Victoria Street, S.W.
1920. Slater, Captain A., I.A.R.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., c/o Messrs. Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, W. 1.
1925. Slater, S. H., C.M.G., C.I.E., I.C.S., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1924. Smart, Miss D., Naval and Military Hotel, Harrington Road, S.W. 7.
1920. Smith, A. L. F., M.V.O., Balliol College, Oxford.
1924. Smith, Lieut.-Colonel A. A., 11, King's Bench Walk, Inner Temple, E.C.
1923. Smith, W. Donald, 10, Buchanan Terrace, Paisley, Scotland.
1922. Snelling, Captain C. G., I.A., Indian Political Dept., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Spencer, Dr. Gordon, Royal Hospital, Baghdad.
1922. Spencer, Hugh, C.I.E., I.C.S. (ret.), 5, Clifton Gardens, W. 9.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 2nd. Lieut. R.E., 4, Via Michele, Florence, Italy.
1920. Stanham, Major H. F., R.A., Chieveley, Newbury.

1923. Stanley, Captain Douglas Richard, 3/2 Bombay Pioneers, I.A., c/o Messrs. Cox and Co., Bombay.
- 680** 1921. Starkie, Mrs. Maud, 3, Aldford Street, Park Lane, W. 1.
1923. STAVELBY, Rear-Admiral C. M., C.B., C.M.G., R.N., United Service Club, S.W. M. of C.
1923. Steel, Colonel R. A., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Red House, Wateringbury, Maidstone.
1909. Stein, Sir Auroel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. Superintendent Arch. Survey, Frontier Circle, N.-W.F. Province, India; Stein Collection, British Museum, Bloomsbury.
1921. Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1920. STEPHENSON, G. C., 99, Inverness Terrace, W. 2. M. of C. Hon. Sec.
1921. Stevenson, Lieut.-Colonel K. L., R.A.O.C., G.H.Q., Ordnance Depot, York.
1920. Stewart, C. W., 3, Newburgh Road, Acton.
1923. Stewart, F. W., M.C., Koraput, Vizapatam, Madras.
1923. Stewart, S. F., C.I.E., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.
1923. Stilwell, J. G., Hilfield, Yateley, Hants.
1907. *Stokes, Colonel C. B., C.I.E., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1923. Stone, Sir J. H., C.I.E., 39, Roland Gardens, S.W. 1.
1921. Storrs, Mrs. F. E., 65, Chester Square, S.W. 1.
1924. Stover, Major E. J., 20th Burma Rifles, I.A., The Staff College, Camberley.
1921. Sutton, Major-General H. C., C.B., C.M.G., Royal Hospital, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Swan, L. M., c/o Ministry of Finance, Baghdad.
1920. Sydenham, The Rt. Hon. Lord, of Combe, (G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., etc.), The Priory, Lamberhurst, Kent.
1920. Sykes, Lady, Sledmere, Malton.
- *†Sykes, Miss Ella, 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
- 700** 1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 29, Trevor Square, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
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., Athenaeum 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.
1924. Teague, Captain John, M.C., Air Headquarters, Baghdad.
1919. Teichman, Eric, C.I.E., Sitka, Chislehurst, Kent; British Legation, Peking, China.
1920. Temple, Lt.-Col. Sir Richard, Bart., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A., India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

1922. Tennant, Hon. Mrs., St. Anno's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.
1922. Thomas, Captain B. S., O.B.E., Muscat, Persian Gulf.
1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., India Office, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1921. Thomas, Captain H. Prichard, O.B.E., 126th Baluchistan Regt., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1921. Thomas, Major E. C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1921. Thomas, Roger, Agricultural Directorate, Baghdad.
1924. Thomas, The Right Hon. H. J., House of Commons, S.W. 1.
1922. Thompson, Major David, 15th Lancers, I.A., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1; Military Attaché, British Consulate, Meshed.
1920. Thomson, J. S., I.C.S., Greenham Common, Newbury.
- 720** 1921. *Thomson, Major-General Sir W. M., K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; Army Headquarters, Calcutta.
1924. Thomson, Mrs. Green, Bridokirk, Cockermouth, Cumberland.
1924. Thomson, The Right Hon. Lord, United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. Thorburn, Major H. Hay, c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
1921. Thornton, Lieut.-Col. C. E., C.M.G., 16th Cavalry, I.A., (ret.), The Heath, Hindhead, Surrey.
1922. Thorpe, Miss M., 25, Pombridge Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, W. 11.
1922. Thuillier, Major L. C., I.A. (Survey of India), c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Son, Ludgate Circus, E.C.
1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Standlynch, Four Marks, Hants.
1921. Todd, Captain H. L., Political Department, Government of India, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1921. Tomlinson, A. G., c/o Messrs. Hills Bros. Co., Basra, Persian Gulf.
1921. Tozer, P. H. S., Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly.
1920. Trench, Rev. A. G., M.C., Chaplain's Office, Bolarun, Docean, India.
1920. Trott, Captain A. C., 5th Devon Regt., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
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.
1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., C.I.E., The Lodge, Overton, Ellesmere.
1923. Turner, Colonel A. J., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., R.A., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.
1921. Twoodie, Mrs. Aloe, 2, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1920. Tyler, H. H. F., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Madras.

V

- 740** 1905. Vanderbyl, P. B., B4, The Albany, Piccadilly, W. 1
1920. Varma, Raj Kumar N. Chandra Deb, Comilla, Tipperah, India.

1924. Vaughan, Major-General Sir Louis, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.,
Commandant, Central Provinces, Mhow, India.
1911. Vaughan, Mrs., The Marches, Willowbrook, Eton.
1922. Venning, E. G., East India United Service Club, St. James's
Square, S.W.
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),
6, 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 Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1911. Waller-Sawyer, Mrs., 32, Knightsbridge, S.W.
1923. Wallis, Captain C., I.A., Q. V. O. Corps of Guides, East India
United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1922. Walpole, C. A., O.B.E., East India United Service Club, 16,
St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
- 760** 1923. Wanklyn, Mrs., 3, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1922. Wapshare, Lieut.-General Sir Richard, K.C.B., C.S.I., c/o
Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
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.
1921. Ward, Colonel J. S., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.B.E., Port Director,
Basra.
1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., c/o Imperial Bank of Persia, 33,
King William Street, E.C.
1905. Watson, Lt.-Col. John William, I.M.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay
Groome and Co., Bombay.
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.; Tonk, N.W.F.P., India.

1924. Webber, G. H. S., I.A., Mhow, Central Provinces, India.
1924. Webster, Captain P. L. C., I. A., 2, New Square, Lincoln's Inn.
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., c/o Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 780 †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., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W.
1922. Wightwick, Major H. M., Bombay Political Service, c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
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 Lloyds Bank (R.A. Branch), 6, Pall Mall, 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.
1922. Williams, Dr. H., 9, Tite Street, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
1921. Williams, Captain L., O.B.E., Ashways, Chislehurst Road, Bickley, Kent.
1925. Williamson, F., I.C.S., Political Department, Government of India, Gyantse, Tibet.
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.
1924. Wilmer, Lieut.-Colonel Worthington, 2nd Somerset L.I., Agra, U.P., India.

1916. Wilson, Lieut.-Colonel James Alban, D.S.O., Galloway House, West Burton, Aysgarth.
- 800** 1924. Wilson, J. M., Director of Public Works, Baghdad.
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.
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.
1923. Wimshurst, C. R., Tibbs Court, Brenchley, Kent.
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.
1924. Wingate, R. E. L., I.C.S., Rajputana Agency Camp, India.
1922. Winterton, The Earl, 4, Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, S.W. 1.
1924. Winton, Brig.-General C. de, C.M.G., The Mill Cottage, Dess S.O., Aberdeenshire.
1921. Wishart, G., Muirbrow, Hamilton, N.B.
1924. Witts, Captain F., D.S.O., M.C., R.E., c/o War Office, S.W.
1923. Wood, Lieut.-Colonel H., c/o Lloyds Bank (R.E. Branch), 6, Pall Mall, S.W.
1923. Woodman, G. S., Royal Hospital, Baghdad.
1912. Woods, H. C., 171, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Worth, Captain J. G., 1st Yemen Infantry.
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.
1925. Wren, M. F., Reform Club, S.W.
1921. Wright, Captain S. A., M.C., East India United Service Club, 16, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
- 820** 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.
1925. Wright, Major A. B., Assistant Secretary, Government Offices, Cyprus.
1923. Wright, Miss N., Willingham, Market Rasen, Lincolnshire.
1924. Wylie, F. V., I.C.S., Political Department, Mardan, N.-W.F.P., India.
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.

1905. *YATE, Colonel Sir Charles E., Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.L., M.P., 17, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8. Vice-President.
1923. Yerbrugh, Captain Guy, O.B.E., Irish Guards, 27, Prince's Gate, S.W. 7.
1923. Yetts, Major L. M., M.C., James House, Hadlow, Kent.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. R. F., F.R.G.S., M.R.I., F.R.S.A., Ladies' Carlton Club, Chesterfield Gardens, W. 1.
1922. Younan, Lieut.-Colonel A. C., I.M.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1918. Young, General H. G., C.I.E., D.S.O., etc., Tobercooran, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim, Ireland.
1924. Young, J. W. A., c/o Orthodox Patriarchate, Post Box 612, Jerusalem.
- *†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Currant Hill, Westerham. M. of C.

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 H.M. Stationery Office.

N.B.—Members are requested to send changes of address to the Society's offices, 74, Grosvenor Street, W., and are asked to send any necessary corrections for the above list.

Members home on leave are asked to apply for lecture cards if they have not already received them.

RULES

OF

THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY was founded in 1901 for the encouragement of interest in Central Asia by means of lectures, the reading of papers, and discussions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolu-

tion 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 President, (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) eight Vice-Presidents, (4) the Honorary Treasurer, (5) the Honorary Secretary (or Secretaries), (6) and the Honorary Librarian, 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 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.

13a. The Honorary Treasurer and the Honorary Secretary (or Secretaries), and the Honorary Librarian, 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.

18(a). The Honorary 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*

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.

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

Proposer

Seconder

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